

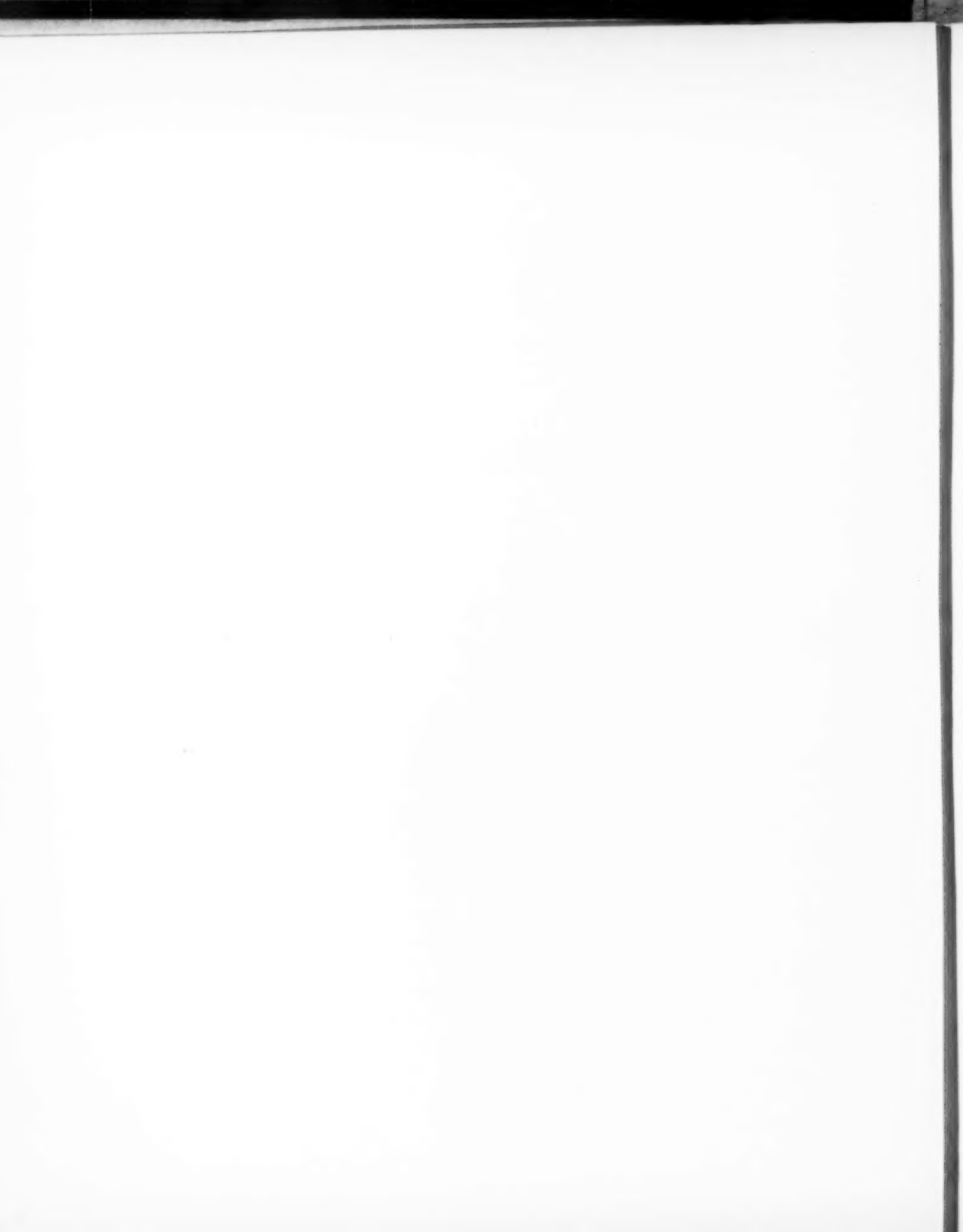
ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.



ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
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NOTE.—Plates XXXIV.—XXXVII. have been presented by Edwin Freshfield,
Esq. F.S.A.

Owing to an accidental transposition, Plates XXVIII. and XXIX. are erroneously paged 351 and
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Notes on some of the Antique and Renaissance Gems and Jewels in Her Majesty's Collection at Windsor Castle. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 12 February, 1874.

The collection of antique and other engraved stones, of jewels of the period of the Renaissance, and objects of like class but more recent workmanship, belonging to Her Majesty the Queen, is comparatively little known, although containing several objects of high importance.

On the occasion of a special exhibition of objects of "glyptic art" brought together by the Royal Archæological Institute, and held at the rooms then occupied by that Society in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, in the month of June 1861, the larger portion of this Royal Collection was graciously contributed, but could only be seen through the glass case which necessarily protected the precious objects it contained.

The series as then shown was examined, as I believe under these disadvantages, by the Rev. C. W. King, M.A. who embodied his observations in a paper published in the eighteenth volume of the Archæological Journal, page 307.

The Royal Collection was also in part exhibited at the South Kensington Museum in 1862, when some of the more remarkable pieces were specially but briefly noted by Mr. J. C. Robinson, in the catalogue of that Loan Collection at page 559, *et seq.*

A more advantageous opportunity of closely examining these valuable objects has been recently afforded to myself, in company with two gentlemen who combine the highest archæological erudition with a profound and accurate technical knowledge of engraved stones and jewels, both of antique and more recent workmanship. This examination was made with a view to reporting on the collection for Her Majesty's private information.*

Availing myself of this privilege to make a preliminary descriptive list of the whole series, I was the more strongly impressed with the great excellence of some of these examples of antique and Renaissance art, and suggested that application might be made for permission to take photographs or drawings of the principal specimens.

That permission has been most liberally accorded, and the accompanying illustrations exhibit some of the more remarkable objects in the Royal Cabinet.

The Collection is, at present, arranged in two glazed tabular cases, that occupy corresponding places on either side of a door of entrance to the elegantly decorated room known as the "Private Audience Chamber" in Windsor Castle. It numbers in all 292 objects of a somewhat heterogeneous character, for among them are works representing the most developed period of the Greco-Roman sculptor's art, others descending through the Byzantine to the period of the Renaissance, and many by the more imitative artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era. Among the latter not a few are portraits, the majority of which, although not at present recognised, are of considerable interest, and might afford profitable study in tracing, and as far as possible verifying, their likeness to the originals whom they may represent.

My present purpose is not, however, to undertake a work of this nature, but merely to draw attention to, and put more distinctly on record, some of the more important objects of the cabinet, considered from an artistic and archæological point of view; commencing with those of earlier date.

The autotypes obtained by Her Majesty's gracious permission will greatly enhance the interest of their description, and assist us in appreciating the beauty of the objects which they so accurately portray.

Of those that I have selected as being of more importance than the remainder, the number amounts to 68, viz. antique gems, 16; recent gems and enamelled jewels, 52. Of these autotypes of 25 have been taken, and wood engravings of two rings and one gem.

* Report furnished to Her Majesty, 1872.

Some few antique and modern gems, of minor relative value as to subject or artistic merit, have been included in the following descriptive list, for, although secondary, they are perhaps worthy of being recorded.

No definite history of the formation of this collection can be referred to. The various pieces have been drawn together from time to time, not so much by that peculiar force (shall I borrow a modern term, differently applied, and call it *psychic?*) which gathers objects of a like nature under the directing medium of the amateur, as from an attractive power attaching to royalty, which, acting through numerous family and other connections, induces gifts of portraits, and presents of greater or less artistic and antiquarian merit, in addition to many purchases of objects to which Royal attention has been directed from time to time.

That some of the choicer portraits, as those of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, have been in the royal cabinet from the period of their production there can be little doubt, notwithstanding any temporary dispersion that may have occurred under the Commonwealth.

They are not, however, mentioned in Van der Doort's catalogue of the objects belonging to Charles I. although he records the large antique cameo and some others.

At the latter end of the last century, when *dilettantiism* was in high feather, and works of the antique sculptor's art were sought for and purchased with more avidity than discretion, a premium was offered to the cunning hand that could best imitate the works of classic times; not however without encouraging, to a degree that has never before or since been equalled, those fine artists who, catching much of the antique spirit, produced authentic works of a very high order; the names of Natter, Rega, Pichler, and Pistrucci are representative. Collections of a mixed character were formed accordingly; some from pure love, some from vanity, and some, alas, with a view to dishonest gain. Among these collectors, deceiver or deceived, or both, was Consul Smith, long resident at Venice, who eventually sold the collection he had formed to H.M. George III. The King was further induced to patronise, and in the main pay for, the publication of two folio volumes entitled *Dactyliothea Smithiana*, Venice, 1767; in which the Consul's cabinet is described by A. F. Gori, and illustrated by 100 well-executed copper-plate engravings. The fact that only three of the specimens that I have deemed worthy of selection and am about to describe, are to be recognised as having formed portions of the Consul's series, will suffice to indicate the inferiority of its contents. The addition of the Smith collection to the other comparatively few but far choicer specimens, and acquisitions since and

variously made, have swelled the royal cabinet to its present extent, while, as in like case with the miniatures, drawings, prints, and other rich artistic treasures contained in the apartments of Windsor Castle, their systematic gathering together and arrangement in one place is due to the directing energy and judgment of the late Prince Consort.

I will now proceed to describe separately those objects which I have selected as more important, and in doing so have attempted an approximate chronological order, dividing the antique from the Renaissance and modern gems.^a

Differing in opinion, as I am forced to do on more than one specimen, from our erudite modern authority on antique gems, I feel convinced that such an opportunity as I have had of careful and individual inspection, assisted by minute examination with the lens, would have induced a different *dictum* on his part, had Mr. King enjoyed a similar advantage.

But I am further fortified in advancing my own humble opinion by its agreement with that of Mr. Newton, of Signor Castellani, and, as far as expressed by him in the catalogue of the Loan Collection, with that of Mr. J. C. Robinson.

The measurement is given in inches and lines, one-twelfth of an inch.

CAMEOS AND INTAGLIOS OF ANTIQUE WORKMANSHIP.

193. Intaglio on red or "male" sard; set in a ring, oval. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Width $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Cupid bending his bow. Fine Italo-Greek work, probably of about 200 B.C., after the well-known statue.

218. Sunk cameo; *intaglio rilievo*; oval. Height 1 inch 10 lines; width 1 inch 5 lines. (Plate II.)

A Roman male portrait, head in profile, facing to the right of the spectator.

This is a noble work of the best period of Romano-Greek art. The hair, closely cut, is indicated by minutely executed stippling; the brow wrinkled; the ear admirably treated; he is beardless, and bald on the forehead. The general appearance is that of a man between fifty and sixty years of age.

The stone, cracked at the lower end, is backed with glass to strengthen it, and set in a modern gold edging, with loop for suspension.

The art displayed on this gem is of the highest order and the manipulative skill equally excellent; in no place does the *rilievo* exceed half a line in depth, while the indications of the muscles of the head and neck are delineated with singular truth and delicacy. This style of antique gem engraving, the "*incavo*

^a The numbers are those now attached to the objects, corresponding with the list in the Royal Library.

rilievo” of Mr. King, termed also “Egyptian relief,” is but seldom found even in works of smaller size; the present exceptional example is perhaps the finest that has descended to our days. It is by no means improbable that the study of antique gems of this character may have contributed to form the style of sculpture in low relief, on marble and other material, adopted by Donatello and other contemporary Italian sculptors of the fifteenth century. Mr. King does not appear to have noticed this gem in his cursory examination of the Royal Collection, as described by his paper in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. p. 309. It did not however escape Mr. Robinson’s eye, who refers to it in the catalogue of the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington in 1862 (page 560) as being “perhaps a portrait of one of the Scipios;” in which observation I am inclined to agree. The idea that it may represent Cicero is much more doubtful, neither does it resemble Metellus or Marcellus. The features differ considerably from those of the bust of Cicero, the nose of which is more aquiline and pointed, while the chin is less forward; on that, the treatment of the hair, in short locks, is entirely different; the wart, if it existed, was upon the left cheek and therefore not shown upon the gem. Neither does it correspond with the head of Cicero upon the coins of Magnesia and Lydia, the works of Greek artists.

On the other hand it has considerable affinity to the head of Scipio on the well-known bust in the Capitoline Museum. The closely-cropped hair denotes the warrior, and we learn from Pliny and Gellius that in Scipio’s time to shave the beard and hair was fashionable among men of forty and upwards. The scar upon the left forehead could not be shown upon the gem, and it may be objected that, if intended to portray the elder Scipio, so characteristic a mark would not have been neglected by the artist, who might have chosen the other side of his subject; but we know that the head of Scipio (greatly resembling this gem) is similarly placed in the wall-painting representing the marriage of Sophonisba and Massinissa, or rather the surrender of the former to Scipio and her death by poison, found at Pompeii, and which is figured in the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. i. pl. 34, and in the *Iconographie Grecque*, pl. 56.

To assume, however, that this fine intaglio (which cannot be favourably rendered by photography) is a contemporary portrait either of Scipio Africanus the elder, or of the younger, might perhaps be too hasty a conclusion; but that it may represent some member of that family is presumable, from the similarity in general character of the features to the only portraits with which we are acquainted.

180. Cameo, on a fine oriental onyx of three strata, clear white, opaque white, and brown. Height 2 inches 5 lines; width 1 inch 11 lines.

Fragment of a head of Jupiter, looking to the right of the spectator. (Plate II.)

A magnificent work of the Augustan age: the beard admirably treated; the wing of the *ægis* is in the brown stratum, the feathers minutely executed. One of the few choice gems from Consul Smith's Collection, and figured in the *Dactyliotheca Smithiana*, pl. 1. When perfect this fine cameo must have been $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide.

32. Cameo, oblong oval, onyx of two strata, white on brown. Height 7 lines; width 9 lines. Psyche, or more probably a bacchante, lying, with a vase under her right arm and partly covered by an animal's skin; the left arm is raised, the hand behind her head; the hair falling loosely.

Very fine antique work on a beautiful stone. It is set in a ring.

242. Cameo, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $5\frac{7}{8}$ wide, of upright oval form, cut upon a rich oriental sardonyx of four or perhaps five strata. (Plate I.)

An imperial male head and bust in profile, facing to the left of the spectator, laurel wreathed and armed with a cuirass fronted by the *ægis*, a sword with eagle-headed hilt at his left side, and the shaft of a spear or sceptre passing over the right shoulder. The rivets with which the cuirass is fastened on either side are concealed by thunderbolts, and the leather straps, issuing from beneath, hang over the arms. Below the *ægis* is a belt or sash, tied round the waist. The grounding is of the dark brown stratum, the head and hair worked in the white, as is also the lance; the wreath in that of honey-brown colour, some of the leaves showing patches of another white stratum. The front of the cuirass is also brown, as are the highly finished feathers which surround the white Gorgon's head: the execution of these is almost equal in careful elaboration to those upon the Jupiter (No. 180); the thunderbolts are white. A raised border cut in the white stratum and capped with brown encircles the portrait, sloping on the inner and enriched with egg-and-dart moulding on the outer side. The portrait conveys the idea of a person more youthful than the original may have been at the period of its execution, the face being well filled out and devoid of lines; its expression sensual, and wanting in mental or physical activity.

The workmanship of this noble cameo is of a very high order, exhibiting a largeness and breadth of style, combined with the highest finish and accuracy in the most minute details. In these qualities it perhaps rivals the well-known Strozzi-Blacas cameo of Augustus now in the British Museum.





That it is a portrait of the Emperor Claudius, and that the execution is contemporary, I have no doubt, notwithstanding that a different judgment has been pronounced and repeated by so learned an authority as the Rev. Mr. King, but under circumstances which probably rendered its close and careful examination by him somewhat difficult.

Compared with the portraits of that emperor in the Vienna and other cameos, &c., figured by Visconti in the *Iconographie Romaine*, vol. ii. pl. 29, and elsewhere, the features would appear to be of an earlier period of life, indeed we can hardly imagine Claudius to have had so youthful an aspect when he had imperial "honours thrust upon him" at the age of 51. But the same allowance must be made for artistic flattery, and we know the effeminate and voluptuous nature of his life and pusillanimous character, which would tend to mollify rather than harden features not otherwise wanting in regularity and beauty. Moreover we may gather from the description by Suetonius,* that he was moderately stout, having a thick neck, his complexion and his hair pallid or colourless; but that he was not wanting in some dignity of bearing when standing or seated. These characteristics are admirably rendered in this cameo.

Mr. King in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. p. 312, states it to be "an easily recognised portrait of Constantius II."^b He notices that the *egis* is covered with eagle's feathers in lieu of scales, and the delicate execution of the Gorgon's head; but he writes, "the face is without much character, and may belong to any of the sons of Constantine;" and, "here, as in all works of the far-advanced decline, the artist has expended his chief pains upon the accessories," &c.

In venturing to differ from so erudite a writer on antique gems, I would suggest that some of his remarks would seem to be contradictory in themselves; no such important work of the "lower imperial period," with which I am acquainted, exhibits, as this does, that large character and breadth of treatment combined with so careful a finish and highly artistic management of the hair and other details, among which the Medusa's head is, as Mr. King writes, "in itself a perfect gem for delicate execution." If so, it can hardly be "of the far advanced decline," such as the well-known and comparatively barbarous works of the period of the sons of Constantine, nor this grand cameo "an easily recognised portrait of Constantius II." Mr. Robinson, on the other hand, remarks, "The admirable style of art displayed in the noble cameo renders it one of the most important works of the kind now extant;" an opinion in which I fully agree.

* Suet. cap. xxx.

^b An opinion repeated by Mr. King in the second edition of his *Antique Gems and Rings*, 1872.

Being therefore accepted upon its own evidence as without doubt a work of the first century, we need not look for the original among Constantine's sons, but rather to the members of the family of Augustus, whose features it, in a weak degree, recalls. A glance over their portraits fixes attention only to that of the grand nephew to Augustus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, the son of the elder Drusus by Antonia, and brother of Germanicus.

Compared with the heads upon the coins of Claudius, there is a similarity, but with some difference, the nose being more aquiline upon the gem; but we must bear in mind that upon the coins of that period the heads were more or less idealized, and modelled after a Greek type of the features of Augustus, a habit which prevailed to a greater or less extent even to the time of Vitellius. The cameo, however, greatly resembles the laureated head upon the medal figured by Mongez in the *Iconog. Rom.* pl. xxvii. No. 5, around which is the legend *Tiberius CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVGustus Pontifex Maximus TRibunitia Potestate IMPerator*.

The bronze bust in the Louvre, figured on the same plate in that work, differs from the cameo in the more pointed extremity of the nose; the unfortunate fracture of the latter has slightly chipped that feature, enough perhaps to have rendered this difference more apparent. The bust is that of an older man. The cameo occupies an intermediate place in point of resemblance between this bronze and the colossal head of the deified Claudius in Spain, and figured in the same plate; both differ from and both resemble it. The statue in the Lateran is also of his more advanced period in life, but not without considerable resemblance to the head upon the cameo. There is also a bust of Claudius in the British Museum.

We next turn to the cameos which are figured on plate 29 of the work of Mongez. The first of these is believed to represent Claudius and Messalina, with their two children Octavia and Britannicus, drawn in a triumphal car by two centaurs, and believed by the Chevalier Mongez to figure the triumph of Claudius over the Britons. It is a work of inferior merit, perhaps of local origin, but ascribed to a period shortly after the event represented. In this the features of Claudius more nearly approach in character to those of Augustus. We can gather but little from the portion of a second cameo figured on the same plate, the heads being all in full face; but on the third there delineated, the well-known gem in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, we have on its right side the profile bust of Claudius (about which most antiquaries are agreed) accompanied by Messalina or Agrippina, and facing those of two younger persons, variously described as Britannicus and Octavia, or Germanicus and the elder Agrippina, and by Eckhel as the elder

Drusus and Antonia. In this cameo the head of Claudius faces to the right of the spectator, and is crowned with a chaplet of oak; the features are less plump; lines upon the cheek and around the mouth denote a more advanced age than on the Queen's gem. The general character of the face is however very similar, and the style of the hair round the back of the neck, &c. quite agrees.

Other gems of less importance, believed to represent Claudius, exist in cabinets. Three are in the Marlborough (Arundel) Collection. Perhaps the most important of these is that numbered 422; on a fine sardonyx the bust of Claudius, oak-wreathed and wearing the *ægis*, looking to the left of the spectator. This portrait bears a strong affinity to that on the Queen's gem, but represents the Emperor at a later period of his life, in this respect approaching more nearly to the cameo at Vienna. A photograph of it may be seen on pl. xiv. of Mr. Soden Smith's catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Jewellery in 1872 at the South Kensington Museum.

Bearing more or less a general resemblance to each of these various portraits, we can come to no other conclusion than that this grand cameo must represent Claudius, either at the period when, associated with Caligula in the consulate (A.U. 793), he was nominated to the office of *sacerdos*, and may be here portrayed in the assumed quality of the Latin Jupiter; or shortly after the time when, thrust trembling into power by the pretorians, he became Emperor in the forty-first year of our era.

This cameo came into the Royal Collection in the time of King Charles I. but whence we know not. It is entered in Van der Doort's catalogue of that unfortunate monarch's collection as, "Imprimis, a large oval cracked and mended agate stone of four colours, one on the top of another, first brown and then white and brown again and then white; wherein is cut an emperor's head in a laurel, side-faced; kept in a leather case; which agate the King had when he was prince."

There is a note on the margin which further states, "This was cracked and broken in former time by the Lady Somerset, when her husband was Lord Chamberlain."^a Except for the effects of this unhappy accident, by which it was broken into eleven pieces, the work is in a perfectly genuine and original condition. A small piece is wanting from behind the neck, as are also the bows of the ribbon which secures the laurel chaplet, and some other less important fragments, together with a portion of the surrounding raised edge. It is now cemented together and framed in a gilt metal cording and edge.

^a Robert Earl of Somerset was Lord Chamberlain from 1613 to 1615.

279. Intaglio on a circular and convex oriental onyx of brown and white strata. Total diameter 11 lines. One of the Dioscuri; the star on the head, a spear in the left hand, the horse at his side. Good antique work, in the original gold mounting as a circular pendant, with loop for suspension to a neck-chain; it is backed with gold, and has a beaded edging.

This is another interesting instance of the use to which some of the larger antique intaglios were applied by the Roman jewellers.

30. Cameo; oval; onyx of four strata, red, white, red, and white. Height 7 lines; width $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines. A warrior kneeling, with lance over the right shoulder; the Gorgon on his shield; probably antique work of the latter end of the third century.

16. Cameo; upright oval; sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, greyish white, and rich brown; a fine stone. Height $17\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $14\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Female portrait in low relief to the left; probably antique Roman work of the third century, and perhaps the portrait of a queen.

It is mounted in enamelled gold-work of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century; a white corded framing with ring above for suspension and another below for a pendant drop, attached to the framing by shoulder-plates enamelled with colour.

This mounting is precisely similar to that on No. 131 of this list, and on two cameos in the Marlborough Collection, Nos. 571-8. (Maskelyne Cat.)

24. Cameo; circular; onyx of two strata, white and brown. Diameter 14 lines. (Plate III.)

A naked female seated, towards whom a small figure of a faun or satyr approaches holding a wreath in the left hand, surrounded by a raised border reserved in the stone, probably antique Roman work of the third century A.D. The setting may be English and of the seventeenth century. It consists of a gold border of embossed work enamelled with flowers; the back is decorated with double hearts surrounded by a wreath of laurel, and an unintelligible inscription: the whole forming a pretty ornament.

224. Cameo; oval; onyx of two strata, white on grey. Height 7 lines; width 9 lines.

A man and a boy gathering fruit (grapes?). Mr. King, referring to this gem, considers that the subject represents Bacchus and Ampelus. (Plate II.) Late Roman work in enamelled setting of the seventeenth century, with vine-leaves at the back.

2. Cameo; upright; oval onyx of three strata, dark brown, opaque white, and honey brown. Height 1 inch; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Head of Isis looking to the

left of the spectator. Of antique Roman art, but somewhat coarse in the execution.

15. Cameo; upright oval; sardonyx of two strata set in a ring. Height 10 lines; width 7 lines. Female bust to the left, holding ears of corn on a branch. Antique Roman, of good style, but rather coarsely executed.

234. Cameo; oval; sardonyx of two strata, white on brown. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Portrait head, to the left, laureated; perhaps of Commodus. Coarse late Roman work, not improbably colonial, in enamelled setting of the seventeenth century.

250. Cameo; oval, on *onice zaffarina* of two strata, white on blue. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 10 lines. A lion couchant to the right. A work of the later Roman period set in a ring. Mr. King refers to this gem as antique.

240. Cameo; onyx of three strata, red, white, and red. Length 9 lines; height $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines. A man in a *biga* driving to the right of the spectator.

A very spirited work, which, although not without a suspicion of Odelli, may be of the later Roman Imperial period.

34. Cameo; oblong oval; on a fine sardonyx of three strata, black, blue, and brown. Height 17 lines; width 2 inches. (Plate II.)

Two helmeted male heads facing each other, inclosed in a raised rim or border reserved in the blue stratum, in which the heads also are worked, the helmets being in the brown. The cutting is in low relief, probably colonial, of the third or may be early in the fourth century, on a magnificent *sardonico oniciato*. I agree with Mr. King in thinking it to be a work of the decadence; but whether portraits of some of the sons of Constantine is less certain. That on the left would seem to be the elder; on the helmet of the other a lion is represented in relief. At the back an *anubis-abraxas* is engraved in intaglio, surrounded by a Gnostic inscription; probably work of a later period, and very coarsely executed.

BYZANTINE, RENAISSANCE, AND MODERN WORKS.

43. Large pendent ornament (*piccia petto*) of enamelled gold, of the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is set with cameos of various periods, and is probably of Venetian workmanship. (Plate II.)

In the centre is an oblong square cameo, on onyx of two strata, white and grey in very high relief. Height 13 lines; width 20 lines.

The subject is Joseph receiving his brethren on their second visit to Egypt. It is a composition of many figures. Joseph is seated on a sort of throne; to the right before him, one kneels, holding the cup which had been found in his sack. Of the remainder, four stand surrounding; one holds the sack; the others are merely indicated by their heads seen behind the group.

The figures are cut in the white stratum of the stone, leaving the ground of a grey colour. The artistic workmanship is of a very peculiar character, having an antique sentiment, but of the late decline. It is much undercut, and is probably Byzantine of the sixth or seventh century, and, if so, a most rare and interesting example of the sculptor's art of that period.

Surrounding the central and more important stone, the enamelled gold framing is further enriched with several smaller cameos in *pietra dura*, for the most part of Venetian workmanship and of the period of the ornament. They represent negroes' heads, in some cases relieved on the white ground; three are arranged above the centre, and are surmounted by one immediately beneath the ring for suspension. Three other cameos are similarly placed on the lower side; of these the central one is of oblong oval form and probably antique workmanship, representing a Pan regarding a recumbent Venus, cut in the black stratum, whom a Cupid reveals; it is of good art, and on an onyx of three strata: on the left of this (as seen by the spectator) is a helmeted male head to the left, and on the right an imperial head to the right, while another negro is suspended from beneath. On the left side of the central piece another cameo is set, a negro—black on grey—from which again another is suspended as a drop; and on the right, to correspond, is an imperial head to the left, which may be an antique retouched, and from which another drop is hanging, set with a negro's head, as on the other side. The back is enamelled in the centre with foliated sprays in black upon the gold, while on either side a dragon is emerging from a cornucopia; strap-work and other ornaments cover the remainder of the framing.

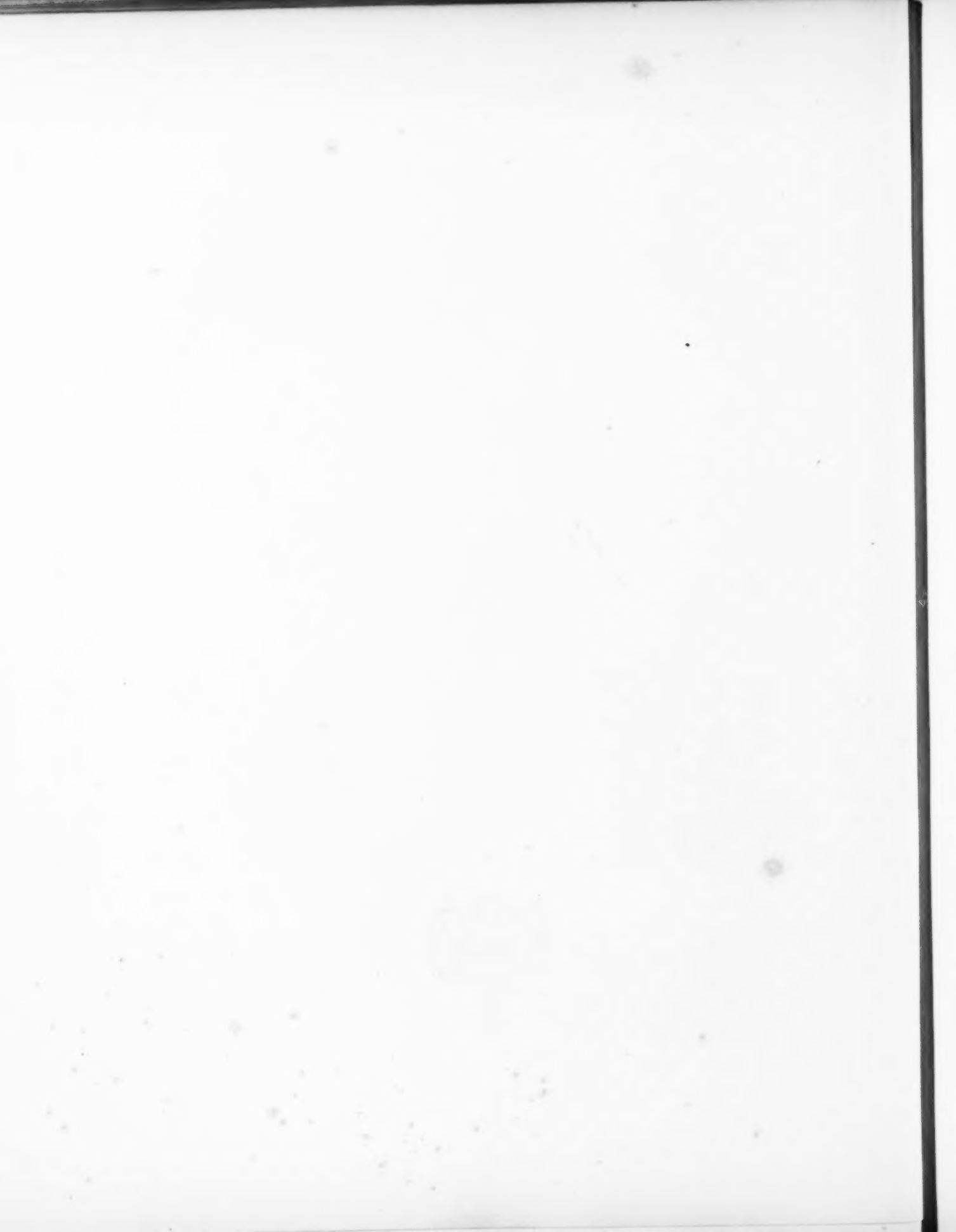
This noble jewel, remarkable in itself from its unusual size, being $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, is still more so from the rare cameo which forms its central enrichment.

210. Cameo; oriental onyx of two strata, black and white; St. George and the Dragon, riding to the right, with his name in Greek letters. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $7\frac{1}{4}$ lines. (Plate II.)

Byzantine work of the tenth or eleventh century.

241. Cameo; on a ruby of pale colour and clear lustre. About 8 lines high by 6 lines wide. Portrait of Louis XII of France, crowned, head to the right.





This is a remarkable and rare work of the latter end of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century. Mr. King considers it may be the earliest known Renaissance portrait in cameo on so hard a stone, and with considerable probability ascribes it to Domenico dei Camei, who executed the portrait of Ludovico il Moro on the same material.



CAMEO. LOUIS XII.
Double size linear.

It is mounted in a modern setting of gold as a ring, enamelled with *fleurs-de-lis* on the shoulders; on the gold plate at the back of the bezel is engraven the inscription "*Loys XII^{me} Roy de France décéda 1 Janvier, 1515.*"

The gold casing or rim, with claws holding the stone, is old, and it would seem that a more ancient mounting, made however subsequently to a chip on the edge of the stone, had been injured or altered and in part grafted upon an enamelled setting, that is manifestly of modern workmanship and in very bad taste.

46. A fine Italian pendent ornament (*piccia petto*) of the best artistic period of the sixteenth century, and probably of Florentine workmanship. (Plate III.)

It consists of an enamelled gold framing to a central oval medallion. The original of this has been replaced by a male head in cameo, looking to the right of the beholder, on an onyx of two strata, clear and opaque brown; it is of more recent workmanship, the setting of which appears to be of the latter end of the eighteenth century or even later.

This cameo, in the mock classic style, without head covering, but with drapery fastened on the shoulder, bears no sort of resemblance to the well-known portrait of Francis I. as has been suggested.

The three pendent gems beneath are also, unfortunately, additions of the same period to replace others. That in the middle is a modern cameo of the Blessed Virgin, on turquoise, on each side of which is an inferior one of the eighteenth century, set round respectively with rubies and emeralds, and which have been the bezels or tables cut from finger-rings of that period.

It is desirable that these unsightly hangers should be removed, retaining, perhaps, the central medallion, as also the pendent pearls.

On the enamelled gold framing, at the sides, are figures of Cupid and Mars; another cupid or *amorino* is flying above the central medallion, and beneath is a sea-monster. Pendent pearls, table diamonds, and rubies enrich other parts, while at the back, occupying the whole of the centre, are enamelled figures in bold relief of Apollo and Daphne, having a *cartouche* inscribed *DAPHNEM. PHEBUS. AMAT*; on other labels are names of the figures on the front, *CVPID. FEBVS. &c.*

In respect to workmanship this is one of the finest ornamental jewels of the

best period of the *cinque-cento* (unfortunately not intact), and is an admirable example of the goldsmith's and enameller's skill and of artistic design at that period.

Mr. King refers to this pendant in his paper in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xviii. p. 309),^a and singularly enough concluded that the central cameo and those hanging from beneath are of the same period as the ornament itself. He considers the first to be "an excellent profile head of Francis I." of France, and strangely confirms that idea by describing the sea-monster beneath as a "salamander." He overlooked the fact that this cameo is in a recent "casing" or mounting, and is an addition of the last century, or even of more modern time, and that the creature is an imaginary marine and not an igneous monster. He also speaks of the pendent cameos beneath as "works of the same age" (as the ornament), "the best a veiled head of Ceres on a large and fine turquoise."

These errors in Mr. King's judgment could only have arisen from the disadvantageous circumstances under which he must have examined the jewel.

Its total length is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, width about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

74. A "George." The group of St. George and the Dragon riding to the right is in *ronde bosse*, and formed of finely chased and enamelled gold in a circular surrounding; the figure of the princess is seen kneeling in the background. On the back is green enamel. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. (Plate III.)

Probably German work of the early half of the sixteenth century.

It is now inclosed under glass in a gilt and enamelled box framing of the period of George IV., which is made to open, and is surrounded by the garter and motto in blue enamel.

131. Double cameo, on an oriental onyx of three strata, dark brown, blue, and rich golden brown; oval. Height of stone 2 inches. Width $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. On the dark stratum a negro's head, three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator. It is worked in a sort of *intaglio rilevato*, a surrounding rim being left of the same depth as the most prominent part of the head. The flesh is without, but the eyes are strongly marked by having a high, polish. He wears a cuirass, and ear-rings are in the ears.

On the other side is a female bust in profile, also looking to the right, carved in the blue layer on the darker ground; she wears a wreath of vine-leaves, which, together with the more prominent portion of the dress, is executed in the rich honey-brown stratum of the stone. There is something in the execution of this head that gives rise to the suspicion that it may have been an antique, injured and again worked over. It is mounted as a pendant in white enamelled and gold framing with loop attachments picked out in red, that above having a ring for

^a See also "Antique Gems and Rings," 2d ed. 1872, p. 323.



suspension, the lower one probably for a hanging pearl, which has been removed. This mounting is precisely similar to that of No. 16 of this collection, and to that of Nos. 578 (Arundel) and 571 (Besborough) in the Marlborough Cabinet (Maskelyne Cat.), and in all probability of about the same period as the negro cameo which it surrounds. The gem is of admirable execution, and might with reasonable probability be ascribed to the same period, and perhaps to the same artist, as the fine portrait of Elizabeth.

73. Pendant, in enamelled gold; setting a *baroque* or monster pearl, which forms the body of a mermaid. She holds a mirror in the left hand and is dressing her hair with a comb held in the right. The tail is set with rubies on green enamel.

The figure is suspended by two chains to an ornamental flower with ring above. A mother-o'-pearl mask hanging over the figure and three pendent pearls below having diamond shoulders are modern additions. The former ought to be removed. (Plate III.)

This is a fine Italian jewel of the sixteenth century.

158. Ring of enamelled gold set with a cameo on garnet, a mask or bacchic head of fine contemporary work.

The enamelling and goldsmith's work are also of great excellence. A hole at the base of the hoop, with internal screw-worm, was probably fitted with a squirt by which liquids could be projected through another hole in the mouth of the mask. This might have been a toy used by bluff King Hal in his merry mood.

91. Cameo; oriental onyx of brown on a clear stratum. Height 10 lines; width 8 lines. Head of the Saviour in full face.

A "Veronica" or "Volto Santo." Fine work of the sixteenth century.

94. Cameo; large oblong oval agate of three strata, brown, opaque white, and clear brown. Height 1 inch 4 lines; width $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Adoration of the Magi. (Plate III.)

A minutely executed work of high finish, of the earlier half or middle of the sixteenth century, perhaps the work of Matteo del Nazzaro; or possibly of Dominicus Romanus, who executed the cameo in the Florentine collection, representing the entrance into Siena of Cosimo I. The elaboration of the figures, which are deeply undercut, and the adaptation to the strata of the stone, are worthy of note.

265. Cameo; on a fine, nearly circular, sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, white, and golden brown. Height 1 inch $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 1 inch $4\frac{1}{2}$ lines. (Plate IV.)

A portrait of Henry VIII. in cap and feather, within a raised border; three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator. He wears a slashed doublet. It is in the original simple gold setting as a pendant, and was probably cut by the same hand as No. 285.

285. Cameo; long oval. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width 3 inches 1 line. (Plate IV.) On a splendid oriental sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, bluish white, and clear honey brown. Portraits of Henry VIII. and of his child Edward VI.; the former three-quarter face, looking to the right of the spectator and towards the young Edward, on whose left shoulder his right hand is placed; the latter, in full face, wears a baby's cap, holding a flower in his right hand. Henry is richly dressed in slashed doublet, cap, and feather; these, except the feather, which is in the white, are worked in the honey-brown stratum, as also the beard, the child's hair, and a ring upon Henry's first finger. The faces and hands are in the white, as also the slashes of the doublet. The grounding is on the dark stratum, and a raised surrounding border is reserved in the stone capped with the upper brown layer.

On the reverse is an unfinished intaglio following the outlines of the cameo, except that the child's cap is similar in form to that of the father, but without feather, and the boy's head looks older.

Mr. King suggests that the intaglio at the back may have been cut in order to give light through the stone, but it does not render the stone translucent, and it is remarkable that the child's cap should differ in form from that in the cameo. He refers to a similar example in the portrait of Edward VI., which is one among the Devonshire gems (in the necklace, No. 48), and suggests that these and other similar works may have been executed from portraits by Holbein, &c., sent to Italy, and there worked in cameo by "the Vincentino, or Nazaro, then in the height of his reputation" (*Archæological Journal*, xviii. p. 309).

There can be no doubt that it is by the same artist as No. 265.

251. Cameo; onyx of dark brown and blue-white strata; a portrait on nicolo of a man, three-quarter face, wearing a high conical hat with feather in front, turn-down collar, and a circular pendent jewel or medal. Height 8 lines; width 7 lines. (Plate IV.)

The execution of this portrait (which may be intended for Sydney or Essex), although differing from the singularly low-relief of those of Henry VIII., has much about it that would lead to the supposition that it may be a later work by the same hand.



251



263



252



262



267



255



256



264



285

255. Cameo, on a fine oval oriental sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, white, and brown. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; width 1 inch $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines. (Plate IV.)

Portrait bust of Queen Elizabeth looking to the left of the spectator, surrounded by a raised border; the hair and part of the dress in the upper brown layer, the flesh in the white. It is mounted in a thin enamelled gold edging.

A fine work of the time of Elizabeth, and probably by the same hand as Nos. 263 and 284.

284. Cameo on oriental onyx of two strata, oval. Height 1 inch 7 lines; width 1 inch 5 lines. (Plate IV.)

Portrait of Queen Elizabeth(?), also looking to the left, in a raised border; the dress is diapered. An unfinished work.

The outline of the features and the expression of this head differ considerably from those of the other portrait cameos of Elizabeth, as far as one can judge from so unfinished a work. The question has indeed arisen as to whether this may not have been commenced as a portrait of Mary, and perhaps left incomplete by the artist, who, from circumstances political or religious, may have absented himself from the country, or lost court patronage. His work is lost sight of during that Queen's reign, to be again resumed under Elizabeth.

263. Cameo; oval, on a superb oriental sardonyx of three strata, dark brown, grey, and honey brown. Height 2 inches $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 2 inches. (Plate IV.)

Bust portrait of Queen Elizabeth looking to the left of the beholder, within a raised border.

The ground is of the dark layer; the flesh, portion of the head-dress, the frill, and boddice, in the white; the hair, edge of the frill, ornaments, puffed sleeves, and stomacher, in the upper brown. It is mounted in a simple gold edging with claws.

This admirable work is in a large style, combined with most minute execution of the details, and is probably by the same hand as the two preceding cameos.

Unfortunately we are left without any positive information as to the name and country of this excellent artist, no signed specimen or sufficiently definite historical record being known to us.

A comparison of all the cameos represented on Plate IV. leads, as I think, to the following inference: First, that the portraits of Philip and Magarita are certainly not by the same hand as those of Henry or Elizabeth; if therefore the former (as is not improbable) are the work of Jacopo da Trezzo, the latter are certainly not by him.

There is considerable difference in the treatment of the portraits of Henry VIII.

and those of Elizabeth, enough to give rise to the suspicion of another hand, may be master and pupil—if so, the latter the more able; or the difference may, as I suspect, only arise from a modification and improvement in manner consequent upon longer practice of his art. We must, moreover, bear in mind that the earlier works are nearly in full face, those of Elizabeth in profile, which would permit of a more ready exhibition of a higher relief.

Walpole's idea that Valerio Belli (Vicentino) was their author is refuted by the difference of his manner, and the fact that he died in 1546, twelve years before Elizabeth's accession. The same reasons apply to Giovanni del Castel Bolognese. Mr. King suggests that the Henry VIII. may be by Luca Penni. Why not, with equal probability, Jacobus Thronus, who, Gori tells us, cut the arms of Mary of England upon a diamond about 1557? (*Hist. Dact.* p. 180.)

But Coldoré is supposed to have a stronger claim, although I fear he lived too late to have executed the portraits of Henry and Edward, assuming them to be contemporary. The latter was born in 1537, and is represented upon our cameo at somewhat under three years old; Coldoré's head of Henry IV. on ruby is dated 1590, half a century later; the sapphire in the Leturcq Collection (recently dispersed by public sale at Messrs. Sotheby's), engraved by him with portraits of Henry IV. and Marie di Médicis, face to face, is signed "Coldoré," and dated "1605;" and Mariette tells us that he worked for Louis XIII., who did not reign till 1610. Assuming, therefore, that Coldoré cut the gem of Henry and Edward when twenty years of age, he would have been ninety when Louis XIII. came to the throne of France.

It is believed that he was invited to England by Elizabeth, and Mariette ascribes to him, without doubt, the portrait of that Queen in the Orleans Collection. It is moreover possible that the portraits of Henry and his children may have been executed from designs taken at an earlier period, and that this, and the fact of his being a younger artist, may account for their differing in manner from those of Elizabeth, which he could have modelled from the life at a later date. We may however, as I believe, look nearer home for the engraver of the portraits of Henry VIII. and of Edward. At page 108 of the first volume of Mr. Wornum's edition of "*Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England*" (Lond. 1849), we read: "John Mustyan, born at Enguien, is recorded as Henry's arras-maker; John de Mayne as his seal graver; and *Richard Atsyll as his graver of stones*;" while a note at the foot of the page tells us that "Hillyard (the same person, probably, of whom more hereafter) cut the images of Henry VIII. and his children on a sardonyx, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The

Earl of Exeter has such another. Lady Mary Wortley had the head of the same king on a little stone in a ring; cameo on one side, and intaglio on the other." A second note to Atsyll states, "with a fee of 20*l.* a-year."

There must however be some confusion here, for Nicholas Hilliard, the limner, the person "probably" referred to, was not born until the year 1547, in which year Henry VIII. died. Nor have we any record of engraved stones or cameos worked by that able miniature painter and goldsmith. I suspect therefore that this statement of Walpole's must have been in error, and that the real author of these portraits of Henry and of Edward was no other than Richard Atsyll, the King's graver of stones. Walpole's inaccuracy is further shown when writing of Valerio Vicentino, at pages 188-9 of the same volume, to whose hand he ascribes some of the portraits in cameo of Elizabeth; and where he states that "The Duke of Devonshire has several of his works, two profiles in cameo of Queen Elizabeth, another gem with the head of Edward VI., cameo on one side and intaglio on the other," a characteristic which at once points to the same artist as he who cut the Henry and Edward in Her Majesty's collection. I have already shown that *il Vicentino* could not have engraved the cameos of Elizabeth, having died twelve years before that Queen's accession.

Of Atsyll we hear further that he was continued in the royal service under Edward VI., for, among the accounts of the Royal Household in the Trevelyan Papers, published by the Camden Society in 1857, in vol. i. p. 195, we read, "Item to Richard Atzell, graver of stones, C^s." or five pounds, a quarter's salary; and similar payments are entered in December of the second year of Edward VI., and in March and Midsummer of the third year of Edward VI. (Vol. ii. pp. 18, 25, 31.)

From this time to the accession of Elizabeth a period of only eight years passes, but during which I have been unable to find any further note of Atsyll or Atzell, nor am I aware of any royal portraits attributable to the same hand.* It is not unreasonable to suppose that during this interval, if still living, he may willingly or otherwise have retired from office under the Crown, and developed his artistic style into that shown in such perfection on the larger portrait of Elizabeth in the Royal Collection. May he not have taken refuge abroad from the persecutions and troubles of Mary's reign, improving his art under the guidance of some Italian or French engraver?

All these cameos represent Elizabeth when young and within a few years after

* His name is not referred to among the new year's gifts offered to Philip and Mary in 1556.

her accession. Some fifteen or more are known; but an interesting entry, which would account for their being so numerous, is to be found in Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth* (i. 282), where, accompanying the description of her visit to Hunsdon House in 1571, is an engraving, copied from Vertue, showing the Queen in procession surrounded by her Knights of the Garter. Conspicuous among these, according to Vertue, are Dudley Earl of Leicester, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Burghley, Charles Howard, Admiral (afterwards Lord) Nottingham, Lord Clinton, Lord Russell, and Lord Sussex—seven in all then present—"each of them having a ribband about his neck with a small gem or intaglio^a appended to it; thereon a profile of her Majesty's countenance; which additional ornament, it is conjectured, was designed to represent these noblemen to be the Queen's favourites." It is probably one of such that is noticeable on the cameo portrait No. 251.

In an interesting paper by Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., published in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 131, it is shown that the painting referred to as representing Queen Elizabeth's visit to Hunsdon House in 1571, according to the statement of Vertue, is wrongly so described; the occasion depicted being her Majesty's procession to Blackfriars, to celebrate the marriage of Anne daughter of John Lord Russell with Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, on the 16th June, 1600. And further, that six of the noblemen represented as being Knights of the Garter, and who are also decorated with a medallion of the Queen, are Edward fourth Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom; the Lord High Admiral, Charles Earl of Nottingham; George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain; Henry Brooke, sixth Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports; George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; and Thomas, first Lord Howard of Walden, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, Constable of the Tower; and not those named by Vertue, as above. The seventh Garter is not noticed by Mr. Scharf: he is seen in the picture behind, and between Nottingham and Cobham. I have not however been able to discover any entries of payments made to any "graver of stones," neither to Atsill nor Coldoré, nor to her jewellers, John Spilman nor Peter Trender, for any of these portrait gems, nor are they recorded among presents made by her Majesty.

Among gifts offered to her Majesty, may be noted in 1581, "By eight maskers in Christmas weeke;" "A flower of golde garnished with sparcks of diamonds, rubyes, and ophales, with an agate of her Majestis phisnamy, and a perle pendants, with devices painted in it."^b And in the list of the Queen's wardrobe in

^a I suspect this word has been somewhat inaccurately applied.

^b Nichols's *Progresses*, vol. ii. p. 389.

1600 we find, among objects received by Sir Thos. Gorges, Knight, of Mrs. Mary Radcliffe, "Item, one jewele of golde like a dasye, and small flowers aboute it, garnished with sparks of diamondes and rubies, with her Majesties picture graven within a garnet, and a sprigge of three branches, garnished with sparks of rubies, one perle in the topp, and a small pendaunte of sparks of diamondes."^a

This fine series of royal cameos in Her Majesty's cabinet is unrivalled, the four gems of like character in the Devonshire *parure* being relatively of minor importance; two of these portray Elizabeth, another the young Edward, already referred to, and the fourth a group of Henry VIII., with Mary, Edward, and Elizabeth. A similar quadruple cameo is, as I learn, in the possession of Captain Peel. The Hawkins collection contains one of Elizabeth; one belonged to Mr. Webb. The fine cameo of Elizabeth (ascribed by Gori to Colderé) of the Orleans collection^b is now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, where, as I am informed, are also some other cameo portraits of that Queen. One is in the Royal Collection at the Hague; this, like all the rest, in showing the left side of the face, has the hair and head-dress, as also the ruff, in very high relief; and another, a three-quarter length figure, is in the South Kensington Museum. I am disposed to regard these two last as of later date than those in the Royal and Devonshire collections.

Three are in the Bibliothèque at Paris, thus described by Chabouillet: "No. 371. Elizabeth reine d'Angleterre. Buste. Sardonyx à 3 couches. H. 55 mill. L. 40 mill. Monture en or. Nous attribuons ce beau camée à Julien de Fontenay, dit Colderé, graveur sur pierres fines et valet de chambre de Henri IV." He then repeats, and accepts as probable, Mariette's tradition, that Colderé had been invited to England to take the Queen's portrait in cameo, he being then unrivalled in that art. "No. 372. Elizabeth reine d'Angleterre. Buste. Sardonyx 3 couches; monture en or émaille, ornée de rubis;" and "No. 373. Elizabeth reine d'Angleterre. Buste. Sardonyx à 3 couches."

Two are at Vienna, described by Arneth,^c p. 102, taf. ii. 22, and taf. v. One of these, which I well recollect as a magnificent work, he considers finer than that in the Bibliothèque at Paris, or the Orleans gem.

He also repeats the story that Colderé was sent to England by Henri IV. to

^a Nichols's *Progresses*, vol. iii. p. 512.

^b Vol. ii. pl. 74, p. 139.

^c For a cast of this gem, and for other valuable information, I am indebted to our Director, Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S.

^d Cat. des Camées, &c. de la Bib. Imp. Paris.

^e Arneth, Joseph von, die Cinque Cento Cameen, &c. im K. K. Münz und Antiken Cabinet zu Wien.

take the Queen's portrait. The fatal ring given by Elizabeth to Essex, now belonging to Lord John Thynne, is set with a cameo of that Queen, not on onyx, but cut upon a garnet. Another portrait in cameo on turquoise is set in a pendant belonging to Miss Elizabeth Wild, in whose family it has been preserved since its gift by Elizabeth, as a christening present to its first owner.

Another portrait cameo of Queen Elizabeth, on an onyx of opaque white and brownish yellow, of similar general character, but rather coarse workmanship, was recently sold at Messrs. Christie and Manson's. It was mounted as a pendant in enamelled gold set with stones and of modern French workmanship. (May, 1874.)

205. Cameo on white and clear grey agate. Height 9 lines; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (Plate IV.)

Portrait bust of Philip II., looking to the left. A fine work of his time, perhaps by the same hand as No. 266, but not so highly elaborated.

266. Cameo; oval: oriental onyx of three layers; clear, opaque white, and brown. Height 1 inch $8\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. (Plate IV.)

Bust of Philip II. looking to the left of the spectator, in armour and with a mantle, which, falling from the shoulder, is worked in the brown stratum. The head is bare, the flesh in the white stratum, and polished. Van der Doort, in his catalogue, describes what is in all likelihood the same stone as having been given to Charles I. in 1637.^a

This is clearly by another hand than that which worked the portraits of Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth. Mr. King ascribes it, and not without probability, to Jacopo da Trezzo, and as by the same as "the more important one, No. 200 Besborough gems." He also refers another cameo on yellow crystal (No. 366 Arundel) to that artist, a portrait of Philip, or of his son Don Carlos. In the South Kensington Museum is a fine cameo of Philip II. seemingly by the same hand. Another is in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna;^b and another in the Bibliothèque at Paris.^c There are three in the Florentine Collection.

287. Cameo; oval; white on grey onyx. Height 1 inch 5 lines; width 1 inch 1 line. (Plate IV.)

^a "Item: Another agate stone of King Philip of Spain, the head being white, the breast brownish, and the ground transparent like to a glass; delivered to me by the King." "Given to the King, 1637."

^b Arnet, *die Cinque Cento Cameen*, &c. taf. 1, 82, p. 60.

^c Chabouillet, *Cat.* p. 71. No. 370. Philippe II. Roi d'Espagne. Buste. Onyx à 2 couches. H. 36 mill.: L. 25.

Female portrait looking to the left of the beholder; a highly elaborated and beautiful work of the sixteenth century, ascribed by Gori to Giovanni Bernardi, "Jo: del Castro Bononiensis," and to be the portrait of Margarita of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V., the wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Governor of the Netherlands. She is young and beautiful; her hair in plaited bands crossing each other and intertwined with strings of pearls. She wears a dress with a high collar, turned back, and puffed sleeves; a frill is about her neck, and a double row of pearls over her dress, which is richly braided. This cameo is engraved in the *Dactyliothea Smithiana*, under No. C., and may probably be the stone referred to by Vasari, in his notice of Giovanni di Castel Bolognese, stating that he executed this work in competition with Valerio Vicentino.

58. Cameo; oval; onyx of three strata, grey and brown. Height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; width 11 lines. Bust of Pallas to the right.

Good work of the sixteenth century; in enamelled setting of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

236. Cameo; onyx of two strata, clear grey and white. Height 1 inch $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 1 inch. Two portraits (?), that of a man on the white stratum, and of a negress on the grey.

Good work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, probably Venetian.

47. Cameo; oval; white opaque agate on a clear stratum. Height 7 lines; width $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Cupid, Amphitrite, and a dolphin.

Fine work of the later years of the sixteenth century.

41. Cameo; oval; portrait; female bust, to the right; the head in carnelian with drapery of amethyst. Total height 1 inch $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 1 inch $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines. The crown jewelled and with black enamelling; the framing of gold, with black enamel; at the back strap-work ornamentation in coloured translucent enamel; sixteenth century.

45. Cameo; oval; onyx of two strata, white and grey. Height 10 lines; width 8 lines. The full face of a bacchic boy.

Fine work of the sixteenth century.

36. Cameo; agate of three strata, red, yellow, and brown. Height 14 lines; width 11 lines. The Virgin and Child, with St. Anna: mounted in an enamelled gold setting of the latter end of the sixteenth century, and forming a pretty ornament.

226. Double cameo; oriental onyx of three strata. Height 10 lines; width 8 lines. A very fine stone.

On one side the head of Otho, to the right; on the other, in the white stratum, Vespasian, also to the right.

Good work of the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, in enamelled mounting.

231. Intaglio on oriental agate. Height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; width 1 inch. Head of Massinissa (?), to the left, wearing a helmet, which is ornamented with a *biga* and a hound. Behind the head is a figure of Venus. A copy from the Barberini gem, of Carthaginian Greek work, known as Massinissa, but which Mr. King suggests may represent Hamilcar Barcas.

Fine work, of the latter end of the sixteenth or earlier years of the seventeenth century, after the antique. It is mounted in a silver setting of the eighteenth century, enriched with emeralds, pearls, and rose diamonds.

288. Cameo; white and grey agate. A crowned male head to the right, probably a portrait, in a pretty enamelled gold setting of the same period as the cameo, viz., the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

199. Cameo; fine oriental onyx, brown and white. Height 13 lines; width $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines. An Imperial bust in armour, to the left.

Good work of the later sixteenth or earlier seventeenth century.

56. Cameo; opaque white and clear grey agate. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 13 lines. The triumph of Ariadne.

Fine work of the end of the sixteenth or earlier years of the seventeenth century, in a neat gold setting of the eighteenth.

169. Cameo, on white and grey agate; oval. Height 13 lines; width 11 lines. Head of Antoninus Pius, to the left.

Early and fine work of the seventeenth century.

222. Cameo, on a long oval white and grey agate. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 13 lines. Set in a ring. Neptune in a car drawn by sea-horses. (Plate II.)

Admirable highly-finished work of the seventeenth century, in the spirit and after the manner of Bernini.

235. Cameo; white and grey agate. Height half an inch; width $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Set in a ring. Jupiter on an eagle.

In the manner of, and perhaps by the same hand as, No. 222, after the school of Bernini, and of the seventeenth century. I cannot agree with Mr. King, who considers this to be an antique work.

96. Cameo; opaque white and clear agate. Head of a man crying or gaping; of irregular form, about 1 inch in average diameter.

A highly-finished work, probably of the earlier half of the seventeenth century.

This is one of Consul Smith's series, and figured in the *Dactyliotheca*, plate xiii., where it is stated to represent a Typhon, and similar to one on heliotrope in the Medici Cabinet.

148. Cameo, on a white and clear grey agate. Height 1 inch 2 lines; width $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Venus, Adonis, and Cupid.

A fine work of the seventeenth century in very high relief.

155. Cameo; agate; white stratum on black. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 6 lines. Female head, to the right. Set as a pendant.

Pretty work of the seventeenth century. From Consul Smith's Collection, figured on plate xix. It is described by him as a "Baccha."

26. A badge or order of the Knights of Malta (?), or more probably of Mount Carmel or St. Lazarus, formed of a plate of gold shaped and enamelled. Diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On the convex face is the Maltese cross in white enamel on a blue ground, with a border of flowers. On the reverse, which is concave, is a central sunk medallion of the Holy Family, surrounded by a border of flowers, in scale-shaped sunken panels edged with gold.

The painting is carefully executed, and may, perhaps, be Spanish work of the seventeenth century.

Two similar badges in the South Kensington Museum have for subject, on one St. John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness; on the other, the Holy Family with Joseph and the infant St. John. They are by the same hand.

Another, belonging to the Countess Somers, has St. Peter and other saints.

And again another was in the possession of Signor Castellani, with the subject of St. Francis, with views of buildings, &c., at the back.

134. Pendent ornament of enamelled gold, enriched with diamonds, pearls, and rubies, and formed as a pelican "in her piety" in front of a cross set with diamonds. It is suspended by two chains from a jewelled top, to which the ring is attached. Total length about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width 1 inch 4 lines. (Plate III.)

Probably Spanish or Portuguese work of the seventeenth century.

98. The Seal of King Charles I. when Prince of Wales, cut on a crystal and set in pale blue enamelled gold, diapered with delicate black ornaments. The quarterings are those of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, with a label surmounted by the princely crown, with the letters C. R.

141. The Signet Ring of King Charles I. when Prince of Wales.

A large shield-shaped diamond of fine lustre, engraved in intaglio with the Prince of Wales's feathers between the letters C. P., and issuing from a coronet;



SIGNET.
Double size linear.

beneath is a ribbon which bears the motto *ICH . DIEN*. It is set as a ring in enamelled gold, painted behind the bezel with a bow and quiver crossed saltirewise on the dark blue ground. The hoop has a simple edging. (See woodcut)

This is an extremely elegant and remarkable ring. The engraving on the diamond is executed with great precision, and is deeply cut.

Following the accepted opinion, which was confirmed by Mr. King, I had assumed that this ring was the signet of Charles the Second when Prince of Wales. A little reflection and comparison of dates might, however, have raised some doubt, for when we recollect that the Prince was only nineteen at the date of his father's execution, and the troubled times and impoverished circumstances of the King for years before, it would hardly seem probable that so costly a gem would have been cut for the young Prince's use. That it was the signet used by Charles I. when Prince of Wales is proved by the fact that it seals an autograph letter of his in the possession of the late Mr. Labouchere of Paris. A cast from this was given by Dr. Kendrick of Warrington to the late Mr. Albert Way, and is now in the possession of Mr. Franks.

The art of engraving on the diamond has been ascribed to more than one of the *Renaissance* sculptors, Jacopo da Trezzo, or "Treccia," being, according to Goriæus, the discoverer. Clemente Birago, of Milan, is another claimant; he engraved a portrait of Don Carlos, and the Spanish arms on a diamond, as a seal. The former is said to have cut the arms of Philip II. on the same hard material. In England, about 1557, Jacobus Thronus is said by Gori to have engraved Queen Mary's arms. I should have, however, little hesitation in ascribing Prince Charles's ring to Francis Walwyn, who, in 1628 or 1629, engraved a diamond for King Charles I.*

132. The Signet Ring of King Charles I.

A richly ornamented gold hoop, on the shoulders of which are a lion and unicorn of carved steel chiselled in high relief. The bezel is faced with steel and engraved with the Royal arms; quartering, first and fourth, France and England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; encircled by the garter, and surmounted by the crown between the letters *C. R.*

On the gold sides of the bezel the motto *DIEU . ET . MON . DROIT .* is inserted in letters of steel. (See woodcuts).

An exquisite piece of metal-work, and of admirable



IMPRESSION OF SIGNET.
Double size linear.



SIGNET RING, CHARLES I.
Double size linear.

* Vide Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (edited by Wornum, 1849), vol. i. p. 286, note.

design, of the history of which we know nothing. Mr. King inclines to recognise in the engraving the manner of the celebrated Simon, afterwards medallist to the Protector; or, he thinks, it may have been the work of Vanderdoort, who was commanded, on 2nd April, 1625, to make patterns for His Majesty's coins. ("Gems and Rings," p. 406.)

138. An Indian Seal, the handle formed of calcedony, mounted in gold and set with rubies. The seal is an intaglio on glass, and represents a monster, with the sun, moon, &c. Said to have belonged to Tippoo Sahib.

229. Cameo; grey and opaque white agate. Height 11 lines; width 9 lines. Set in a gold ring. A portrait, which may possibly be that of Louis XIV., looking to the right of the spectator, in a raised border. Signed NATTER. (Plate II.)

The hair, long behind, is dressed in a peak over the forehead. Mr. King refers to this cameo as probably a portrait of William III.

71. Intaglio on a large oval cornelian. Height 2 inches 2 lines; width 1 inch 8 lines. St. George and the Dragon, to the left. Signed BERINI. F.

Mounted in gold with the garter and motto.

223. Cameo; cornelian. Height 1 inch; width $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch. A male *portrait* head to the right, with long hair.

A fine and probably English work of the early part of the eighteenth century

140. Intaglio on a fine brown sard. Set in a ring. Ariadne, from the antique statue in the Vatican.

A very fine work. Signed MARCHANT. F. ROMA.

181. Intaglio on a choice oriental onyx, cut through the brown to the white layer. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; width 1 inch $\frac{1}{2}$ line. Head of Bacchus. Set in a ring. Signed BVRCH. R.A.

A remarkably fine work.

102. Intaglio on cornelian. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Head of Antinous (?), to the left. Signed PICLER. Set in a gold ring.

118. Cameo; oval; red and white agate. A lion *couchant*. Signed BVRCH. Set in a gold ring.

130. Cameo; oval; onyx of two strata. Height 1 inch $1\frac{1}{2}$ line; width 1 inch. Three-quarter bust portrait of a lady, to the right, in a costume of the time of Louis XV. (Plate III.)

In an elegant mounting of silver, as a medallion, set with diamonds and rubies; workmanship of the eighteenth century. Probably the portrait of Clementina

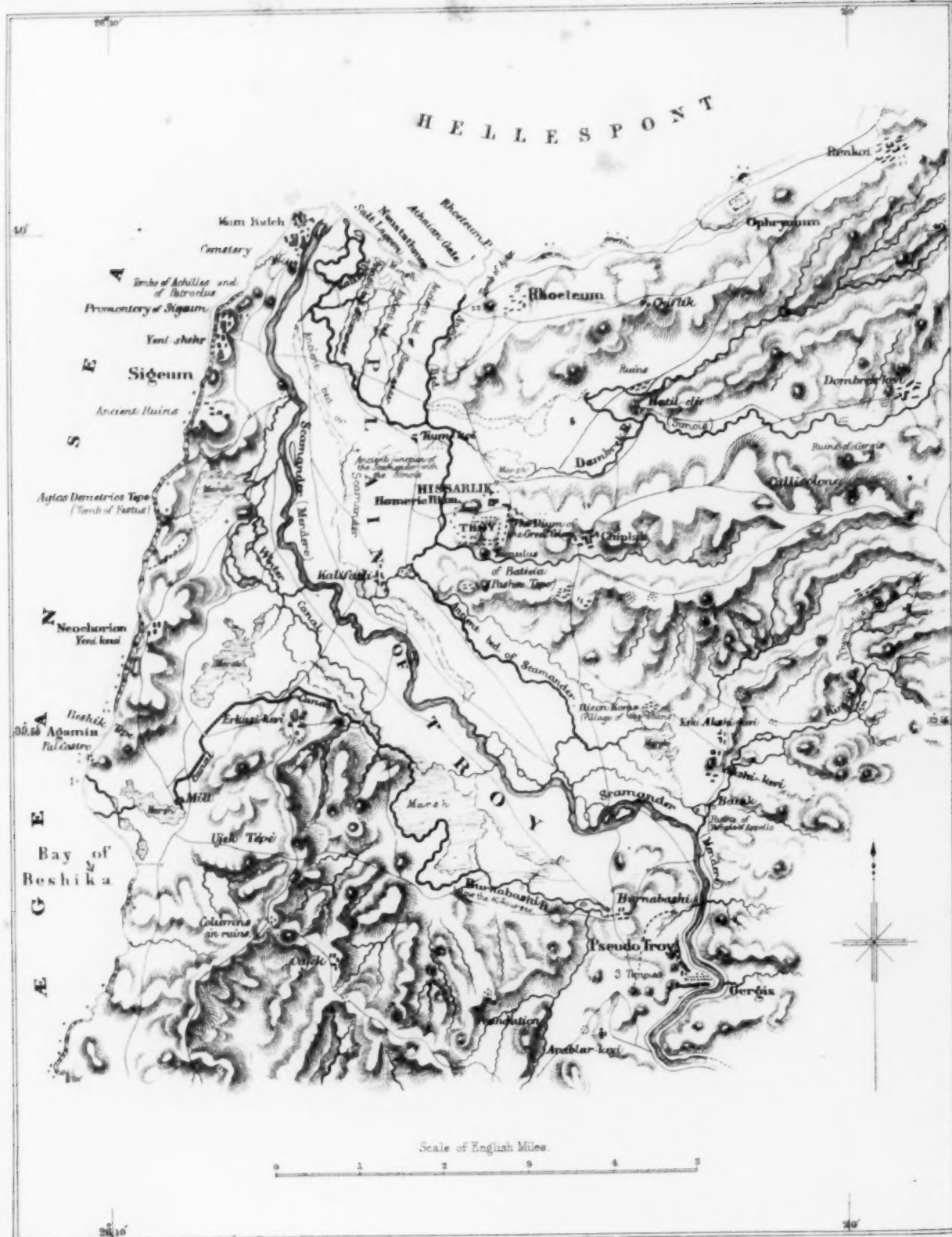
Sobieski, wife of the first Pretender. It has, however, been suggested that this cameo may be a portrait of one of the daughters of George II.

200. Intaglio on cornelian. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width $8\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Set in a gold ring.

Portrait of King George III. when a young man; a work of that period.

202. Intaglio on cornelian. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width 6 lines. Set in a gold ring.

Portrait of King George III. in middle age; a work of that period, of able execution, and signed KIRK . F.



THE PLAIN OF TROY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1876.

II.—*On the Site of the Homeric Troy.* By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN.

Read June 24th, 1875.

THE traveller who sails from the Piræus for the Hellespont sees, after having passed the western shore of Lesbos, the Cape Lectum, which forms the western extremity of the Ida range of mountains. This cape is the southern extremity of the land, which from Homeric times until now, and probably for many centuries before Homer, has borne the famous, the immortal, name of Troas. In sailing thence along its western shore, which extends almost in a straight line to the north, and ends in Cape Sigeum, the traveller distinguishes there, in the midst of a dense forest of oak-trees, the gigantic ruins of the once flourishing city of Alexandria-Troas, which, by its immense extent, seems to have had at least 500,000 inhabitants.*

The traveller then passes on the left the beautiful island of Tenedos, behind which (*Odyss.* iii. 159) the Greeks hid their ships after having erected the wooden horse. A little further on the traveller passes Bashika Bay, and sees on the high and steep shore, which forms a kind of spur of the Ida range, three conical hills, which are said to be heroic tombs, and of which the largest, called "Udjek-Tepe," is 83 feet high, and is visible at a great distance at sea. Afterwards the traveller sails around the aforesaid Cape Sigeum, which has a height of 300 feet. Here begins the famous Hellespont, which is formed by the Troad and the Thracian peninsula. The cape is crowned by the Christian village Ieni-sahir, which occupies the very site of the

* In opposition to the common belief, I think that this city was not founded by Antigonos, but that it was only enlarged by him, for Strabo (xiii. c. 1, § 47) expressly states "that its site was formerly called 'Sigia,' and that Antigonos, having colonised it with the inhabitants of Scepsis, Larissa, Colona, Hamaxitus, and other cities, named it Antigonion-Troas." He further states (*ibid.* § 27), that this city was afterwards embellished by Lysimachus, who named it, in honour of Alexander the Great, "Alexandria-Troas." Julius Caesar was so much pleased with its site, that, according to Suetonius (*Jul. Caes.* 79), he intended to make it the capital of the Roman Empire. According to Zosimus (ii. 30) and Zonaras (xiii. 3), Constantine the Great had the same plan before he chose Byzantium. Under Hadrian, the celebrated orator Herodes Atticus was governor of this city. There are still preserved several parts of the gigantic aqueduct which he built, and to the cost of which his father Atticus contributed three millions of drachms of his own fortune. Alexandria-Troas is also mentioned in Holy Scripture as one of the cities which were visited by St. Paul. Its extensive Byzantine ruins leave no doubt that it has been inhabited till the end of the Middle Ages. It is now called "Eskistambul."

ancient town of Sigeum, the ruins of which are covered by a layer of rubbish $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. At the foot of the cape, on its north-east side, are two more conical heroic tombs, of which one is attributed to Patroklos, whilst the other, which is situated close to the shore, is identified with the tumulus of Achilles. The site certainly answers the description which Homer gives (*Odyss.* xxiv. 75) of this hero's sepulchre:—"In this (golden urn) lie (thy) white bones, O illustrious Achilles, mixed together with those of dead Patroklos, son of Menoetius; but separately those of Antilochus, whom thou hast honoured most of all other companions after the death of Patroklos. And around them, we, the sacred army of the warlike Argives, heaped up a large and blameless tomb, on the projecting shore of the wide Hellespont, so that it might be seen far off from the sea by those men who are now born, and by those who shall hereafter be born."

Here, at length, we are in the celebrated Plain of Troy, which is $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 5 miles broad, and is bounded on the north side by the Hellespont, and on all other sides by continuous heights, which gradually descend from the Ida mountains. On the east side the line of elevations is interrupted by another valley, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ mile broad. It joins the Great Plain, and is bordered to the north and east by hills, and to the south by an uninterrupted mountainous chain, of from 100 to 333 feet high, which extends far into the Great Plain and terminates in the famous mount Hissarlik. A second, but much smaller valley, extends at the extremity of the Great Plain to the east. The shore of the Plain of Troy is bounded as aforesaid, on the west by Cape Sigeum, on the east by the hills of Intepe or Rhoeteum. The plain is at first so low that there are in the beach large and deep tanks, whose waters are always at the same level, because what is lost by evaporation is supplied by infiltration from the sea. Thence the surface of the plain rises gradually, but its whole rise is only $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet in $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It is of exuberant fertility, but one half of it consists of marshes, most of which have certainly originated from neglected cultivation. There is however no doubt that there were already marshes here in the time of Homer, and that some of them were close to the city, for, according to the poet (*Odyss.* xiv. 472-475), Ulysses says to Eumaeus:—"but, when we reached the city and the lofty wall, we lay down, crouching under our arms, near the town, in the thick bushes, the reeds, and the marsh."

The Plain is traversed in all its length from south to north by the Scamander, the name of which can still be recognised in its modern form "*Mendere.*" This river rises from a cold and a hot spring in a valley near the summit of Ida, and, after a course of thirty-six miles, it issues near the small town of Kum-kale into

the Hellespont. Its generally steep banks, which are often 20 feet deep, are for the most part planted with trees, as in the time of Homer, for the poet says (Il. xxi. 350-352): "The elms burned, and the willows and the tamarisks; the lotus was also burnt and the rushes and the cyprus, which grew in abundance along the beautiful streams of the river." Although the breadth of the Scamander is from 330 to 660 feet, it frequently overflows from the winter rains, and inundates a large part of the plain. The Homeric epithets of the river are, *ἐὺρρῶος* (fair-flowing), *δινῆεις* (eddying), *μέγας* (great), *βαθυδίνης* (deep-eddying), *βαθύρρῶος* (deep-flowing), *ἀργυροδίνης* (silver-eddied), *ἡϊόεις* (with mountainous shores). According to Homer, the Greek camp occupied the whole shore between the Cape Sigeum and the Heights of Intepe or Rhoeteum, for the poet says in the Iliad (xiv. 31-36), "for they had drawn the first (ships) on the plain, and afterwards built a wall at their sterns; because, though the shore was broad, it could not contain all the ships, and the peoples were jammed together; they therefore drew (the ships) up in rows, and filled the wide mouth of the whole shore as much as the promontories inclosed." If the Scamander had already then had its present bed, it would have run right through the Greek camp, and Homer would not have omitted to mention this important fact. Thus there is no doubt that the river occupied at the time of the poet the broad bed of the little rivulet called Intepe-Asmak, which flows close to the heights of Intepe, and runs into the Hellespont near the conical tomb of Ajax. Three broad and dry river-beds, the traces of which are visible between the Intepe-Asmak and the Scamander, prove that the latter has changed its bed gradually in the course of many centuries. In following up the Intepe-Asmak as far as the village Kum-koī, we see that it is the continuation of the rivulet Kalifatli-Asmak, which has likewise an immense bed, and sends off, from this village, the larger portion of its waters in a north-west direction to the Hellespont. It is however easy to see that this river arm is not ancient, but of a comparatively recent formation. Thus in former times the Scamander flowed, as far as the village Kum-koī, in the bed of the Intepe-Asmak, and thence in that of the Kalifatli-Asmak, which is now only fed by the many springs at the southern extremity of the plain. The identity of the Kalifatli-Asmak with the ancient bed of the Scamander is further proved by the Simois, now called Dumbrek-Su, which still joins the former at a right angle, about a mile to the north of Hissarlik. The Simois rises at a distance of 15 miles in the lower range of the Ida mountains, and flows through the eastern plain, in which it forms very large and always impassable marshes. Its breadth is 66 to 100 feet. Homer confirms the junction of the two rivers, and the short distance of this

junction from Ilium, for he says (Il. v. 773-774) :—" But when they reached Troy, and the two flowing rivers where Simois and Scamander join their streams."

I have still to mention the river Kamar-Tsaï, which falls into the Scamander near the southern extremity of the plain, and which is justly identified with the Homeric Thymbrius. Lastly I have to record the rivulet called Bunarbashi-Su, which originates from forty springs at the southern end of the plain, at the foot of the heights of Bunarbashi. The greater part of its waters flows by an artificial channel into Bashika Bay, whilst the remainder forms enormous swamps. The many marshes of the Plain of Troy exhale pestilential miasmas, which infect the air and cause a great deal of fever. For this reason one sees in the plain only the three poor villages Halil-koï, Kalifatli, and Kum-koï, the latter of which is altogether uninhabitable in summer.

It has not yet been decided whether the Plain of Troy has once been a deep gulf and has been formed, in the course of ages, by the alluvia of the Scamander and the Simois. But it might easily be decided by sinking shafts; for below the alluvial soil, which must abound with freshwater snails and shells, must be found sea-cockles, sea-sand, and stones. However that may be, those who assume from the Iliad the existence of a deep gulf at the time of Homer do not, in my opinion, rightly interpret the verses (Il. ii. 92) ἡϊόνος προπάροιθε βαθείης ἐστιχόωντο, "they marched in front of the deep shore;" and (Il. xiv. 35-36) καὶ πλήσαν ἀπώσης ἡϊόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνεέργαθον ἄκραι, "and filled the wide mouth of the whole shore, as much as the promontories inclosed," for the poet merely intends to describe here the Hellespont's low shore, encompassed as it is by the Cape Sigeum and the heights of Intepe. It has been asserted* that the gradual elevation of the latter, as well as the high and steep banks of the rivulets Intepe-Asmak and Kalifatli-Asmak, near their mouths, in a swampy soil, make it impossible that a gulf should ever have existed there; and that, if the soil of the plain had been produced by the alluvium of the rivers and rivulets, their banks could not have a perpendicular height of 6 to 20 feet in places where the ground is marshy and loose; that, besides, the large and deep tanks on the shore of the plain make it impossible that the Plain of Troy can have been formed by alluvium. I think this theory is perfectly correct if applied to alluvia of comparatively recent formation, and that *e.g.* in the Plain of Ephesus, the nature of the soil permits neither deep tanks on the seashore, nor perpendicular banks 6 to 20 feet high in the rivers; but I believe that in the course of ages

* Forchhammer, *Observations on the Topography of Troy*, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1842, xii. p. 34.

the alluvial soil may offer as tough resistance as any other soil. Thus I am ready to admit that even the whole Plain of Troy has once been a deep gulf, but I feel confident that the latter has been filled up by the alluvium of the rivers ages before sacred Ilium was built by the Trojans. I am also ready to admit, that, were it not for the current of the Hellespont, which runs at the rate of three miles an hour and carries away the alluvial matter of the rivers, the latter would long since completely have shut up the Hellespont, and joined Asia and Europe by a new isthmus.

The theory that a gulf has once existed in the Plain of Troy is confirmed by the tradition of all antiquity. In speaking of some rivers, which, similar to the Nile, have extended by their deposits the land into the sea, Herodotus (ii. 10) mentions, as a well-known fact, the alluvia "of the vicinity of Ilium." He makes, however, no allusion to the chronology of these alluvia. Strabo (xiii. c. 1, § 36) gives us, for the former existence of a gulf in the plain, and its filling up after the war of Troy, the authority of Hestiaeus of Alexandria-Troas and Demetrius of Scepsis, but he does not tell us on what proofs or testimony their assertions were based. I trust, however, I can prove that the filling up of the Trojan gulf must have been accomplished long before Homer; and that the Plain of Troy extended at the time of the poet just as far into the sea as it does now, for the small town of Kum-kalé is situated on the point of the plain which projects the furthest into the Hellespont, and on the site of an ancient city, which can be no other than Achilleum. This city was built, according to Herodotus (v. 94), by the Mitylenians. But, according to the same historian, it had been in the 43rd Olympiad (viz. in 607 B.C.) for a long time at war with Sigeum, and we may therefore with certainty presume that its foundation reaches back to the beginning of the eighth or the end of the ninth century B.C.

Since I am describing the topography of the Plain of Troy, I may add that the common translation of the Homeric words *θρωσμός πεδίου* by "hill in the plain" is, in my opinion, altogether wrong; firstly, because there is no separate elevation in the Plain of Troy, and secondly, because the sense of the three Homeric passages in which these words occur does not admit of such a translation. We read in the Iliad (x. 159-161), "Awake, O son of Tydeus, why dost thou indulge in sleep all night? Hearest thou not how the Trojans are encamped *ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίου*, near the ships, and that now but a small space keeps them off?" In Book xi. 56, on the other hand, we find "The Trojans drew up *ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίου*, around the great Hector and blameless Polydamas." In both these passages, *θρωσμός πεδίου* is spoken of as the site of the Trojan camp, on the right bank of the

Scamander, already referred to in the eighth Book (vss. 489-492), where we read as follows: "Illustrious Hector then made a council of the Trojans, having conducted them far from the ships on (the bank of) the eddying river, in a clear space, where the ground was free from dead bodies. But, alighting from the horses, they listened to the speech." In these verses no suggestion is made that the bank of the Scamander, the site of the Trojan camp, was higher than the plain. We find the words *θρωσμός πεδίου* a third time in the Iliad (xx. 1-3), "Thus, O son of Peleus, around thee were armed the Achaeans, insatiable in battle, beside their crooked ships, and the Trojans on the other hand ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίου." Here also is indicated by these latter words the site of the Trojan camp, which had been previously described in Il. xviii. 256: "In the plain near the ships, for we are far away from the wall," showing that the site of the camp was in the level plain near the ships. I call your particular attention to the fact, that in these three cases the poet mentions the site of the Trojan camp in opposition to the site of the Greek camp, which latter was situated on the shore of the Hellespont. Consequently, the only possible translation of the *θρωσμός πεδίου* would be "the Upper Plain," which, as I have said, ascends a little, but has no elevations in the shape of hills.

I have still to speak of the conical hills of the Troad, which are called "heroic tombs." Several of them, doubtless, existed already in the time of Homer, for he mentions the sepulchres of Achilles, Myrina, Aesyetes, and Ilus. The two latter, which the poet describes as situated between Ilium and the Hellespont, and thus in the low Plain, have altogether disappeared. Consequently, according to Homer, those conical hillocks were tombs, and this opinion is confirmed by the tradition of all antiquity, for according to Strabo (xiii. c. 1, § 32) the Ilions offered funeral sacrifices, not only on the tombs of Achilles, Patroklos, and Antilochus, but also on that of Ajax. According to Plutarch, Cicero, and Aelian, Alexander the Great sacrificed on the tumulus of Achilles. According to Philostratus (*Heroica*, i.) Hadrian restored the temple on the tumulus of Ajax, of which large ruins still remain. According to Dion Cassius, the Emperor Caracalla offered funeral sacrifices and games at the tomb of Achilles. According to Herodian (iv.) it appeared that Caracalla wished to have his Patroklos, in order to be able to imitate the funeral which Achilles made to his friend. The sudden death of his most faithful friend Festus, (who, Herodian insinuates, was poisoned, for he says "as some say, he was killed by poison," ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεθείς), induced Caracalla to celebrate his funeral in a most magnificent manner, minutely imitating the funeral with which Achilles honoured his friend Patroklos, and of which

Homer gives both a splendid and a detailed account in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*. Afterwards Caracalla raised over the ashes of his friend a large conical tomb. Probably this is the tumulus called "Agios Demetrios Tepe," situated on the high shore of the Aegean Sea, two miles south of Sigeion. However, all we know as yet is that this one tumulus, which covers the ashes of Festus, served as a tomb, for in no one of the six tumuli which have until now been excavated has the tradition been confirmed by the criticism of the pickaxe. The tumulus near the village of Renkoï, which was excavated by Mr. Frederick Calvert, as well as the tumulus of Patroklos, which was excavated by his brother, contained no trace of either ashes, or charcoal, or bones. One of the three conical tumuli on the Balidagh, behind Bunarbashi, which was in modern times universally considered as the tomb of Hector, and which was in October 1872 excavated by the celebrated anthropologist Sir John Lubbock, likewise contained neither charcoal, nor ashes, nor bones, but there were found in it numerous fragments of painted Greek vases of the third century B.C. Thus it is utterly impossible that the chronology of this Hector's tomb should go further back than the third century B.C. In April 1873 Mrs. Schliemann excavated the conical tumulus now called "Pasha Tepe," whose site accurately answers the indications which Homer gives us (*Il. ii.* 811—815) of the site of the tomb of Batieia, who, according to Apollodorus, was the Queen of Dardanus. "There is a certain lofty tumulus before the city sideways of the plain, which may be run round; men indeed call it Batieia, but the immortals call it the tomb of the nimbly springing Myrena." From the summit of this tumulus Mrs. Schliemann sunk a quadrangular shaft, 15 feet long and 13½ feet broad, and reached at a depth of 14 feet the virgin rock, into which she penetrated more than 1 foot deep. She only found about fifty fragments of hand-made pre-historic vases and pots, but no trace of either ashes or charcoal. I have still to mention the researches which the French Ambassador at Constantinople, Choiseul Gouffier, caused to be made in 1788 by a Jew, in the tumuli attributed to Achilles and Ajax. In the latter were only found the ruins of the sanctuary, which had been restored by Hadrian, whereas in the former were brought to light comparatively modern painted Greek vases and a bronze figure of the Roman period, which objects had probably been hidden there by the Jew to obtain a large reward. Consequently the use of the artificial conical hills in the Troad—the so-called heroic tombs—remains still a mystery.

In the Plain of Troy, of which I have thus far endeavoured to describe the topography, must be sought the site of the Homeric Ilium.

In all antiquity, until the time of the Diadochi, it was considered as a certainty

that the Ilium of the Greek colony occupied the very site of the Homeric Ilium, and until the second century B. C. nobody ever doubted the identity of the two cities.

This Greek Ilium was situated on the high plateau of a mountainous chain which extends far into the Plain of Troy, and its acropolis was close by, on the famous mount Hissarlik, which forms the extremity of the mountain ridge to the north and west, and descends at an angle of fifty degrees to the plain. To this acropolis Xerxes ascended on his expedition to Greece (in 480 B.C.). Herodotus relates this event as follows (vii. c. 43) :— "The army having reached the Scamander, the first river they encountered since they left Sardis, its waters were run dry, and proved insufficient to satisfy the thirst of the men and animals. When Xerxes reached this river he ascended Priam's Pergamus, for he had a desire to see it; and having seen it, and having inquired into its fate, he sacrificed to the Ilian Minerva a thousand oxen, and the magicians poured libations to the heroes. When they had done this, terror spread in the night in the army, and at day-break they departed, leaving to the left the cities Rhoeteum, Ophrynum, and Dardania, which borders on Abydos, and to the right the Teucrians of Gergis."

This statement of Herodotus shows that there was at that time a city called Ilium, with an acropolis called Pergamus, which had a temple consecrated to Ilium's patron deity Minerva; further, that the identity of this city with the Homeric Ilium, or Priam's Pergamus, as Herodotus calls it, was universally acknowledged. According to Strabo (xiii. 1) Ilium and its sanctuary were built under the Lydian dominion, and thus about 700 years B.C. Already, before Herodotus, the identity of this Ilium with the Homeric Troy was acknowledged by Hellanikus of Lesbos. Besides,* we find in the Iliad (xx. 215), "The cloud-gatherer Jove first begat Dardanus, who built Dardania, because sacred Ilium, the city of speaking men, had not yet been built in the plain, and they still dwelt on the lower ridges of Ida abounding in springs." These verses, which Plato mentions in the third book of the Laws, are of great assistance to us in identifying the site of Troy. Homer asserts that Dardanus built Dardania on the lower ridges of Ida, when Ilium (whose founder, according to Apollodorus, was Ilus) had not yet been built in the plain. Plato says that "the first men, from fear of a second deluge, inhabited the summits of the mountains; when they began to take courage, they built their cities on the slopes; and to this period belongs the founding of Dardania. In the third period," continues Plato, " (the Trojans) left the mountains and built Ilium in a large and

* W. E. Gladstone, "Homer's place in History" (*Contemporary Review*, 1874).

fine plain, on a hill of inconsiderable height, having near it many rivers which flow from the Ida mountains." The hill Hissarlik, in the Plain of Troy, answers exactly to the site which both Homer and Plato assign to Ilium. To these two great classics we may doubtless add Aristotle. Certainly, when Alexander the Great visited Hissarlik to see the remains of ancient Troy, and to sacrifice there to the Trojan Pallas-Athene, he perfectly agreed, not only with the tradition which identified the site of the two Iliums, but also with the opinion of the most learned Greek, Aristotle, who was both his friend and his teacher. Aristotle had studied Homer a great deal, and no doubt had discussed over and over again the site of Troy with Alexander the Great, who was a great admirer of Homer, and made, together with Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, a new edition of the Homeric poems, which was called *ἐκ τοῦ νύρθου*.*

According to Livy, Antiochus the Great and Publius Scipio likewise sacrificed at Hissarlik. The identity of the two Iliums is also certified by Justin, Appian, Ovid, Suetonius, Pliny, Tacitus, and many other ancient authors.

By order of Alexander the Great, Lysimachus bestowed great care on the town, surrounded it by a wall 40 stadia long, and built a magnificent theatre.

The first who wrote against the identity of the two Iliums was Demetrius of Scepsis (180 B.C.). He maintained that the whole space of ground which separated Ilium from the sea was alluvial, and had been formed after the destruction of Troy; that consequently there was not room enough near Ilium for the great events of the Iliad. For this reason Demetrius advocated the identity of ancient Troy with the village *Ἰλίου κώμη*, thirty stadia to the south of Ilium; he confessed however that no trace of the former was left. According to Strabo (xiii. 1) Demetrius pretended that after the destruction of Troy his native city Scepsis had become the capital of Aeneias, and it is evident that he was jealous of Ilium for this honour. Strabo adopted his theory, though he never visited the Plain of Troy. My excavations on the site of *Ἰλίου κώμη* have, however, shown that the artificial accumulation is there next to nothing, and that consequently no town has ever existed on the site.

The problem of the real site of the Homeric Ilium slept during the Middle Ages, and passed unobserved in modern times, until in 1787 the Frenchmen Lechevalier and Choiseul Gouffier visited the Troad and recognised the site of ancient Ilium on the heights of Bunarbashi, at the southern extremity of the Plain of Troy, but they made there no excavations, and did not even sound the ground. They also identified the forty cold springs at the foot of those heights

* F. Ravaissou de Mollien, in the *Revue Archéologique* of December, 1874.

with the two Homeric springs of cold and hot water, near which Hector was killed. This theory has been adopted by nearly all the archæologists who have visited Troy since that time, until in 1864 the late Consul G. von Hahn, the architect Ziller, and the astronomer Schmidt excavated, at the extremity of those heights, the site of a very small town surrounded by cyclopean walls, which archæologists had considered as the Pergamus of Ilium. But those excavations did not bring to light a single fragment of archaic pottery; they produced nothing but fragments of painted Greek vases of the second to the fifth century, and eighteen coins of the second and third century B.C. Thus it is evident that the cyclopean walls cannot be of an earlier date than the fifth century B.C., and that consequently the town cannot be the Homeric Pergamus. It should be remembered that there are three or four different ages in the history of cyclopean walls, and, whilst the walls of Tiryns belong to the very first age, those laid bare on the heights of Bunarbashi belong to the very last age. Several examples of this last age in Greece we can date with certainty as of the fourth or fifth century, and to this same age belong the remains now under discussion. Besides, the accumulation of rubbish is there most insignificant; in many places the levelled rock protrudes, and only at one spot the depth of the ruins reaches 6 feet. Finally, an inscription I found in 1873, and which is published in my "*Troy and its Remains*,"* pp. 240-246, shows that this little town was Gergis. Just before it are the above-mentioned three conical tombs, one of which was excavated by Sir John Lubbock. Between the latter and the forty springs, at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, I have made researches in more than a thousand places, but nowhere have I found anything but the purest virgin soil; no trace of broken pottery or bricks; everywhere the pointed, or steep, and always unequal, natural rock, which had evidently never been touched by the hand of man. Thus it is evident that this whole space of ground has never been inhabited. Besides, Gergis, at the extremity of the heights, is at a distance of 10, the springs at the foot of Bunarbashi are at a distance of $8\frac{1}{2}$, miles from the Hellespont, whilst the whole Iliad proves that the distance between Ilium and the Hellespont was very short, and could not possibly exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and this is precisely the distance between Hissarlik and the Hellespont.

After having obtained on the heights of Bunarbashi many negative proofs, I minutely examined the whole Plain of Troy, and became convinced that the site of

* The references to this work belong, throughout, to Mr. John Murray's splendid English edition, translated by Miss Dora Schmitz, and edited by Dr. Philip Smith. London, 8vo. 1875. To Mr. John Murray's courtesy the Society is indebted for the map and woodcuts which illustrate this paper.

the Homeric Ilium could not possibly be anywhere else than on the Ilium of the Greek colony, and this in accordance with the common opinion in all antiquity. To my mind, Priam's Pergamus was hidden in the depths of Mount Hissarlik, which served as an acropolis to the later Ilium, and I therefore made there in April 1870 small excavations, the result of which was so encouraging, that, having obtained the necessary permission, I made there in 1871 larger excavations, which I continued for three years with 100 to 160 workmen. I found everywhere on the plateau of Hissarlik, just below the surface, the foundations and masses of ruins of Hellenic edifices, of which some are built of hewn chalk-stone joined with cement, and others of hewn stones joined without cement. In general, I found cement or chalk as a binding medium only used in the ruins to a depth of 3 feet below the surface, and the oldest archaic remains not deeper than 6 feet below the ground. But on the edge of the slope, where the natural soil has once been lower, I found the Hellenic ruins proportionately at a greater depth. The most important edifices which I found in this stratum of Hellenic ruins are the temples of Apollo and Minerva. The former is completely destroyed and not one stone of it is in its place; it was a fine building of the Doric order, as is shown by the remarkable Doric triglyph-block, which I discovered among its ruins. It has a metope, which represents in high relief Phœbus-Apollo with the quadriga of the sun, and is a masterpiece of the first time of the Diadochi. A cast of this I presented to the British Museum. We may therefore presume that the temple of Apollo was built by Lysimachus, about 300 years before Christ. Since not even one single stone of the foundations is in its place, I am at a loss to determine the dimensions of this temple.

Of the temple of Minerva are preserved all the foundations and portions of the walls, which consist partly of large hewn stones, and partly of small unhewn stones joined with cement. This makes me think that this temple was also built under Lysimachus, was destroyed by Fimbria in 85 B.C., and rebuilt by Sylla; it is 317 feet long by 73 broad. Among the many inscriptions which I discovered there, I mention only the most important, which is well preserved, and contains three letters of Antiochus I. (281-260 B.C.) to Meleager, the Satrap of the satrapy of the Hellespont, and one of Meleager to the Ilians. Altogether erroneous is the opinion of several German archæologists, that the oldest remains of this Greek Ilium do not reach further back than the time of Alexander the Great. Visitors will have no difficulty in extracting from my trenches at Hissarlik, at about 6 feet below the surface, thousands of archaic potsherds, to which no archæologist will

hesitate to attribute an age of 600 and 700 years B.C., and many of them must be still older; such as the fragment of a painted vase ("Troy," &c., p. 55), representing a winged figure with an immense nose and a Phrygian cap with a huge tail, which may be of the ninth or the tenth century B.C.

At an average depth of 6 to 7 feet, I gathered seventy brilliant red or black terra-cottas of various shapes with or without incised ornaments, also a large number of round terra-cottas in form of cakes, with two perforations near the rim and a beautiful stamp in the midst; three of the former are represented at pp. 172, 229 of my work (Nos. 138, 139, 160), and four of the latter at p. 65. This pottery is, most decidedly, neither Greek nor pre-historic. Many of the black cups with two large and high handles have, both in shape and colour, a great resemblance to the terra-cottas found in ancient Albano, near Rome, of which the British Museum has several specimens.

Underneath the ruins of the Greek city, viz., at from 6½ to 13 feet below the surface, I found the remains of a pre-historic city, of which the houses had been of wood. The calcined rubbish, and the absence of stones, do not leave any doubt in that respect. All the pots and vases I gathered there are handmade, that is to say, they are made without the use of the potters' wheel; the terra-cotta is either red, black, green, or grey, but there is no trace of real colour. I found there also thousands of terra-cotta whorls, which are perforated through the centre, and ornamented on one side, or on both sides, with engraved religious symbols, which are filled with white clay so as to strike the eye. Doubtless these whorls have been used as offerings or *ex-votos* to the gods, and particularly to the patron deity Minerva, the Homeric *θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*, of whom I found there a great many images. Most of these images are modelled on the vases, which show all the characteristics of the goddess, two wings, an owl's face, and a kind of helmet, on which is indicated the female hair. (See Plate VI. figs. 1a, 1b, and 4.) But many vases have only the characteristics of the woman, two wings and a straight neck, on which fits the cover with an owl's face and with a helmet. I found there also a great many thin and flat idols of bone or marble with an engraved owl's face and with or without a female girdle. On many idols the owl's face was merely painted with red or black clay. I did not find any stone implements in this upper pre-historic stratum, and only a few hand-millstones of trachite, 12 to 16 inches long and 6 to 7 inches broad, of which one side is flat. I call here particular attention to these handmills, which have exactly the same form in all the subsequent pre-historic strata, and which cannot

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 1a.

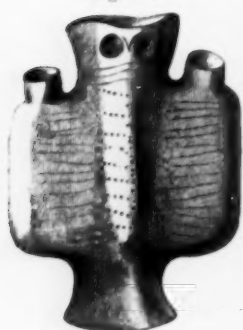


Fig. 1b.

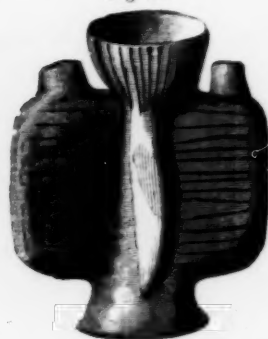


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



have been used to make flour, but merely to crush the grain rudely. Thus, these Trojan handmills belong to a time in which bread was still unknown, and they are therefore considerably more ancient than Homer, who knew only larger handmills turned by horizontal crowbars, grinding the grain to flour, from which bread was made. I found in the same stratum some saw-knives of flint. Of metal I found there only straight or crooked knives, some arrows and battle-axes with two edges, as well as many hair-pins in form of long and thin nails—all of bronze.

At a depth of from 13 to 23 feet I found the ruins of another more ancient pre-historic city, built of small stones joined with earth. There remain part of the carcasses of all the houses, so that it may be dug up like Pompeii. I found in the strata of ruins of this city an enormous mass of stone hammers, celts, axes, battle-axes, hand-millstones, weights, saw-knives, &c.; but along with these the same implements and weapons of bronze, and innumerable differently shaped ornamented perforated whorls, as also masses of hand-made fantastically shaped pots, and vases of terra-cotta, the fabrication of which shows a greater civilisation; also masses of cockle-shells, as well as vertebræ of sharks, which leave no doubt that these monsters once abounded in these seas, whereas they have now entirely disappeared. I also found there numerous boars' tusks.

Below this city I discovered, at a depth of from 23 to 33 feet, a still much older pre-historic city, which had evidently been destroyed in a fearful catastrophe by the hand of the enemy; the calcined ruins of all the houses, the stratum of scorise of melted lead and copper, which extends through the whole town, the treasures of objects of gold and silver which were found in various places, and finally the skeletons of men with arms—all this variety of circumstances can leave no doubt whatever in this respect. The numerous fantastically shaped vases and pots I gathered in this stratum show the very same kind of fabrication as those of the preceding stratum, but they exhibit much more art and beauty, as well as many new types, as for example a curious double vase, united at the base. (See Plate VI. fig 3.) Whilst all the thousands of terra-cotta vases, pots, basins, and other objects found in this stratum are hand-made, I found here more than a hundred very rude terra-cotta plates, like the five lower ones on page 215 and the eight on page 114 of my work, which have been made on the potter's wheel.

These plates are the only pre-historic productions of the potter's wheel at Hissarlik, for neither of the two subsequent nations whose ruins I have described has used the potter's wheel; all their terra-cotta vases are hand-made. I must not forget to mention that it is a characteristic of Trojan vases to have on each side a tubular vertical loop, and in the same direction a hole on each side of the

rim, in order to be suspended and carried by a string; most of them have three feet; many others have a hemispherical base.

The importance of the city represented by the ruins at 23 to 33 feet below the surface is particularly attested by its mighty circuit wall, by its great tower, by the large double gate, and by the mansion of the last chief or king, which is situated just before the gate. All these monuments are built of unhewn stones joined with earth, whilst all the other houses of the town consist of unburnt bricks, which have in many places been converted by the conflagration into real burnt bricks. In this town I discovered, at a depth of 28 to 31½ feet, three treasures, of which the two smaller ones were stolen and hidden by my workmen, afterwards seized by the Ottoman Government, and now exhibited in the museum at Constantinople. One of these, according to the *Levant Herald*, December, 1873, consisted of a large lump of pure gold mixed with charcoal, evidently derived from melted ornaments. It was stated to weigh several "okes," each "oke" being about 2½ pounds. The third large treasure, which is now in my possession, I discovered myself on the great wall, close to the chief's or king's mansion. It consists of a large copper boss-shield, a large copper *casserole* with a horizontal handle on each side, a large flat piece of copper with two immoveable wheels, which must have served as hasps, and on which a silver vase had been soldered by the fire, two copper vases, a large golden bottle in form of a globe, a golden goblet, whose form I identify with that of the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*; it has a large and a small mouth and two great handles. (See woodcut on the next page.) I think Aristotle (in his *History of Animals*, ix. 40) is wrong in his theory that the *ἀμφικύπελλον* of Homer had the shape of a bee's cell. The best judge of, nay the highest authority for, the form of the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* must necessarily be Homer himself, and with him the *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* is always synonymous with *ἄλεισον ἄμφωτον* (see *Od.* iii. 41, 46, 50, and 63, and xxii. 9, 10, and 86), which latter cannot possibly mean anything else than a simple goblet with a large handle on each side. In speaking of the shape of the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*, Athenaeus (*Δειπνοσοφισταί*, 783) does not even mention the opinion of Aristotle, but he mentions the opinion of Asklepiades of Myrleia, who says that *ἀμφικύπελλον* does not mean anything else than that the goblet is *ἀμφίκυρτον*. But the following phrase leaves no doubt that the latter word signifies "with two handles," and this is confirmed by Passow's *Greek Lexicon* (ed. Rost and Palm). Similarly shaped *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα* of terra-cotta I found in all the three upper pre-historic strata, and collected more than a hundred of them. (See Nos. 111 and 112, p. 158, and No. 52, p. 86, of "Troy, &c.") Owing to their pointed

foot they cannot be put down except on the mouth. Their form is highly practical, for he who holds such a *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* is forced to empty it, and, since it can only be put down on the mouth, it remains always clean. (See Plate VI. fig. 5.)



TWO VIEWS OF TWO-HANDLED CUP OF GOLD, FROM HISSARLIK.

I found, besides, in the treasure six flat blades, or slabs, of purest silver, one end of which is round, whilst the other is cut out in the form of a half-moon. In all probability these are the talents, so often mentioned by Homer, and which must have been but small, for Achilles puts (Il. xvii. 262—270) as the price of the first game a woman, of the second a horse, of the third a *casserole* or kettle, of the fourth two talents, and of the fifth a *φιάλη ἀμφίθετος*, that is to say, a cup with two handles. I further found in the treasure four large silver vases with a hemispheric base; on one of them is soldered the upper part of another silver vase. The largest vase contained two magnificent golden diadems, which Mr. Gladstone identifies with the *πλεκταὶ ἀναδέσμαι* of Homer; they are adorned

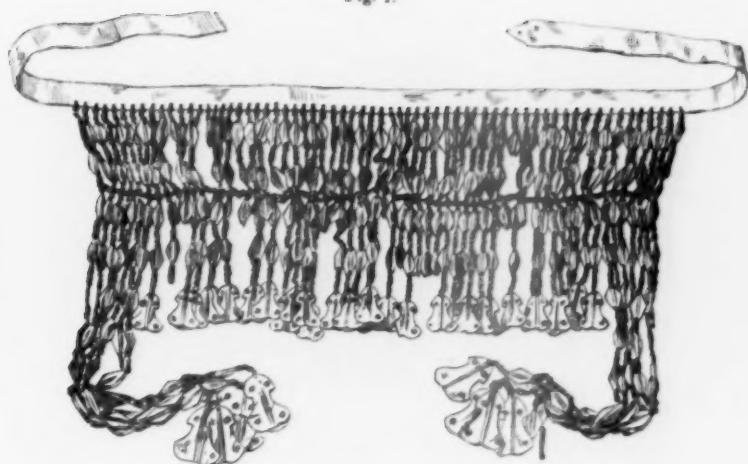
with 100 idols of the owl-faced Minerva. (See Plate VII. fig. 1.) The vase further contained a golden ἄμυνξ, called now "belle Hélène," four most artistically made golden long earrings, fifty-six golden earrings of most fantastical shape, six golden bracelets, 8,750 small perforated objects of gold, in form of prisms, cubes, chariot-axles, etc., of which the larger part are ornamented with eight or sixteen engraved lines; the silver vase contained, besides, two goblets, one of which is of gold, the other of electron. I further found in the treasure two beautiful small silver vases, with cylindrical loops placed vertically on each side for suspension by a string, a goblet and shallow cup of the same metal (see Plate VII. fig. 2), and thirteen bronze lances, fourteen bronze battle-axes, seven bronze daggers, a large bronze knife, some fragments of a bronze sword, and another bronze weapon of unknown use. All these objects were once contained in a quadrangular wooden box, of which they had preserved the shape. The large copper key which I found there proves that the wooden box once existed. It appears that in the catastrophe of the city one or other of the chief's or king's family tried to escape with the treasure, but being prevented on the wall, either by the fire or by the enemy, he was forced to abandon it there.

I further found in the rooms of the last chief's or king's palace a large number of beautiful vases; one of them two feet high, representing the owl-faced Minerva, ornamented with a large necklace and a broad engraved girdle. (See Plate VI. fig. 2.)

And here I must pause to inquire what is the meaning of the Homeric epithet γλαυκῶπις. It has been said by a great scholar,* that, whatever else it may mean, it cannot mean owl-headed, unless we suppose that Hera βοῶπις was represented as a cow-headed monster. But it is not difficult to prove that this goddess had originally a cow's face, from which her Homeric epithet βοῶπις was derived. When in the battle between the gods and the giants the former took the shape of animals, Hera took the form of a white cow, "nivea Saturnia vacca" (Ovid, *Metam.* v. 330). We find a cow's head on the coins of the Island of Samos, which contained the most ancient temple of Hera, and was celebrated for its worship of this goddess (Mionnet, *Descr. des Méd. Ant.* pl. lxi. 6). We further find the cow's head on the coins of Messene, a Samian colony in Sicily (Millingen, *Anc. Coins of Greek Cities*, tab. ii. 12). The relation of Hera to the cow is further proved by the name Εὔβοια, which was at once her epithet (Pausanias, ii. 22), the name of one of her nurses (Plut. *Quæst. Conviv.* 3, 9, 2; *Et. M.* 388, 56), and the name of the island in which she was brought up (Plut. *fr. Daedal.* 3). But in the name of Εὔβοια is contained the

* Professor Max Müller.—*Academy*, January 10, 1874.

Fig. 1.

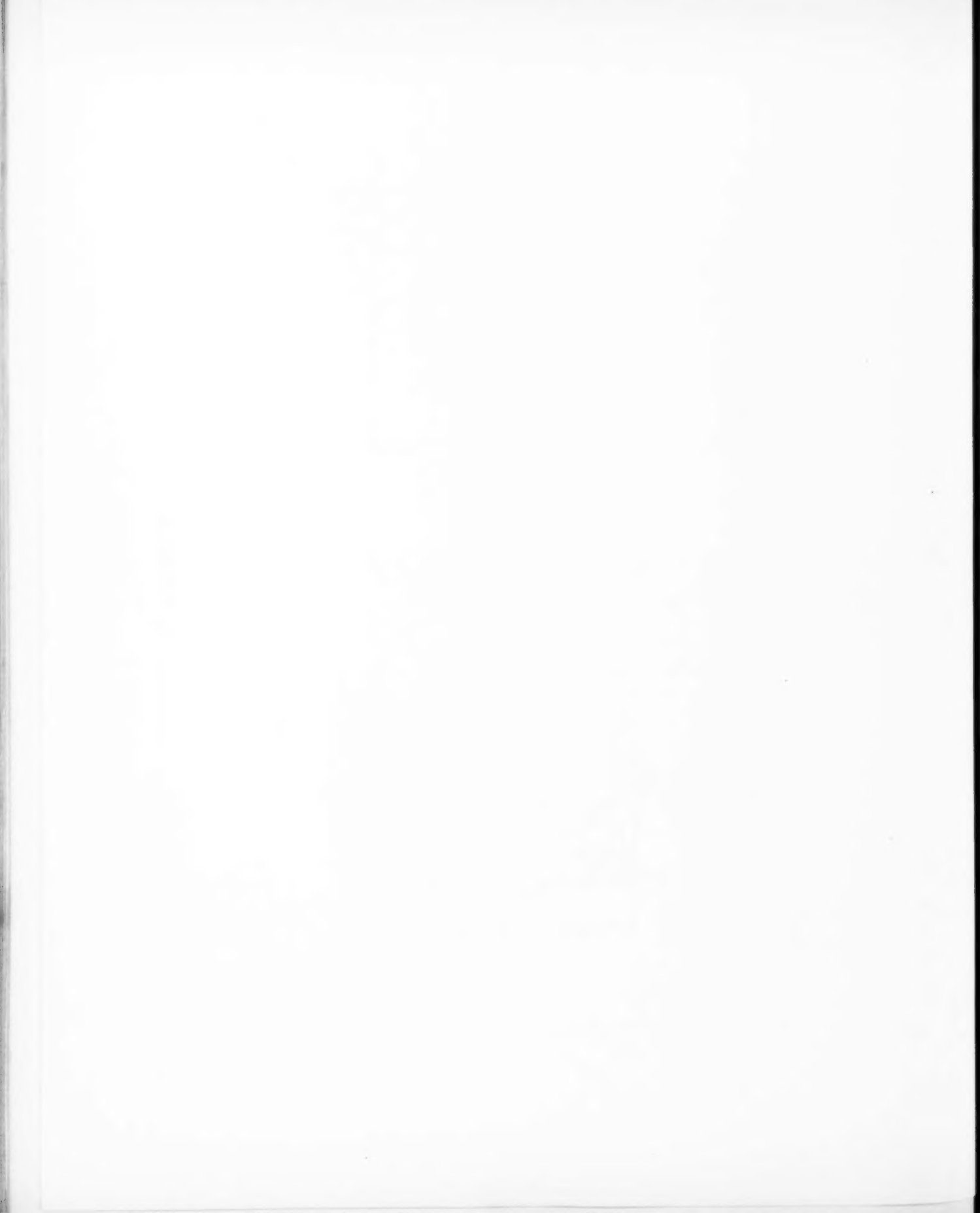


GOLD DIADEM FROM HISSARLIK.

Fig. 2.



SILVER VESSELS FROM HISSARLIK.



word *βοῦς*. Hera had in Corinth the epithet *βουναία* (Paus. ii. 4, 7), in which the word *βοῦς* is likewise contained. White cows were sacrificed to Hera (Paus. ix. 3, 4) (Hesych. ἄγαν χαλκεῖος). The priestess rode on a team of white bulls to the temple of the Argive Hera (Herod. i. 31). Io, the daughter of Inachus, was changed by Hera into a cow (Lucian, Θεῶν Διαλ. 3; Diod. Sic. i. 24, 25; Herod. ii. 41). Io was priestess of Hera (Aesch. Suppl. 299; Apollod. ii. 1, 3), and is represented as the cow-goddess Hera (Creuzer, Symbolik, ii. 576). The Egyptian goddess Isis was born in Argos, and was identified with the cow-shaped Io (Diod. Sic. i. 24, 25; Apollod. ii. 1, 3; Hygin. 145); she (Isis) was represented in Egypt as a female with cow-horns, like Io in Greece (Herod. ii. 41). The Pelasgian moon-goddess Io continued to be the old name of the moon at the religious mysteries at Argos (Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. 94; Jablonsky, Panth. ii. p. 4 ff.) The cow-horns of the Pelasgian moon-goddess Io, which became later the Argive Hera, and is perfectly identical with her, as well as the cow-horns of Isis, were derived from the symbolic horns of the crescent (Diod. Sic. i. 11; Plut. de Is. et Os. 52; compare Plut. ibid. c. 39; Macrobian Sat. i. 19; Aelian, Anim. x. 27). No doubt Io, the later Hera, had at an earlier age, besides her cow-horns, a cow-face. Hera, with her old moon-name Io, had a celebrated temple on the site of Byzantium, which city was founded by her daughter Keroessa—i.e. "the horned" (O. Müller, Dorier, i. p. 121; Steph. Byz. Βυζάντιον). Is not, perhaps, the crescent, as the symbol of the Turkish empire, an inheritance from Byzantium's foundress Keroessa, the daughter of the moon-goddess Io (Hera)? Hera, Io, and Isis must at all events be identical also with Demeter Mykalessia, who derived her epithet, "the lowing," from her cow-shape, and had her temple at Mykalessus in Boeotia; she had as doorkeeper Hercules, whose office it was to shut her sanctuary in the evening, and to open it again in the morning (Paus. ix. 19, 4). Thus his service is identical with that of Argos, who in the morning unfastens the cow-shaped Io, and fastens her again in the evening to the olive-tree (Ovid, Metam. i. 630), which was in the sacred grove of Mykenae, close to the Ἡραῖον (Apollod. ii. 1, 3). The Argive Hera had, as a symbol of fertility, a pomegranate, which, as well as the flowers with which her crown was ornamented, gave her a telluric character (Panofka, Argos Panoptes, tab. ii. 4; Cadalvène, Recueil de Med. Gr. pl. iii. 1; Müller, Denkm. xxx. 132; Duc de Luynes, Etudes Numismat. pp. 22-25).

In the same way as in Boeotia the epithet Mykalessia, "the lowing" (a derivation from *μυκάω*), was given to Demeter on account of her cow-form, in the plain of Argos the name of *Μυκῆνας* (a derivation from the same


verb) was given to the city most celebrated for the *cultus* of Hera, and this can only be explained by her cow-form.

In consideration of this long series of proofs, certainly no one will for a moment doubt that Hera's Homeric epithet *βοῶπις* shows her to have once been represented with a cow-face, in the same way as Athene's Homeric epithet *γλαυκῶπις* shows this goddess to have once been represented with an owl-face. But in the history of these two epithets are evidently three stages. In the first stage, the ideal conception and the naming of the goddesses took place, and in that name, as Professor Max Müller rightly observed to me, the epithets were figurative or ideal, *i. e.*, natural. Hera (Io), as deity of the moon, will have received her epithet, *βοῶπις*, from the symbolic horns of the crescent and its dark spots, which resemble a face with large eyes; whilst Athene, as goddess of the Aurora, received, no doubt, the epithet *γλαυκῶπις* to indicate the light of the morning dawn. I call here particular attention to the terra-cotta ball in "Troy, &c." plate lii. N. 497, a. b. c. This ball alone is a complete demonstration of the reality of the owl-face, and it gives at the same time the key to these symbolic representations, for we see there, in the midst, the owl almost in the shape of a monogram, having nevertheless the female hair distinctly indicated, and two extended arms, of which the left one has even its hand. To the right of the figure is the sun, to the left the moon, below is the morning star. Thus the representation is complete, and it most distinctly shows that this celestial owl is the Aurora, which rises to Heaven between the sun and the moon.

In the second stage of these epithets the deities were represented by idols, in which the former figurative intention was forgotten, and the epithets were materialised into an owl-face for Athene and into a cow-face for Hera, and I make bold to assert that it is not possible to describe such an owl-faced female figure by any other epithet than by *γλαυκῶπις*. The word *πρόσωπον* for face, which is so often used in Homer, and is probably thousands of years older than the poet, is never found in compounds, whilst words with the suffix *ειδής* refer to expression or likeness in general. Thus, if Athene had the epithet *γλαυκοειδής*, we should understand nothing else but that the goddess had the shape and form of an owl. To this second age belong all the pre-historic cities at Hissarlik.

The third stage in the history of the two epithets is when, after Hera and Athene had been stripped of their cow and owl faces, and received faces of women, and after the cow and the owl had become the attributes of these deities, and had, as such, been placed at their side, *βοῶπις* and *γλαυκῶπις* continued to be used as epithets consecrated by the use of ages, and probably with the meaning

"large-eyed" and "owl-eyed." To this third age belong the Homeric rhapsodies. It has been repeatedly asserted that the owl-faced Trojan vases and idols cannot represent the γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, since similar owl-faced vases and idols have been found in Germany. But I never intended to maintain that the owl-faced female deity was worshipped exclusively at Ilium, and I have no objection whatever to admit that the former figurative and ideal conception may already have been materialised into an owl-faced female deity, with wings and helmet, before the separation of the Aryan races took place, or that it may have been imported, together with bronze, from Asia Minor into Germany. But I must confess that all the drawings I have as yet seen of the pretended owl-faced idols found in Germany represent human figures with mouths, and that not even one of them has the slightest resemblance to the winged Trojan idols, in which the owl-face is conspicuous, and which have no mouth.

In confirmation of what I have said about the symbolic character of the engraved ornaments on the Trojan terra-cottas, I will here point only to the figure No. 379, pl. xxix. of "Troy and its Remains." We distinctly see there the constellation of the Great Bear on the back of an animal with open mouth and protruding tongue; there are besides two other celestial animals, an altar, a lightning, and four *suastikas*  .

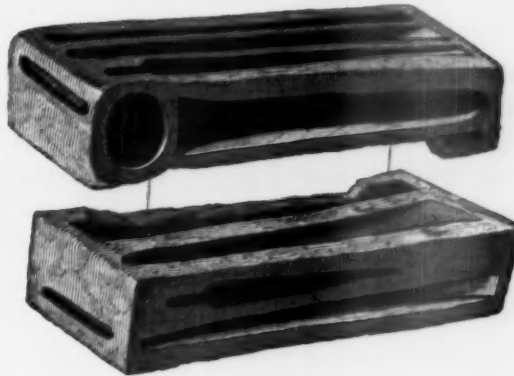
But to return from this digression. After the enumeration which has been made of the antiquities discovered, the question now arises, to what city and to what period do they belong? Inasmuch as I discovered the city on the very site which the tradition of all antiquity identifies with the site of Troy; inasmuch as the city was evidently rich, and destroyed in a fearful catastrophe by the hands of the enemy; since, moreover, I find in it the great circuit-wall, and the great tower with the double gate, whose situation answers the position of the Homeric Scaean gates—there can remain no doubt whatever that this is the very city sung by Homer, that this is the very city destroyed by the Greeks, that this is the Ilium of eternal glory. But all the thousands and thousands of objects I discovered there belong to such a remote antiquity, that the siege and catastrophe sung by Homer probably happened more than 1,500 years before his time. Homer cannot possibly have seen a trace of Troy, because at his epoch the ruins of the Trojan houses, the great circuit-wall, and the tower, were covered by a layer of rubbish 20 to 27 feet thick. Homer made no excavations to bring those monuments to light. Thus his description of Ilium is vague and obscure. He knew all the events of the city's tragic fate solely

from tradition, for those events had been sung before his time by numerous rhapsodists. If the Homeric rhapsodies alone have been preserved, it is because they were the most sublime of all. The twenty shafts I have sunk on the plateau around Hissarlik show that the Homeric Ilium was limited to that very mount.

But Ilium was not the first city built on the site. In fact there exists below Ilium, at a depth of from 33 to 53 feet, the gigantic ruins of another much older city, whose pottery is also handmade, viz., without the potter's wheel, but shows much more perfection and many new types. The most perfect and most beautiful terra-cottas I found there on the virgin soil at 47 to 53 feet below the surface. Most of them have, outside and inside, incised ornaments. The most interesting terra-cottas of this primitive city are the glazed black, red, or brown basins, which have on two sides of the rim a long ornamented tube for suspension with a string. Among the most interesting objects discovered in this city, I may mention a small interment formed of three flat stones, containing two terra-cotta tripods filled with human ashes. In one of these tripods, which is represented on page 153 of my work, I found the bones of an embryo of six months, with which the learned physician Aretaeos in Athens has recomposed the whole skeleton. (See Plate VI. fig. 6). Besides I found there the skeleton of a woman with her golden ornaments; it was in an oblique position in the charred ruins of a house which had evidently been destroyed by fire, and thus there can be no doubt that the woman was burnt alive. This is also proved by the fact that all the pre-historic nations which inhabited the mount had the custom of burning the dead human bodies, and depositing their ashes in funeral urns, of which I found hundreds.

Among the Trojan vases I have still to mention those in form of hogs, hedgehogs, moles, bears, and hippopotami, provided at the place of the tail with funnel-like openings, which are joined by a large handle with the neck. Very interesting are also the innumerable objects of ivory or bone for the use of women, the very heavy sling-shots of hematite, the copper arrows in the primitive form of small headless nails, and finally the beautiful moulds of mica-slate in form of parallelepipeda, having on each of their six sides moulds for casting manifold arms, of which the greater part are now altogether unknown to us. (See woodcut on the next page.) I may also mention the many interesting small vases with a handle above the opening and a small pipe in the middle, which have probably served as babies' feeding bottles. Besides the large *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα* with two immense handles, I found more than twenty differently shaped goblets. I also

found twelve inscriptions, ten of which are published in the English edition of my work, with a translation by Professor Martin Haug of Munich and Theod. Gompertz of Vienna. They are in pure Greek, but in very ancient Cypriote



STONE MOULD FOR CASTING BRONZE IMPLEMENTS, FROM HISSARLIK.

characters, and they render it a certainty that the language of the Trojans was Greek. This is further proved by the fact that, after the primitive figurative or ideal conception of Minerva's epithet *γλαυκῶπις* had been forgotten, they understood that *γλαῦξ* means the owl, and *ὤψ* the face, and materialised thus *γλαυκῶπις* into the owl-face, which they gave to Ilium's patron deity. One of the inscriptions is translated by Professor Haug *δίῳ Σίγῳ* or *Σίκῳ* (to the divine Sigo or Siko), and, since I found a great many terra-cottas on which only the first syllable of this name "Si" was incised, Professor Haug supposes that the Trojans worshipped amongst others a god or hero named Sigo or Siko, whose name we find in the name of the Trojan city Sigeum, in the name of Sigia, the site of Alexandria-Troas, in the name of Sikyon in the Peloponnesus, which had indeed for king the Trojan Echepolus, the son of Anchises, the brother of Aeneias (Il. xxiii. 296.) Professor Haug recognises also in the name of the Scæan gates, and in that of the Scamander, the etymology of Sigo or Siko.

Any doubt regarding the very remote antiquity of the Trojan collection must disappear when we examine the objects gathered in my thirty-four shafts sunk in the acropolis of Mykenae, for all the pottery found there has been made on the potter's wheel, and has painted ornaments. The most ancient piece I found there, at a depth of 20 feet, on the virgin rock, represents a horse, perfectly similar to the horses on the most ancient vases of Attica, of which several are in the Museum of the Warvakeion and in the Ministry of Public Instruction at

Athens, and to which an age of 1,400 years B.C. is generally attributed. But these vases appear quite modern when compared with the hand-made Trojan pottery, which has only incised ornaments, and shows no trace of painting. Thus there can be no doubt that the mighty cyclopean walls of Mykenae, and this city itself—which, according to Homer, plays such a prominent part in the war of Troy—were built ages after that war, and that, in singing the events of the Trojan siege, which were known to him as a Saga, the poet illustrates the personages who lived at his time, or shortly preceded him, and describes to us the world and its civilization just as he saw it. Since I speak of Mykenae, I may add that I found there a number of idols of Hera, with a very compressed face, and a *polos* on the head; further, four small cows of terra-cotta. Thus it is certain that the metamorphosis of Hera's cow-head into a woman's head took place long before the foundation of Mykenae.

The only Greek pottery which resembles the Trojan pottery are the terra-cottas dug up by the director of the French School of Athens, M. Emile Burnouf, in the ruins of a pre-historic city on the island of Santorin, below three strata of pumicestone and volcanic ashes, 40 to 80 feet in thickness, thrown out by that immense central volcano, which, according to the French geologists, must have sunk and disappeared about 2000 B.C. Only a small portion of this Santorin pottery is hand-made; by far the larger part has been turned on the potter's wheel; and, with but a few exceptions, all the terra-cottas have painted ornaments, which are in general but rudely made, but show in some instances a great deal of art. A few of the vases have, like the Trojan vases, a perpendicular tubular loop on each side, and in the same direction perforations in the rim for suspension with a string. The Santorin vases, with a long backward-bent neck, are undoubtedly intended to represent a woman, for they have two female breasts in high relief, and painted earrings, but no face. The Santorin houses are, like those of the larger monuments of Troy, built of small stones joined with earth; but they have 2 and 2½ inch thick coatings of chalk and wall paintings, whilst at Troy I never found a trace of either chalk or colour in the ruins of any of the four pre-historic nations. Only one whorl with incised ornaments was found there, and a small saw, which had for years been considered to be of pure copper, but which now turns out to be of bronze. There were found no implements or weapons of stone, and only some stone weights, which show a decimal system, besides a very small perforated bead of gold. On the whole, therefore, the antiquities of Santorin appear to be by many centuries posterior to Troy.

In the small collection of pre-historic antiquities in the University at Naples

are a few black glazed fragments of vases, and amongst them one with two tubular loops, perfectly agreeing with the quality and form of the vases I found in Troy in the virgin soil, at a depth of 50 to 53 feet below the surface. These fragments came from an excavation made in the Abruzzi.

The museum of St. Germain-en-Laye contains the casts of two such double tubular loops of vases of the very same quality and form; the originals are in the museum at Vannes, in Brittany. It further contains a couple of hand-made pre-historic vases, said to have been found in Normandy, with only one perpendicular tubular loop on each side, and perfectly similar in form to the vases of the second pre-historic nation at Hissarlik. The museum of Boulogne-sur-Mer contains amongst its Roman vases, under No. 326, a hand-made vase with a backward-bent neck of a remote antiquity, and perfectly resembling the vases of the second Trojan period.

Some of the Cypriote vases of the Cesnola collection resemble a little the Trojan vases, inasmuch as they have on each side small rings, which can only have served for suspension by strings; but they have no real tubular loops, and are, without any exception, made on the potter's wheel; besides, their painted ornaments do not at all denote a high antiquity.

In the British Museum I find in the Assyrian collection two beautiful vases found at Nimrud, with a pointed base, incised ornaments, and a vertical cylindrical loop for suspension on each side; thus they perfectly resemble the Trojan vases, but both are made on the potter's wheel, and thus, probably, not of a remote antiquity. Since I speak of the Assyrian collection, I call your attention to the perfect similarity of the Trojan bronze battle-axes to the Assyrian. The latter are, in my opinion, erroneously called here "chisels;" for, since seventeen of these objects were found, together with lances and daggers, in the Trojan treasure, they can hardly be anything else than battle-axes. I further mention the Assyrian cylindroids of hematite, with two pointed ends, which are thought here to be weights, but which can hardly be anything else than sling-bullets. I found a large number of the same description at Troy. Further, the very coarse Assyrian terra-cotta plates perfectly resemble those found at Hissarlik at 23 to 33 feet below the surface.

Among objects in the collection of Cypriote terra-cottas of the British Museum which resemble those of the same form found at Troy, I may mention five vessels with perforations on all sides, like sieves; a vase with a convex base and two long backward-bent necks; vases in form of animals, with a funnel-like opening in the place of the tail; and babies' feeding-bottles with a handle above the mouth.

For objects in other collections in the British Museum which resemble those found at Troy, it will be sufficient to notice the flint saw-knives, stone weights, axes, hammers, celts, wedges, and whetstones of slate with a hole at one end. Further, I may mention the whorls, discs of terra-cotta, awls, pins and needles of bone, from the Swiss lakes; the handmill-stones from Anglesea; the Egyptian hunting-bottles of terra-cotta; the ancient Peruvian vases with an animal's head, and a sort of a funnel at the place of the tail; nine small vases with horizontal rings for suspension, from Germany; and, I may add, some of the ornamental ancient Peruvian whorls.

Though it has now been ascertained that the small collection of hand-made archaic terra-cottas from Marino, near Castel Gandolfo, has not been found below, but above, the stratum of peperino, still I continue to consider it by far the most ancient in the British Museum, but it is too artistically made to approach the age of the Trojan collection. The cross, and the cross with the marks of its four nails, which have been carved into the four sides of the base of two vessels of the Marino collection, deserve particular attention.

I may likewise add, that not the slightest trace either of glass or of iron has been found in the strata of ruins of any one of the different pre-historic nations which inhabited Hissarlik.

Gentlemen, I have given you a summary account of the thousands of relics which from pure love for science, by three years' excavations in a most pestilential climate, it has been my good fortune to rescue from the depths of the earth, where they had been buried for more than forty-two centuries. This my work has called forth many different and often contradictory opinions; it has caused many to cover my name with praise, whilst others have thought proper to indulge in unmeasured abuse. But I shall feel safe in confiding my character and enterprise to the candid judgment of this assembly of Englishmen and of Antiquaries; I shall feel satisfied if it be admitted that I have thrown some light on the dark pre-historic times of Greece, and contributed something towards the solution of the great problem of the real site of the Homeric Troy—a city which is indissolubly bound up with the most celebrated masterpiece of Greek poetry, and with one of the most glorious legends of Greek history.

III.—*An account of Discoveries made in Celtic Tumuli near Dover, Kent.* By
CUMBERLAND HENRY WOODRUFF, Esq., F.S.A.

Read December 12, 1872.

THE rarity of Celtic tumuli in the eastern part of Kent contrasts strongly with the comparative abundance of Anglo-Saxon sepulchral remains which have been discovered in that part of the county. One of the former, explored by Douglas,^a and a large and interesting barrow in Iffins Wood, near Canterbury,^b opened about thirty years ago by Mr. Bell, are, as far as I know, the only recorded instances of Celtic tumuli in East Kent.

The two barrows, from one of which the urns and vessels now exhibited were taken, are situated nearly half-way between Dover and Deal, in the parish of Ringwould, on the ridge of a high down within a mile of the sea, and command a view of the coast from the North to the South Foreland. They are 80 yards apart, 24 yards in diameter, slightly oval in form, and 4 feet 6 inches at their highest point above the natural soil.

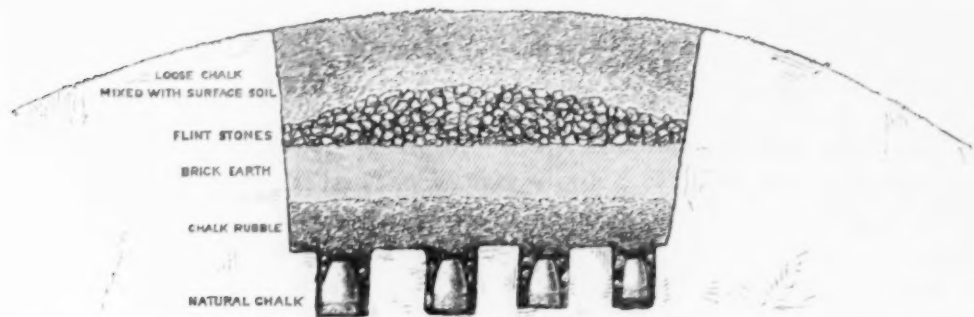
Excavations were commenced by digging a trench in the western mound from the north-west side, through loose chalk mixed with surface mould. About the centre, at a depth of three feet, we came upon a deposit of human bones bearing traces of having been burnt on the spot, without pottery or other remains. Continuing our researches to the east we removed a heap of flint-stones, which extended laterally for about ten feet each way; below the stones was a layer of brick-earth, amongst which fragments of charcoal occurred, and beneath the brick-earth chalk rubble covered the natural chalk to the depth of one foot. Amongst the flints and above them were some bones and teeth of a horse.

The accompanying section of the centre of the barrow will give an idea of its construction. On coming to the natural chalk we discovered the primary interments. Cylindrical cists had, in three instances, been dug to the depth of

^a *Nenia Britannica*, p. 158.

^b *Archæologia*, xxx. 57.

eighteen inches; in the fourth the chalk had been slightly undermined on one side of the cist, and a neatly arched niche formed for the reception of the urn; in each case the bottom of the cavity had been levelled with great care and precision, so that no interstices should intervene between the rim of the inverted urn and the soil below. The first which we uncovered contained the fragments of a large urn ornamented with a chevron pattern, the lines of which had been



SECTION OF CENTRE OF WEST TUMULUS, RINGWOULD, KENT.

produced by impressing a twisted thong in the soft clay. No bones were found with this deposit. The second urn (No. 1 in the annexed plate), which stood inverted in the above-mentioned niche, was extracted nearly perfect; it is slightly ornamented with vertical lines on the overhanging portion of the top and is thirteen inches in height. It covered a heap of calcined bones. The next urn had been completely crushed by the superincumbent soil; it appeared to have been about sixteen inches in height and had handles, and an impressed pattern similar to No. 2. Within this crushed urn was lying a small cup (No. 4) of the rudest workmanship, the mouth of which was stopped with a lump of half-baked clay. A somewhat similar cup was found in Dorsetshire filled with small birds' bones. (See *Barrow-diggers, a Dialogue*, pl. ix.) A few fragments of bones, apparently those of an infant, accompanied this interment.

The fourth and principal interment in the tumulus consisted of a large urn (No. 2), which fell to pieces on being moved, and revealed a heap of burnt bones, very white and dry, and two small vessels (Nos. 3 and 5), the larger of which (No. 3) is four inches in height, and ornamented with horizontal lines round the top, and an indistinct chevron pattern. The smaller, the mouth of which was covered by the bottom of the other, is two inches in height, and has an alternate



URNS FOUND IN A BARROW, RINGWOULD, KENT.

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arrangement of vertical and horizontal lines round the upper portion. Near the bottom it is perforated by two small holes. It contained the remains of some burnt substance. Vessels of this class are illustrated in Bateman's "Ten Years' Diggings," pp. 281 and 283, as well as in Dr. Thurnam's elaborate memoir printed in the *Archæologia*, xliii. p. 357. Of the specimens figured by the latter our example comes nearest in form to fig. 53 from Clayton Hill, Sussex (p. 367), in which, however, the holes are replaced by slashes in the sides. The holes, which often occur in these cups, have been conjectured to be for suspension, but it seems more probable in this case, from the ashes inside, and from the fact that the top was closed, that they were formed to allow the escape of smoke.

The large urn (No. 2), which has been imperfectly restored, is sixteen inches in height, and ornamented with lines and the chevron pattern on the upper part. It had originally four projecting handles, or rather representations of handles, and may be compared with one figured on plate xxix. fig. 7, of Kemble's "*Horæ Ferales*," from Fifeshire. The projecting handles occur in the larger urns of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. We may mention, for instance, the urn found in a tumulus at Dewlish, Dorsetshire, engraved in Warne, *Celtic Tumuli of Dorsetshire*, plate iv. fig. 13; another from Roke Down, Dorset, in Mr. Durden's Collection, *Archæologia*, xliii. plate xxx.; and the fragments of urns from Duloe Circle and Morvah Hill, Cornwall, fig. 5, published in Borlase, *Nænia Cornubiæ*, pp. 128, 248. Amongst the ashes covered by this urn were four small beads of light green vitreous paste. (Plate VIII. No. 7.) (See Akerman's *Archæological Index*, plate v. 56 and 64, and also *Archæologia*, xliii. p. 495.)

All the pottery in the barrow was of very soft and imperfectly baked clay, which hardened on exposure to the atmosphere. Between the urns and the sides of the cists large surface flints had been wedged, together with chalk rubble. The western part of the barrow was next explored, but nothing was discovered on this side.

In comparing this tumulus with the one opened in Iffins Wood, of which an account appeared in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 57, it is remarkable that in neither was anything found in the western half of the mound; in both, brick-earth occurred, which at Iffins Wood furnished the entire material of which the barrow was constructed, without any heap of flints, so usual a feature in Celtic grave-mounds.

The eastern barrow, on being opened, presented a very different appearance from its companion; chalk, unmixed, except near the surface, with any other

substance, formed the material of its construction, and the barrow seemed to have been prepared but never used for sepulture, prepared perhaps at the time when the interments were made in the western tumulus. At a depth of one foot from the surface was found a fragment of the rim of an urn, ornamented with irregular incised lines. (Plate VIII. No. 6.)*

I think I may be justified in inferring that these remains belong to a late rather than an early Celtic period. Burial by cremation, and the form of two of the smaller vessels, seem to point to Roman influences.

There are still, I believe, a few undisturbed Celtic tumuli in Kent, and I hope by a future exploration of some of these to gain more knowledge of their comparative antiquity.

* The material of this fragment is thinner, harder, and more thoroughly baked than that of the larger urns from the other barrow; and from the position in which it was found it seems probable that it formed part of a domestic and not of a sepulchral vessel.

IV.—*On the Parish Books of St. Margaret-Lothbury, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, and St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, in the City of London.* By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read March 26, 1874.

THE parishes of St. Margaret-Lothbury, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, and St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, form an irregular quadrilateral figure, of which the northern side is bounded by a line a few yards north of Lothbury and Throgmorton Street; the two other principal sides are roughly formed by Prince's Street, Threadneedle Street, and a line west of Old Broad Street.

The parish of St. Christopher-le-Stocks was so called from the church having been not far from the City stocks, the name of which was perpetuated in a market which was called the Stocks Market, on the site of which the Mansion House now stands.

The church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks had been damaged by the fire of 1666, but the tower remained. It consisted of a nave and two aisles. It was rebuilt after the fire by Sir Christopher Wren, and was pulled down in the year 1780.

The parish of St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, or, as it was called originally, St. Bartholomew-the-Little, and afterwards St. Bartholomew-the-Little-behind-the-Royal-Exchange, was so called to distinguish it from the two other parishes of St. Bartholomew in the City. The church consisted of a nave, two aisles, and a transept, with a tower at the south-west of the south aisle. There was a lanthorn on the tower. This church, except the tower, was burnt at the great fire, and was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. The second church was pulled down in the year 1840. It stood at the corner of Bartholomew Lane and Threadneedle Street, and has been rebuilt near the Moorgate Street Railway Station. The new church is in part a copy of Wren's church.

The parish of St. Margaret-Lothbury is so called from the church of St. Margaret being situate in the street called "Lothbury."

I believe that antiquaries have expended some time in trying to discover the meaning of the word "Lothbury." Stow says that the street was called Lotesbury. Some have said that the name is derived from the word "lead," because the dealers in lead lived there, but I can find no trace of this, although brass-founders seem to have lived there. Founders' Hall was in the parish and Founders' Court is still there, but these were brass-founders. Others have said that the place, from its joining the poor district which lay north of Lothbury towards the London Wall, was so low a neighbourhood that it was called "Loath," from people *loathing* to have to do with it. But neither of these derivations approves itself to my mind; nor yet a third, which connects it, in common with Ludgate, with the fabulous King Lud. If I might venture upon a suggestion it would be that both Lothbury and Ludgate are derived from the word *lode*, which, in some parts of England, still means a cut or drain leading into a larger stream. In both these cases the name would be appropriate, for Ludgate leads to the Fleet Ditch or River, and Lothbury runs over the course of the Wall brook.

The church of St. Margaret appears to have been a small building, with a nave, two aisles, and a tower at the west end of the south aisle.

The Wall brook ran under the rectory-house, through the churchyard,* and under the altar of the church.

The church was entirely destroyed at the fire, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. It stands substantially as it was built.

Almost the whole of the parish of St. Christopher-le-Stocks is absorbed by the Bank of England, which also occupies a considerable portion of the two other parishes.

The private drawing-office of the Bank of England stands upon the site of the church of St. Christopher. The pretty garden in the centre of the building is the churchyard of St. Christopher. The courtyard of the Bank, entering from Threadneedle Street, is the courtyard of the house of the parish squire, and the office for changing bank-notes occupies the site of his house. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there was a large garden adjoining the churchyard, and the Wall brook, after passing under Lothbury, ran as an open stream, with a little waterfall, through the garden and part of the churchyard.

The parishes have been much altered since Queen Elizabeth's time, although the alterations are really modern. Moorgate Street has been cut through the poorest and the densest part of the parish of St. Margaret. Princes Street, formerly a small narrow crooked alley, leading along the course of the Wall brook, from the Poultry to the church of St. Margaret-Lothbury, has been deviated and widened,

and has absorbed that portion of the parish of St. Christopher which was not contained in the Bank of England or in the open space in front of the Royal Exchange. The open space in front of the Royal Exchange was covered with houses; and Bartholomew Lane was no more than half its present width. Most of these alterations have been made within my memory.

There is not much difference in the area of the three parishes; St. Christopher's is rather the smallest. The two other parishes are about the same size. But while there were very few poor in the parish of St. Christopher there were a great many in the parish of St. Margaret, and a considerable number in the parish of St. Bartholomew.

In the reign of King Charles I. there were about seventy houses in St. Christopher's, about 115 in St. Bartholomew's, and rather more in St. Margaret's.

In an account of the parishes, given after the fire, it is stated that there were five people who kept carriages in St. Christopher's and St. Margaret's, and six in St. Bartholomew's. Any guess at the number of inhabitants would be merely hazardous, but I should fancy that there were not so many as 500 in St. Christopher's, and not more than 600 in either of the other two parishes. The best houses in St. Christopher's were along Threadneedle Street; in St. Bartholomew's, in Throgmorton Street; and in St. Margaret's, round about Founders' Hall, in Lothbury.

The livings of St. Margaret's and St. Bartholomew's were in the gift of the Lord Keeper. That of St. Christopher's was in the gift of the Bishop of London.

The parish books of the three parishes have been more or less well preserved, those of St. Margaret's less than the others. Those of St. Bartholomew are the most interesting, and those of St. Christopher-le-Stocks are perhaps the most complete.

The books of St. Bartholomew consist of the vestry minute-books, the churchwardens' account-books, and the register of births, marriages, and deaths.

The books of St. Margaret-Lothbury consist of the same, but the earlier account-books have been altogether lost.

The books of St. Christopher consist of the same, with the addition of a book called the Book of Records, which has also been used as a vestry minute-book, and this book is curious because it contains copies of all sorts of miscellaneous parish documents, including a list, made in the year 1488 by the churchwardens, of all the ornaments of the church in the year 1483, with notes made opposite some of them in the reign of King Henry VIII., of the sale of them, and the price they fetched. (See Appendix No. I.)

This list occupies thirty-five pages of the book, and gives an idea of the richness of a parish church neither large nor important. Among the remarkable

ornaments are a complete set of white vestments for Lent, dresses for a boy bishop, and a mitre and pastoral staff for the bishop. The list was exhibited in 1518 to John Bishop of Gallipoli, Archdeacon of London, and bears his signature. This bishop was Rector of St. Martin's, Oxford, and afterwards rector of Allhallows, Hony Lane, and Dean of Chichester; his name was John Young, and he subsequently became Warden of New College, Oxford, where there is a monumental brass to his memory.

The book also contains various other lists of the ornaments in the church made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (see Appendix Nos. IV. and V.), and there is also a list of things saved from the fire in 1666. Several of the lists may be interesting to an ecclesiastical lawyer, as showing the vestments that were preserved, apparently for use, in St. Christopher's church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I infer from them that the vestments and tunics were used in the church until the third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when, being worn out, the material was sold, and they were not replaced, there being no parish funds applicable to the purpose of purchasing new articles, and this I believe to be the real reason of the discontinuance of the use of vestments in churches. They were not necessary for the services of the church; they were expensive to buy; the faithful did not present them; and the parish authorities had enough to do with the parish money in providing for the hospitals and their own sick and poor.

Several of the writings in the book are ornamented with pen-and-ink designs in a spirited manner, and one of them contains the names of the churchwardens, and also a name in Greek characters, $\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\epsilon$, which I take to be that of the scribe, and the price he was paid for the writing—3s. 4d.

When I first became churchwarden and found this book it was in the most ruinous condition, but it has been beautifully repaired, as have also all the other parish books, by the kindness of the Bank of England, at the instance of Mr. Robert Crawford, late Member for the City, who was governor at the time when I first became churchwarden and discovered them. I say, discovered them, advisedly, because several were little better than a heap of rubbish, and might just as soon have been swept away as restored.

There are many other matters in the book of records of more or less interest, but there are only two or three worthy of mention here. It seems that in the year 1488 there were in the church twelve tables hung on the wall with different prayers upon them, and one of these was the Ten Commandments. This is put first in the list of tables. The other eleven are apparently prayers to the Virgin, St. Gregory, St. Christopher, and other saints. I mention this

because the more one looks into the matter the more does one see the conservative manner in which our first Reformers reformed the Church, and it is not unlikely that an investigation would show that in ordering the Ten Commandments to be hung up in churches they were perpetuating an existing custom.

The other two are entries in the years 1501 and 1523.

The first of these is a series of regulations respecting the churchyard, and the reading of mass, and other services in the church, and particularly the services to be conducted by the chauntry priests.

The churchyard was to be closed with a door with a latch and key, and was to be locked in winter at curfew, viz., at eight, and in summer at nine o'clock.

Mass was to be said in winter at seven and in summer at six, and it is specially provided that two masses shall not be said at the same time.

This memorandum is drawn up by the parishioners, and shows an amount of liberty and interference on the part of the parishioners that we would hardly have expected.

Twenty-two years later elaborate regulations were made by the parish respecting the pricing of pews. The pews are all properly numbered and priced, and pews are appropriated in the body of the church for women; one is said to be near the Shriving House. I do not see that any pews were reserved for men. The most select pews were in the north and south aisles of the chancel.

There is the following regulation touching the penalty of not paying for a pew:—

If any person be rebell so that he will not sit or pay according as he is now appointed by the same cessors, or as hereafter he shall be appointed by the churchwardens then being, that then the churchwardens shall first show his rebellion to the parishioners in the vestry, where, if he will not be reformed by the first monition given unto him openly in the vestry by the parishioners there assembled, or if he refuse to come afore the parishioners there assembled when he is wanted by the churchwardens, that then the churchwardens for that time being shall complain of him that so rebelled unto the ordinary, they to sue him at the church costs until such time as he be reduced unto a good order and hath paid both the costs of the suit and the charge that he oweth unto the church.

This book is therefore one more evidence if any such were needed of the fact that pews and the letting of them are not the inventions of our Reformers, as it was for many years erroneously and even maliciously stated. The prices of the pews vary—according to the number of people they will hold and according to their nearness to the east end—from 22*d.* down to 2*d.* a quarter.

In addition to these entries there are copies of wills concerning the parish,

of which one, that of Lady Margery Nerford, a relation of Sir John Oldcastle, Baron Cobham, is interesting. There are also some early vestry minutes. One in 1567 is curious, as it shows the vestry prescribing how often the sacrament shall be administered—once in six weeks, and another as showing the area of the parish taken for the Royal Exchange.

There is not much more to which I can refer in the other books of St. Christopher's.

The vestry minutes seem to have been kept in a very regular but very meagre manner. Year after year passes with nothing more than a notice of the appointment of the different parish officers and a calculation of the various assessments from time to time.

The troublous times of King Charles I. and the Commonwealth, which, as we shall presently see, afford many items of interest in the books of St. Bartholomew and St. Margaret, are hardly at all noticed in the books of St. Christopher. There are one or two entries to which I shall draw attention, but as a rule they are merely of the nature I mention. Even a change of parson is hardly noticed.

I attribute this to the smallness of the parish, and to the fact that there were living in it two or three very influential people, who most probably kept the parish affairs in their own hands.

The first entry among the vestry minutes of St. Bartholomew is dated 1567, and in St. Margaret-Lothbury, 1571.

The books of St. Bartholomew begin with copies of various wills affecting the parish and then with an account of a parish meeting. Those of St. Margaret begin with a series of ordinances made by the parishioners for the management of the affairs of the parish. These ordinances are not unusual in the City parishes, and are apparently only a reducing into writing of existing customs. They relate principally to the appointment and duties of the parish officers, and are merely of local interest.

There are two which I think worth quoting, viz.: the seventh and the eleventh. They are as follows:—

Item.—If anie man's children or servantes shalbe found to breake the glas windowes of the church, the same parents or masters shall repara and amend the same by any of his owen proper costs and charges.

Item.—It is ordained that whose son or servant shall be found to missfease Iohn a wood, sexton, in word or deed, whereby he may not quietly execute and accomplish all such service as the parish hath appointed him to do, the parents or masters of such son or servant shall pay the churchwarden for the time being 12*d.* a piece to the use of the poor for every such default, and

if any such do deny to pay the same 12*d.*, being of them reasonably required, and complaint made thereof to the majority of the parish at a vestry, he or they shall be dismissed from his or their pew or pews in the church; and if yet he or they shall continue obstinate and not pay the same sum of 12*d.* as is aforesaid, then further complaint shall be made thereof to the Bishop or his Ordinary.

There is a similar penalty to any householder who will not contribute to the clerk's wages.

It will be seen by comparing these regulations with those of St. Christopher that the Reformers of the service made very little difference in the rules and regulations affecting the parish.

Incidentally the well-known custom of London with reference to the appointment of churchwardens is described, viz., that the parishioners shall appoint both, and each to remain in office for two years.

The matters dealt with in the books relate principally to the following heads:—

The appointment of parish officers and the assessments both for imperial and for local purposes.

Minutes of the steps taken to prevent the plague, which was a frequent visitant of the parishes, of the steps taken to relieve those who were visited, as it was termed, with it, and other sick and old folk; of the repairs and alterations in the church; the appointment of lecturers; and lastly in many instances the quarrels which from time to time took place between the clergy and the parishioners, generally owing to what the parishioners considered an encroachment upon their privileges; in short, an interesting history of the every-day parochial life of a period extending from the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's time to the end of the last century. The difficulty has been to know where to separate that which is merely of local interest from that which is, to a certain extent, historical.

I have been much struck with the completeness of the parochial system, and the admirable manner in which it worked. Imperial and local taxes were all collected according to a precept from the Lord Mayor. Streets, alleys, and sewers were cleansed. The sick were all known, watched, and doctored, and every case reported to the parish authorities. In the time of the plague the regulations extended to watching and marking visited houses, disinfecting houses, bedding, and effects, and the burial of the dead at seasonable hours; and all this, when done in a small community where everyone was known, seems to have worked well. The one point which has surprised me was, that with all the

care against infection it was customary to bury, not only in the churchyards, but in the churches themselves, those who died of plague, and this contrary to the Royal injunctions. I think it must have been because a portion of the parish revenue was derived from the burial fees, but it seems an extraordinary custom.

Among the earlier items I have selected one or two from each of the parishes, as showing the times of service. Thus, under date July 1573 and 1582, in St. Margaret-Lothbury, are the following items :

1573.—A vestry holden the 27th of July, 1573.

Agreed by the consent of Mr. Parson and the parishioners that upon every workeday we shall have morning prayer at five o'clock.

Also to have a lecture every Wednesday and Friday, beginning at five o'clock and ending at six o'clock, the bell to toll half an hour after five in the afternoon.

The 13th of January, 1581.

Item.—It is agreed at a vestry holden the day above said that John Briths shall be clerk during the pleasure of the worshipful, and others of the parish, and he is to ring the bell at five of the clock and to toll the bell at curfew.

Anyone who may have lived in the City will have heard the bells of several of the churches ring at five o'clock in the morning. The inhabitants in the City will tell you that the bell is what is called the apprentice bell, but it is indeed the only remnant of this early service at five o'clock. I remember three churches at least in which the bell was rung. In one the ringing has lately been discontinued by order of the rector, and the reason of its continuance up till now may, I think, be found in the fact that the sexton was paid in accordance with these old ordinances of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a portion of his pay was for ringing the bell for service at five o'clock in the morning.

The extracts from St. Bartholomew's are taken from the years 1567 and 1583.

At a vestry holden in the same parish the 23rd day of March, 1567, in the presence of Sir John White, knight, and the most part of the parishioners, a sexton was appointed, and it is agreed in the said vestry that from henceforth the sexton of the said parish shall toll the bell a short time to common prayer, and afterwards to toll two bells together, and to ring the sanctus bell and no more, except there be a sermon, then to toll one bell as hath been accustomed.

At a vestry holden the said 26th day of December, 1583, it was concluded and agreed as followeth for the order of ringing to service—that is to say, yearly from the Feast of St. Michael unto the Annunciation of Our Lady, to ring the first peal in the morning with one bell half an hour after seven, and the second peal with two bells at eight, and to toll all in with the bells half an hour after eight. And from the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady until the Feast of St.

Michael, to ring the first peal at seven of the clock, the second peal half an hour after seven, and all in at eight, and for the evening prayer to ring the first peal at one of the clock, and to observe as the time of year will permit.

The entries in the books during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James are of interest, but I shall only touch upon some of the points in them for fear of being tedious.

I have said that part of the Royal Exchange lay in the parish of St. Bartholomew, and among the items in the account-book there are from time to time charges for "clearing the Exchange." There is a well-known picture of the Exchange by Hollar, showing the parish officer of the time clearing the Exchange from a quantity of boys, who appear to have been playing at whipping-top in the middle.

Other items in the account-book are charges for whipping men and women, particularly women—and these, of course, appear at first sight harsh to us, but it must be remembered that the people who were so whipped were vagrants, and that experience showed that the plague was carried from parish to parish by these wandering, or, as we should now call them, casual, paupers. A visitation of the plague was, as we shall presently see, an awful affair.

In the parish of St. Bartholomew the changes in the clergy in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James were very few; there were, in fact, only four rectors during that period, and there is not much said of them. We first find Mr. John Scarlett, who was rector from 1567 to 1590.

He was succeeded by Dr. John Dix, and it was during his time that the registers were copied from paper on to parchment. The parchment book cost 25s. 6d., and writing up the back registers from the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign cost 20s. The account-book was also purchased at the same time, and cost 4s. 8d.

In the account-book are entries for "holly and ivy" at Christmas, and occasionally for "rosemary, bay, and strawings" at Easter.

I cannot find that Dr. Dix died in the parish. The last vestry he attended was in November, 1613, and his successor, Dr. Robert Hill, became parson in July, 1614.

During his time Mr. Richard Crookman, a goldsmith of London, gave a pulpit cloth of green wrought velvet, ornamented with gold, and the letters I. H. S. embroidered in gold and silver upon it. I should not mention this but that it appears later.

Dr. Robert Hill appears to have been a liberal man, for there is entered in the accounts, "Given to two poor Turks, turned Christians, 2s."

This item, when it was audited, was questioned by the auditors, and was deducted by them with this remark, "Memorandum: And whereas there is a charge in this account given to two poor Turks, which he should not have done, 2s., which sum is deducted."

Possibly the auditors fancied they might be Greeks, who, though Turkish subjects, were always Christians.

In the year 1623 Dr. John Grant became a rector, and with him I will pause for a little.

During this interval there are many entries relating to the plague. The plague was in the parish from the year 1593 to the year 1603 almost incessantly.

In the year 1593 the disease, which was very deadly in most parishes in the City, was apparently of no strength in St. Bartholomew's; but in the year 1603, the annual death-rate being about 15, 92 persons died, and of these 80 died between the 1st of July and the 1st of January.

The plague in London appears to have commenced with the Spring, to have become fatal about the month of June, and continued until the month of December. In the Levant, on the contrary, the plague used to commence shortly after the beginning of January, and never extended beyond the latter end of June.

We will now turn to St. Margaret's books.

For some reason the most interesting items in these books between the dates I have before mentioned refer to the disputes which took place between the parish and the clergy.

In the autumn of 1574 the plague was in the parish with some severity, and in December Mr. James Style, who was then the rector (being the first rector of the parish after the Reformation) applied to the vestry for leave to go into the country for the benefit of his health. This is mentioned in a minute of the 2nd of December, as follows:—

At a vestry holden the 2nd day of December, 1574, it is agreed by the whole parish that the parson shall have licence to depart into the country for the recovery of his health for the space of one month or six weeks, and the parish is content to bear somewhat towards the charges of a minister to serve in his absence.

In two or three subsequent meetings his absence is referred to, and on the 8th of May in the following year he had not returned, and the vestry then deter-

mined that the churchwardens and sidesmen should go to the Bishop. The minute is as follows :—

The 8th day of May, 1575.—At a vestry then holden by those persons hereunder named, it was agreed that the churchwardens and sidesmen should go to the Bishop and complain of James Style for his absence, with request to take order that we may be used better.

On the 12th of June it was determined to send a deputation of the parishioners, with the churchwardens and sidesmen, to the Bishop of London and to the Lord Keeper. This appears by the following minute :—

The 12th day of June, 1575.—At a vestry by those names hereunder written, it was agreed that Mr. Beckett, Mr. Ansell, and Mr. Bramley, Mr. George Smith, Mr. Kent, Mr. Doughtey, or three of them, with the churchwardens and sidesmen, shall go to the Lord of London, or to the Lord Keeper, and require that James Style may be deprived, and that the Lord of London may take some shorter way for such course than by the ordinary course of law, for avoiding the church and the parish.

About a month later there is a minute to the effect that the Bishop required the churchwardens to pay tithes and first-fruits due to James Style, and so it must be assumed the parish got the worst of it.

But if he continued rector his name never appears again in the books, although that of his successor does not occur till 1581.

In that year Mr. Alexander Shepherd became rector of the parish.

It is clear from the minutes that preaching or lecturing on Sundays was not practised in the church, for in the year 1583 Mr. Shepherd offered to preach a lecture upon Tuesdays and Thursdays ; but the parishioners preferred to have one on Sundays in the forenoon, and on Thursdays in the night.

The minute which records this fact is interesting, because it is signed by Sir Julius Caesar, a well-known lawyer, who was Doctor of Laws and Judge of the Admiralty Court. He lived in a house adjoining Founders' Hall for several years, and then removed to the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where he died.

The last minute signed by Mr. Shepherd is in May 1588.

In June of 1588 the new rector, Mr. James Baxter, signs the minutes, and then, and in other cases after his signature, he writes the date in Greek, between two hieroglyphics, “*αφωθ*.”

Mr. Baxter found it difficult to live upon his income, and constantly appears applying to the parishioners for aid. Almost all the entries in his time refer to the situation, so to speak, between himself and the parishioners.

In December, 1588, there is a memorandum of a benevolence that Mr. Baxter

was to have from the parish, and also reference to a complaint made by him against the healthiness of the rectory-house. The complaint was likely to be well founded, as the house stood over the Wall brook.

In March 1589 there is another entry, showing how the benevolence was to be collected.

This minute is the first mention of the collection and distribution of money collected during the service :—

Also at this vestry, holden this 30th day of March, 1589, at the good motion of the worshipful doctor, Julius Cæsar, it is agreed that two housekeepers of this parish, being churchwardens, or such other as be well thought of, shall stand at both the church doors to collect the benevolence of the whole auditory that resort to the lectures or preachings in this parish, and the same shall be put into some convenient chest, or safe keeping, to be bestowed upon such relief as the whole vestry shall think expedient to have it disposed unto, provided that the collections that be collected upon the Sunday before noon shall be disbursed by the churchwardens for the time being.

This minute is signed Julius Cæsar and J. Baxter, with the date in Greek.

The subject of Mr. Baxter's poverty was renewed during the next month, and he asked for a further benevolence, but some misunderstanding appears to have grown up between him and the parish which developed later on.

The minute is as follows :—

A vestry warned at the request of Mr. Baxter, 10th of April, 1589, concerning his own cause: at this vestry, upon occasion of Mr. Baxter's complaint concerning the insufficiency of his tithes towards the maintenance of his family and charge, he demanded an increase of 14*l.* 15*l.* or 16*l.* the year, by way of benevolence, and it is agreed that the churchwardens and Mr. Bramley shall go personally to the inhabitants of the parish to understand their minds concerning the raising of this said sum, and to give report at the next vestry of the parishioners inclination to the same; the rather because Mr. Baxter hath declared that he is offered a living in the Court by some of her Majesty's Council, and is to give his answer upon ten days next, being the 15th of April.

Upon the 13th of April the churchwardens reported the result of these applications in the following minute :—

At a vestry holden this Sunday, the 13th of April, 1589, the parishioners being assembled in ample sort, the churchwardens have signified their pains taken personally with every one for the increase before-mentioned, and there signified to Mr. Baxter that the said parishioners are most unwilling to any further contribution because they understand he hath concluded with Mr. Wells an exchange of this parsonage for his room or office at the court in the chapel there, contrary to his often promises to the said parish and also to the tenor of his bond given to the churchwardens and other of the parishioners for his continuance here for six years, upon

consideration of his first-fruits, granted him by the said parishioners, and the charges thereunto belonging; and upon the occasion of Mr. Baxter's solemn declaration to the whole auditory, at the entrance into the pulpit to preach, that the report was false that was given out of his resignation, declaring by the credit of a minister that it was false, there was further report taken for the better satisfying of Mr. Baxter's requests now again made to the parish at this vestry till Tuesday next after the same lecture; in which time, enquiry being made diligently of his dealing with Mr. Wells, it is found that the same was fully concluded of between them, and before the Treasurer of the Queen's House, for Mr. Wells his room, and between him and the Lord Chancellor for consent of resignation, which was also prefixed, and yet upon the Tuesday following the said Mr. Baxter, notwithstanding the many further proofs, denied the same again, persuading the parish to continue their purpose of increase of his salary; and although he had, in his entrance into the pulpit that morning, most slanderously and untruly charged his parishioners with insufficiency of consideration for his living, declaring that he had but 28*l.* for his house-keeping for thirty-nine weeks, and therefore was compelled to leave the place, yet had he 34*l.* in income and 6*l.* to pay his debts, and 16*l.* to pay his first-fruits and the charges, besides a greater sum of those of other parishes by way of benevolence in the considering of his poverty, which, being compared with the sums of money which he hath taken upon credit in and about the parish, amounting to about 30*l.*, and his promises in the pulpit to pay divers of them, and yet no performance; they then on the Tuesday, seeing his dissembling dealing with them, and other charges, have with good consideration denied his request, and then be themselves discharged of burden by his exchange with Mr. Wells, it being evident that he practised this exchange within a month after his entrance into this parsonage, and in the meantime dissembled with the parish and his feigned residence for at least six years, at least, being but nine months, may be viewed of his ill-dealing; but this is so.

The rest is scratched out carefully with the pen.

I should judge from this last rather rambling statement that Mr. Baxter, having been in debt, was assisted by the parish to pay his debts upon an understanding that he was to continue their rector for six years, I suppose in order to enable them to repay themselves, for it is difficult to understand what other inducement they could have had for keeping such a man. In order apparently to get an advance from them he concealed the fact of his being about to leave, and seems to have been otherwise economical of the truth in his dealings with the parishioners.

This is apparent, especially in his declaration about Mr. Wells, because that gentleman attends as his successor at the next meeting of the vestry, and upon that occasion he was told "that if he pleased to lecture upon the good hope he hath of the parish's good consideration he may do as God shall move him." The good hope does not seem to have been profitable, for in the year 1592 Mr. Wells announced that he would read them no more lectures, and moreover he com-

plained of their not coming to church. This appears from two minutes of the 23rd September and the 30th November, 1592.

24 Sept., 1592.

At this vestry Mr. Bowding, at the request of Mr. Wells, our parson, did speak to the whole parish that the said Mr. Wells would read no more lectures, and that, if the parishioners would provide one to read a lecture in this our church, our said parson would and did by this his deputy give leave for another to read or preach any day or days that they would appoint.

On the 30th Nov^r. there was moved by the churchwarden at the desire of the parson that the inhabitors of this parish would come better or to say oftener to the church on Sundaie, and then the parson himself moved the s^d parishioners in the same matter at large, and shewed the small appearance the Sunday before, and such like, &c.

The first of these minutes marks an important epoch in the history of the parish, viz., the voluntary surrender by the rector to the parishioners of the selection of a lecturer. When the parson of the parish permitted the parishioners to select for themselves a lecturer independent of and irresponsible to him, he virtually surrendered his charge. Archbishop Laud, whilst Bishop of London, in vain attempted to abolish these lectureships. It was then too late, and when the great rebellion broke over the city the lecturers supplanted the parsons.

In the year 1593 there was a dreadful attack of the plague in the parish, and ninety-two people died, the average yearly number of deaths during the preceding ten years being about sixteen.

The minutes show the particular provisions made upon that occasion for viewers and searchers. The process of searching produced an unexpected result in one case, as appears from a minute in August :—

On the 26th August, at a vestry, Mr. Welles, the parson, moved the parishioners about the woman which Mr. Cox kept in his chambers to serve him, for it is very suspicious for him to keep her so, it is agreed that the churchwardens shall admonish him to put her away before Sunday next, which shall be the 2nd day of Sept^r., or else to complain of him to the aldermen and to the wardmote inquest.

Then follows a note :—

Y^e 27th daie the churchwardens gave warning to Mr. Cox to put away his woman as it was agreed at the vestry y^e 26 day.

Mr. Wells died in 1596. and was buried on the 16th of August in the parish. He was succeeded by Mr. George Downham. In his time the registers were copied on to parchment.

Mr. Downham and his son continued as parsons of the parish till the year 1619, when Dr. Brooke became rector, and he remained rector till the year 1627.

In the year 1625 the celebrated plague of that year commenced in the parish in the month of April, and I make no apology for setting out the minutes referring to it:—

At a vestry holden and lawfully warned on the 24th day of April, 1625: at this vestry it was declared that a child of William Miller's was found by the searchers to die of the plague, and therefore there was order given to the churchwardens and constables that they should take order for watchmen, searchers, and all things necessary to be done for the stay of the infection, if it may please God, and also that they shall take order for the indicting of those that do keep any inmates in their houses.

At a vestry called and holden the 1st of May, 1625, William Miller, brazier, having his house shut up, being infected with the sickness, petitioned to the parish for relief and maintenance, he being at that present destitute of all means, whereupon it was agreed, by the consent of the whole vestry, that he should have 3*l.* in money lent him, and to be paid back again when it pleases God to restore him to his former health and make him able.

There were present as follows:

Here follow the names.

At a vestry holden and lawfully warned the 9th of May, 1625, it was declared he, the said William Miller, made suit again for more means, which was very strange to the whole parish, having spent so much money in so short a time. They, therefore, seeing it to be both chargeable and dangerous, it was agreed upon that, if he were willing, he and his whole household, being eight persons, should be removed to the pest house, to the which he agreed unto, and there to be kept at the charges of the parish, paying for every particular person 7*s.* per week, which did amount to 11*l.* odd money, and there to continue for a month. The parish did undertake this charge to prevent a further danger in spreading of it at the first, for many did venture and hazard themselves, both strangers and others, to see them, to the great danger of their neighbours, notwithstanding there was a warder.

This money was levied upon every person according to that proportion they pay to the poor for six months. There were present, &c.

Here follow the names.

The attempts to stop the spreading of the disease were unavailing, and before it left the parish 103 persons had died. If, as I calculate, the population was under 600, the severity of the attack may be understood.

In the following year the parish entered upon a contest with Dr. Brooke upon the subject of the offertory money. The question has something of an historical

interest about it, and so I mention it. In the reign of King Edward VI. and during the greater portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were no compulsory poor rates, but the poor were maintained by the parish to which they belonged by the voluntary contributions of the parishioners. These contributions were collected in church, and the Rubrics of the Prayer Books both of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth are framed with this object. The Rubric in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, which continued unaltered in the Prayer Book of King James, is as follows :—

After the sermon, homily, or exhortation the curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy dayes or fasting days the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poore, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion.

These are the usual offertory sentences. The rubric then proceeds :—

Then shall the churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotions of the people, and put the same into the poor man's box.

In the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth the compulsory Poor Rate Act was passed, and therefore the voluntary contributions in church became inapplicable ; but it seems clear that the churchwardens were in the habit of appropriating the offertory in aid of the rate, and hence the question which arose between the clergyman and the parish upon the subject. It is told in the following minutes :—

St. Margaret's, the 2nd day of July, 1626, at a vestry lawfully called, it was declared and debated on concerning Dr. Brooke his promise of money unto the clerk and the sexton out of the poor's money every Communion day collected, and being put to hand, whether he could do it by a custom, privilege, or power, which he challenged to have of himself, it was concluded by a full consent by those parties whose names were underwritten that he could find none at all.

The next meeting upon the subject was on the 21st October in the same year :—

At a meeting of the vestry the 21st October, lawfully called, it was declared that the churchwardens and sidesmen had had conference with Dr. Brooke, minister of the parish, concerning the moneys that was given at the Communion table, which it could not totally be put into the poor's box, in respect the churchwardens conceived they were exactly bound by oath so to see it done, according to the true meaning of the canons. Whereupon the doctor replied it touched not the oath of the churchwardens; in regard it being money given in that place and at that time, it was in his full power to dispose of it how and upon whom he pleased, without the consent of the churchwardens. Nevertheless, he, being present at this meeting, was content to refer himself unto the report of Dr. Ducke; but the churchwardens, not contented with that reference, desired Dr. Brooke to show one precedent in any one parish in London where any parson in his parish took

the poor upon him, and prevailed thereon against the good will and likings of the churchwardens. Upon this demand he referred the churchwardens unto Dr. Whitt, parson of St. Peter's Church in Cornhill.

Dr. Duche was the Chancellor of the Bishop of London, and it may be presumed that before entering into the contest Dr. Brooke had satisfied himself of his view upon the question.

The churchwardens declined to consult Dr. Duche, but, having made their own inquiries, proceeded as they considered themselves legally entitled to do. This resulted in the rector filing articles against them in the Ecclesiastical Court; the churchwardens then reported the matter to the vestry.

At a meeting of the vestry lawfully called, the 19th Novr, 1626, the churchwarden declared that, whereas Dr. Brooke had referred the difference depending between the parish and himself for the disposing of the money received at the communion table unto the determination of Dr. Duche, the Bishop's Chancellor, the churchwarden thought it not equal that he, who was afterwards to become his judge, in case he did not allow of his determination, therefore went not to him at all, but made inquiry of the president at St. Peter's Church, in Cornhill, and found it lean contrary to that which Dr. Brooke had delivered. The churchwarden before the next communion following delivered so much unto him, and desired peace, and with all he would no more give any money of that kind as formerly he had done; but Dr. Brooke replied that the next communion he would give away all that was offered, and the churchwardens should have nothing to do with it. Whereupon the churchwarden at the next communion, having collected the devotion of the people after the Dr. had given the blessing, went and put the money totally into the poore's box, as by the orders of the Church, confirmed by Act of Parliament, he ought to do. Hereupon Dr. Brooke caused the churchwarden to be cited before the Chancellor. The churchwarden thereupon maketh it the parish case, and craved their help and advice. They all approved of his precedent course, and Mr. Wm. Middleton pronounced that if there were nothing depending in the Court against him, but that only the parish was to beare him out, and that before the next Court day some of the parishioners would join together to confer with the Dr. about peace.

Then follow the names.

The next week the churchwarden reported the result of his appearance in Court, which was not satisfactory.

The 26th of November, 1626.

At a meeting of vestry, lawfully called, the churchwarden declared to the parishioners that at his appearance in the Arches ye second court day, about the precedent business, Dr. Brooke had exhibited articles against him for infringing of the orders of the Church of England, whereupon the churchwarden required of the Judge in Court that he might have a legal proceeding, according to his promise, in suffering him to have a copy of the articles exhibited, that he might advise to

give answer unto them, but was utterly denied them, but was willed by the judge to give attendance the next court day following. At this vestry the neighbours did once more resolve to join to go to Dr. Brooke to make peace.

It does not appear what became of the peacemaking, but Dr. Brooke left the parish in May 1627, having been appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mr. Humphry Tabor took his place.

The question was set at rest by the alteration in the rubric after the Restoration.

Dr. Brooke was a high churchman, and wrote a tract on Predestination for Archbishop Laud; he died the following year.

It will thus be seen that, while in the parish of St. Bartholomew there was little or no question with the clergy, in the parish of St. Margaret the clergy and the parishioners were almost constantly in discussion.

I have drawn a line at the appointment of Dr. Grant and Mr. Humphry Tabor as rectors of the two parishes, because they were the last of the rectors before the Commonwealth. Up to this point I have kept the history of the parishes separate. I shall now, with a view to shortening the matter, blend them into one.

It must be remembered that in the year 1627 Dr. William Laud was appointed Bishop of London, and whatever opinions may be held of him it is certain that he found the Church, particularly in London, in considerable disorder, nor was this disorder lightened by the fact that the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop Abbott, was not only not a person with whom Bishop Laud would have much in common, but that having accidentally committed homicide he was in a measure incapacitated from taking any prominent part in ecclesiastical affairs, and in fact did not. It is clear that everything was conducted in a very slovenly manner, and in many of the minutes there appear indications of Laud's efforts to induce a better order.

In the year 1629 there is an interesting entry in St. Margaret's:—

The 15th of January, 1629.—At a meeting or vestry lawfully called of the parishioners, at the order of Mr. Humphrey Tabor, our minister, he acquainted the assembly then met that he had been at the Lord Bishop of London's, where were also divers other ministers of his Lordship's diocese, by his Lordship's order, and it was by him declared to the said ministers present certain instructions which the King's Majesty hath enjoined the lecturers which in London touching catechising by way of question and answer, and the dress fit to be used therein by the minister, *videlicet* in wearing of a hood according to his degree; and forasmuch as we have no such hood in the parish, it was debated by the said assembly whether the minister, at his proper charge, or the parish at their cost and charges, should provide the same, and by free consent of the most of the

assembly it was ordered that the churchwardens of this parish should provide the said hood at the cost and charges of the parish. Witness our hands.

The subject was renewed at the next vestry :—

Also at this vestry the former meeting of this parish, and their order of the 15th predict' to the churchwardens, touching providing of a hood at the cost and charges of the parish, was now again confirmed.

In 1630 Dr. Grant came to a question with the parish of St. Bartholomew's respecting the appointment of parish clerk, in which he got the worst of it. It is told in such quaint language that I am sorry not to give it, but there is not space for everything.

In the same year there are several interesting items pointing to the condition of the Church discipline in the same parish ; the first of these was in the month of December.

12th December, 1630.

At a vestry holden upon the day and year above written, there being present, &c.

Fourthly, I certified unto them that we, the churchwardens and sidesmen, had lately met to read over our book of articles according as we were enjoined, and, amongst many things to be presented within there, we found there were three especially which did concern this present vestry, which we desired might be performed. The first was concerning the communicants, for their not giving or sending in their names in time before the communion, which in our parish was grown to a great neglect, which they all there promised should be amended.

The second was concerning our decayed and ruinous church wall, about which at this vestry there was nothing concluded or agreed upon for want of money.

The third was concerning our church stock, which was withholden and detained, and converted, contrary to the will of the dead, to another use than that it was given for, as we conceived.

After much speech had concerning this business, it was referred unto another time to be further spoken of and discoursed upon, against which time we were further to inform ourselves concerning the same.

I do not find that this time ever came.

In the year 1633 there was a very particular churchwarden, named Jeremy Jones, in St. Bartholomew's, who put the parish to some trouble. This is detailed in the following extracts.

June the 2nd day, 1633.

At a vestry holden in the parish of St. Bartholomew near the Royal Exchange, the day and year above written, there being present Dr. Grant, our parson, the two churchwardens, Captain Millward Debity, Mr. Bostock, and others, I certified unto them of divers things which did nearly concern my oath which I took at my admittance, namely :—

First, that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that one of every house

throughout our parish should repair to our parish church one every Wednesday, Friday, and holyday, to morning prayer, according to statute, upon pain of punishment by the censure of the church, the which was assented unto, and all promised that it should be well observed and performed, to the end that I might be discharged of this article.

Secondly, that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that all our parishioners should send to our church their children, being of age, and their apprentices, to be catechised every Sunday in the afternoon before evening prayer, at the tolling of the first bell, according to the canons. The which was assented unto, and all promised that it should be well observed and performed.

Thirdly, I made known unto the vestry that the battlements of the church were much decayed, and that it needed great reparations, the which was taken into consideration, and it was agreed that twelve men of our parish should view the decayed places of the church, namely, Dr. Grant, two churchwardens, and others.

Fourthly, I made known unto the vestry that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that our communicants which were to receive the Holy Communion that they did receive it reverently kneeling on their knees, according to the canons. And whereas it hath been heretofore propounded to make a decent frame about the Communion table, as in divers churches in this city, to the end that the communicants might come to the table and receive the Holy Sacrament kneeling, that the churchwardens might take the better notice of it for the discharge of their oaths, Some thought it good and fit that such a frame should be made, and some were against it, but it was ordered by the present vestry that the place where the Communion table stands should be viewed by the twelve men nominated before to see if it could be conveniently made and set up in that place to give up their opinions concerning it at the next vestry.

Fifthly, I made known unto the vestry that I was enjoined by my oath, according to the Book of Articles, to give notice to all our parishioners which doth desire to receive the Holy Communion that they should bring in their names to our church on the Saturday in the afternoon, or on the Sunday in the morning before the second peal, to the end that our doctor and the churchwardens should know who did receive the Holy Communion, and also the better to know how to provide the bread and the wine, and also to keep a book of the names of all the communicants that are to receive every Communion day, the which was assented to, and all promised that it should be well observed and performed.

Mr. Jones did not wait for the next vestry, but put up the altar-rails upon his own order, and the following extracts from the account-book show the cost of them:—

Paid Thomas Ogle, the joiner, for making the frame about the Communion table, and all things belonging to it, as per his bill and quittance, 15*l*.

Paid for three forms for the youth of the parish to sit on in the church, 12*s*. 4*d*.

Paid to Mr. Dawson, register of the Archdeacon's Court, for drawing out the order of the Court for the setting up the frame about the Communion table, 2*s*. 6*d*.

Paid to Mr. Dawson more for the fees of the court for summoning the churchwardens and

sidesmen into the court, with the proofs for setting up of the frame, and to return that it was done, 2*s.* 8*d.*

Given to the master of the ship carpenters of the East India Company, and to his men, for viewing, keeping up the roof of our church, and searching it all over to see if it were sound or not, and to give their opinions of it, which was that it must be new built, 1*l.*

Paid Mr. Edward Spooner, upholsterer, for lining the four kneelers belonging to the Communion table, for some tacks and nails, &c., as per his bill, 1*l.* 16*s.*

Paid for five yards of green kersey to line the kneelers for the frame which is for the Communion table, 15*s.*

Paid to the smith for the two iron bars and other fastenings of iron to fasten the frame, 6*s.*

Paid the mason for cutting holes in the stones, and the plumbers for leads to fasten the iron in the ground, and also for mending a shovel, 2*s.*

Paid for seven ells and a quarter of coarse canvas to make a covering for the kneelers for the frame which is for the Communion table, 6*s.*

As might not unreasonably be expected, these items came into question at the parish audit at the end of Mr. Jeremy Jones's year of office.

At a vestry held the 23rd day of June, 1634, there being present Dr. Grant, our pastor, the auditors, &c., the auditors appointed for auditing the account of Mr. Jeremy Jones, late churchwarden, having had the same in examination, thought good for some reasons not to pass the same, whereof they desired to make the parish acquainted, for which cause this vestry was purposely called, where it was alleged by some of the said auditors that there were divers reasons why the said accounts should not be allowed, but there was only named two, which were the charging of the locks and keys upon the pew doors, and the expense, extraordinary as they conceived, in the setting up the frame about the Communion table, both which being thoroughly debated and considered by this vestry, although they did deem the said charges in themselves not allowable, yet for quietness' sake, and to avoid suits in law, but chiefly to the end the said Mr. Jones should presently pay to the parish the moneys remaining upon the foot of his said account, that the carpenters and plumber, who had now well nigh finished their work on the middle roof of the church, might be therewith paid, the major part thought it fit to allow thereof, and did pass it, as appears under some of their hands upon this day in the book of the churchwardens' account belonging to the said parish, which book the said Mr. Jones brought with him to this vestry and carried it again away with him, and, notwithstanding the passing of his account as aforesaid, yet he refused to part with the money unless he might have four of the auditors' hands for allowance of the account.

Mr. Jones, however, having got the money in hand, was on the right side, and eventually got his account receipted in the proper form by all the auditors, and the books show that, on the 28th of June, 1634, the bills were paid "out of the moneys which the upper churchwarden had the instant received of Mr. Jeremy Jones."

Mr. Jones's successor, just as he was going out of office, also applied to the vestry upon the several heads touched upon by his predecessor, probably to enable him to make his return to the Articles :—

At a vestry held the 1st of March, 1634, the two last vestries of the 28th and 30th of December was read and approved of.

I desired the parishioners then present that they would send in the names of their communicants in tickets in due time before the Communion, and that they would be constant in sending their prentices and youth to be catechised, also that they would come or send one of a house to the morning prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and also to hear divine service on Saturday in the afternoon.

On the 17th May, 1635, a hard case was brought before the parish :—

At a vestry held the 17th of May, 1635.

Fourthly, there was a complaint made against Goodwife Empsen for unruliness in the street, which was by reason of her trade she kept in selling apples, which the parish, to avoid the like occasion, promised her to pay her rent, so that she would give over her trade and live peaceably, which she there promised to do. I was ordered to pay her rent upon that condition, else not.

I hope I shall be excused for mentioning an entry in the year 1637, which announces how the parish had a vane placed upon the top of their church tower made in the shape of a ship, as large as the ship in the Poultry, which cost 3*l.* 10*s.* for making, and 1*l.* 15*s.* for gilding. Most visitors to, or inhabitants of, the City will remember the ship on St. Mildred's in the Poultry, which now stands as a vane to St. Olave's, Jewry.

In the year 1638-39, under the head of Payment of the poore's account, there are the following :—

| | |
|---|-------|
| Paid to Millington to take off an excommunication ag ⁿ the widow Warnham for abusing her daughter, I say paid it by the consent of Dr. Grant, our parson, and Deputy Woodward | 0 8 0 |
|---|-------|

Under the head of parish accounts there are these :—

| | |
|---|-------|
| Paid to my Lord of London's officer for bringing a prayer for the King his Majesty's journey to York | 0 1 0 |
|---|-------|

In the next year there is this entry :—

| | |
|---|-------|
| Paid for ringing when the King came out of Scotland . . . | 0 3 0 |
|---|-------|

In the following year comes an entry of ominous import :—

1640.

| | |
|--|-------|
| 16 Feb ^r .—Pd the ringers for joy of the tryannual Parliament | 0 2 6 |
|--|-------|

In the following year the plague was in the parish, and there are two items relating to it :—

1641.

P^d for sending Griffin's maid and child to the pest house . . . 4 5 0

P^d the pest house man for searching 4 10 0

In the same year—1641—the parishioners of St. Bartholomew applied to Dr. Grant for permission to choose a lecturer on the Sunday afternoon. In these days troubles were coming in the church, and Dr. Grant, who, it will be seen, took a very practical view of the case, gave them permission to do so upon being paid 20*l*. The parishioners chose a gentleman of the name of Lightfoot, a well-known Puritan and attached to the Parliament, and who will be mentioned again very shortly.

We now come to the year 1642. In the autumn of that year the battle of Edgehill, as we call it, or, as it was then called, Kineton Field, was fought. Upon the 26th of November, rather better than a month after the battle, a Gravesend boat was caught shooting London Bridge by the Parliament pinnaces that lay above Bridge for the guard of the City and Parliament. Gravesend boats usually stopped at Billingsgate, but this boat shooting the bridge attracted the attention of the pinnaces, who pursued it and caught it up, and found on board a gentleman. Upon searching him they found upon him a letter supposed to be written by Colonel Goring, giving a detailed account of the supplies of men and money expected by the King from Holland and Denmark. This letter was submitted to Parliament the same day, and was ordered to be read the next day—Sunday—in all the churches in the City; and Isaac Pennington, the well-known Lord Mayor, at the direction of the Committee of both Houses, proceeded to raise 30,000*l*. for the pressing wants of the army. So very pressing were the wants that the money was to be raised by the following Monday afternoon. The letter was read in both the churches of St. Bartholomew's and St. Margaret's, and a collection was made in each of them. The minute concerning this in the parish of St. Bartholomew's is as follows :—

A particular of such moneys as were received the 29th day of November, 1642, by Mr. John Oakes and Mr. Richard Rooch, churchwardens, of such persons of this parish as did lend towards the raising of 30,000*l*. to supply the urgent occasions of the army, according to the desire of the Committee of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for advancing money, and according to a precept of the Lord Mayor of London of the 26th of this instant.

Then follow twenty-seven names of parties subscribing various sums from 50*l*. to 1*l*. amounting to about 290*l*.

The entry relating to the same subject in St. Margaret's is as follows :—

November 27th, 1642.

At a general meeting at the parish church of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, the parishioners of the same parish did there agree and lend for a present supply for the use of the King and Parliament, upon the Parliament's proposition, as followeth.

Then follow the subscriptions of sixty-three people for about 350*l*.

Among these,

Peter Pheasant gave 25*l*.

Stephen Pheasant, 10*l*.

Peter Pheasant was a serjeant-at-law, and was at this time Recorder of London, and lived in the house formerly occupied by Sir Julius Cæsar.

After some hesitation I have come to the determination that the story of the Gravesend boat was an entire fabrication, and I conceive the whole thing to have been a mere trick on the part of Lord Mayor Pennington, who had thrown in his lot with the war party, to do two things—first, to frighten the citizens out of their money for the purposes of the war; and secondly, to compromise them, by making them by their subscriptions parties to the rebellion. His plan succeeded admirably; and, in my judgment, it was the turning-point between peace and war, and the turn was towards the latter.

The appointment of lecturer was again considered in 1642, and Mr. Lightfoot was again appointed. The minute is as follows :—

At a meeting called the 22nd of January, 1642, Dr. Grant being present, Mr. Lightfoot was chosen lecturer for the Sabbath, to preach forenoon and afternoon, and to make choice of a reader whom he should think fit. Three score pounds a year is promised for the lecturer and 10*l*. a year for the reader.

Mr. Lightfoot was a great Rabbinical scholar, and afterwards master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge; he was one of the Assembly of Divines appointed by an Ordinance of Parliament, dated 12th June, 1643, to consider the ritual of the Church of England, and the best method for its government. He was a supporter of the Parliament, and received preferment from them.

And here it may not be out of place to describe who were the principal inhabitants in the parishes at this critical time, and I think the recital will account in a great measure for the line taken by these parishes.

In the parish of St. Margaret-Lothbury the principal inhabitant was Mr. Serjeant Pheasant.

Mr. Serjeant Pheasant was, as I have said, Recorder of London, and apparently a Presbyterian. He very early sided with the Parliament. After residing some time in St. Margaret's he removed to St. Bartholomew's, and was while there created a Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and his name is among those who were presented to the King at Oxford to be recognised as one of the justices of that Court, but not accepted by the King. He was afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and one of those to whom the privilege of printing law books was granted by Parliament.

In the parish of St. Bartholomew the principal inhabitant was Mr. Harbottle Grimston, a lawyer even then of considerable eminence, and a member of Parliament and a Presbyterian. He was, moreover, a violent opponent of Archbishop Laud.

There were two gentlemen of the name of Harbottle Grimston in Parliament at the same time—father and son. The father was a baronet, and his son succeeded him at his death in 1647. The son was member for Colchester, and during his residence in St. Bartholomew's he had a son born, who was also christened Harbottle. He was one of the secluded members, and returned to Parliament after the Protector Oliver's death. He was Speaker of the House of Commons at the Restoration, and subsequently made Master of the Rolls. As a fact, he pronounced his name Herbottle, and his name is so written in the roll of Parliament; in the rate-books it is written Hurbottle.

Of Mr. Lightfoot I have already given an account.

Sir Thomas Middleton, the major-general of the six counties of North Wales, and his wife, also lived in the parish, and also their son-in-law, Sir William Wittewronge, who was in the Parliament service.

Sir Thomas Middleton's name is sufficiently well known not to make it unnecessary to say anything about him here. Having served the Parliament with great distinction he, after the execution of King Charles I., sided with his son, King Charles II., and during the whole time of the Commonwealth, and afterwards of the Protectorate, he was in arms in Scotland for King Charles; in fact, he was the last person who laid down his arms before the Restoration.

Mr. Samuel Harsnet, who was also a colonel in the Parliamentary army, was a member of the Permanent Court Martial of the City, and held other appointments under Parliament.

Mr. Lamott was one of the Commissioners for Excise, and was a man of great consideration in the City. His daughter married Sir James Honeywood, one of the Upper House summoned by the Protector Oliver.

Captain Richard Venner, an officer in the Parliament service, was one of the Commissioners for administering the estates of the archbishops and bishops.

Besides these, there were at least two more officers in the Parliamentary army resident in the parish. All these were Parliamentarians. On the other hand, there were in the parish Dr. Zouch, a doctor of civil laws, also a lawyer, and Mr. Savage,—both of considerable position and wealth, and both Royalists.

It is difficult to say who were the prominent Presbyterians in the parish. I should say probably Mr. Grimston and Colonel Harsnet. The latter was one of the tryers appointed to select the elders for the seventh *classis*, in which all the three parishes were situated.

I do not believe that the parishioners in general cared at all for the change of service. Evidence of this will appear shortly. I doubt even if the leaders did. Mr. Lamott, one of the most influential merchants, certainly did not.

It is very remarkable that I have not been able to find a single notable among the inhabitants of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, with the exception of the parson, Mr. Cranford, who was one of the divines specially authorised to print theological works in the City of London.

Thus much for the inhabitants. The next entry from St. Bartholomew's relates to the altar-rails erected by Mr. Jeremy Jones, the expense of which had nine years before caused so much discussion.

In the previous November a Bill had passed the Houses of Lords and Commons for the suppression of divers innovations in churches and chapels, &c., and enacted that before the 1st April, 1643, all altars and tables of stone be destroyed, and that all Communion tables be removed from the east end, and that all rails whatsoever which had been erected near or about any altar or Communion table should be taken away and the east end levelled.

This Bill was sent to Oxford for the Royal Assent, but never received it, and was afterwards passed as an ordinance.

The minute in St. Bartholomew's about the rails is as follows :—

At a meeting called the 26th February, 1642, present Dr. Zouch and others, it was agreed upon that the rails in the chancel should be made into pews, and the chancel should be made wider, and for the overseers of it Mr. Burton, Mr. Harsnett, and other gentlemen were chosen.

This Mr. Harsnett I have already mentioned as a leading Presbyterian.

Dr. Zouch, on the contrary, will presently be heard of at Oxford with the King.

In the account-book are these entries :

P^d for making new pews and setting up the rails £10 0 0

P^d the mason for cutting the grave stones and other work 0 6 0

I suppose it was considered proper to get Dr. Grant's concurrence in this change, and the parishioners of St. Bartholomew had, as I have before hinted, by this time learnt the way, as will appear from the next minute :—

April 30th, 1643.—At a vestry, there being present these Parishioners following, it was agreed to give Dr. Grant a gratuity for giving leave to the parish to make a free choice of Mr. Lightfoot for the lecturer, as also for permitting the parishioners to make new pews in the chancel, this gift following, which was collected by me, according to their order, and paid to the doctor, as by his hands to the bill doth appear.

The gratuity amounted to 13*l.* 4*s.*

This finishes the first volume of the vestry book of St. Bartholomew. At the end there is a list of churchwardens.

A second book was commenced, and in the accounts it is thus mentioned :—

P^d for a new vestry book £0 6 6

In the same year an ordinance was passed for the utter demolition and removal, before the 1st November, 1643, of all monuments of superstitious idolatry.

This set the people of St. Bartholomew's considering, and the result of their reflections will be seen in the next minute :—

18th June, 1643.

At a vestry I read an ordinance from a Committee of the House of Commons for the demolishing of superstitious and idolatrous things, both within the church and without, where it was ordered that the three letters in the pulpit cloth, I.H.S. should be put out, and some words rased out of the monuments in the church, as, " Pray for the soul of such a one," and the like.

Dr. Grant and Mr. Lightfoot were both present at this vestry.

In the churchwardens' accounts for the year is this entry :—

P^d to the imbroderer for taking I.H.S. out of the pulpit-cloth, and imbrodering the same again with other work, twenty shillings, besides five shillings he allowed me for the old stuff £1 0 0

This seems to have been the pulpit-cloth before mentioned as the gift of Mr. Crookman.

In the next year there is the following item :—

P^d for taking out the brass inscription in the church . . . 0 7 0

On the 7th October, 1643, an ordinance was passed in the Houses of Lords and Commons for raising 100,000*l.* for the Scots. This, and the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, were the inducements which were to bring them to England to aid the Parliament.

The money was collected from parish to parish in the City, and the following is a copy of an original receipt given to the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, and which is still pinned into the book with the pins of the period :—

"The 16th day of October, 1643, Received the day and year above written, by us, whose names are subscribed, being treasurers appointed by the Committee of the House of Commons, sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall, for raising of money towards the payment of the 100,000*l.*, agreed to be forthwith advanced for our brethren of Scotland towards payment of their army, raised for our assistance, the sum of 3*l.* 1*s.* of William Burrows, churchwarden, of Lothbury, which is to be repaid to the said Burrows for several persons or assigns, with interest after the rate of 8*l.* per cent.; for the speedy repayment whereof the public faith of both nations is engaged. We say received

£3 1 0

ROBERT
and MICHAEL HEWING.

There is an entry of this loan also in the books as follows :—

Received the sum of 3*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* for the advance of the Scots, of these whose names are hereunder written, which is to be repaid according to the order hereunto annexed.

The account of this transaction in St. Bartholomew's book is as follows :—

A particular of all such moneys as are collected this 13th of October by Lieut.-Col. Sam Harsnett, Captain Richard Venners, Nicholas Gould, Richard Peaps, William Webb, John Jones, and the two churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew, Exchange, London, by virtue of an ordinance from the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall for the payment of 100,000*l.* agreed to be forthwith lent to our brethren of Scotland towards payment of their army raised for our defence.

There is also a list of the parishioners who refused to contribute.

Of those who contributed—

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|---|
| Nicholas Gould gave | . | . | . | . | . | . | £60 | 0 | 0 |
| Lady Middleton | . | . | . | . | . | . | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Col. Harsnett | . | . | . | . | . | . | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. John Lamott | . | . | . | . | . | . | 25 | 0 | 0 |

Among the parishioners that refused to contribute were—

William Savage (one of the most respectable inhabitants in the parish).

Mr. Barcroft, summoned for Alderman.

Mr. Barlimack for Master Prichaux his two officers.

A great house where Alderman Tary lived.

There is also a list headed Parishioners out of town.

Amongst these are—

William Danvers Robert Hurlin, summoned for Alderman.

Dr. Zouch at Oxford.

In St. Margaret's books, immediately after the receipt, follows a document of considerable interest; it is headed as follows:—

Margaret Lothbury, A.D. 1643.

Here follows a true copy of the first covenant commended by the Parliament, and required to be taken after the protestation which was taken before A.D. 1641.

The history of this document appears to be this:—

Among the ordinances and other documents, published by Husband, the first covenant appears under date 17th June, 1643; it is entitled:—

The vow and covenant appointed by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament to be taken by every man in the cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs and liberties thereof, and throughout the whole kingdom.

The ordinance begins by a declaration that there was a popish and traitorous plot, and that a treacherous and horrid design had been lately discovered to join the King's armies and surprise the cities of London and Westminster, and to subvert the Protestant religion, and that the Parliament had thought fit that all who are true-hearted and lovers of their country should bind themselves in a sacred vow and covenant in manner and form as followeth accordingly.

Then follows the document, which is identical with that in St. Margaret's books.

The first covenant set out in St. Margaret's book is the original document, with the signature of the majority of the ratepayers. It is signed by Leonard Cook, minister, and about 260 names, including Peter Pheasant and Mr. Cox, who, if he was the same as before mentioned, it is hoped had reformed his ways with age. A good many of the signatures are obviously in the same handwriting. Who Leonard Cook the minister was, and how he came to supplant Humphry Tabor,

I do not know; there is no notice of it in the parish books; but as a fact Mr. Humphry Tabor refused to sign the covenant and was imprisoned in the King's Bench. At the time of his arrest his wife and children were turned out of St. Margaret's rectory-house with circumstances of great brutality.

Immediately following the above-named document is another of considerable interest, viz., an original copy of the Solemn League and Covenant for reformation, defence of religion, &c., sworn by the parishioners of St. Margaret Lothbury, London. This document also is signed by the majority of the ratepayers. Like the former it is signed by Leonard Cook, minister, and by Mr. Pheasant.

With one or two verbal differences the document is the same as that usually appearing in print, and set out in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. It was to be taken as a fit and excellent means to acquire the favour of Almighty God towards the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and likewise to unite them, and by uniting them to strengthen and fortify them against the common enemy of the true reformed religion.

The manner of taking the covenant was thus :—The minister read the whole covenant distinctly and audibly in the pulpit, and during the time of the reading thereof the whole congregation were to be uncovered, and at the end of his reading thereof all to take it standing, lifting up their right hands bare, and then afterwards to subscribe it severally by writing their names or their marks (to which their names were to be added) in a parchment roll as a book, whereunto the covenant was to be inscribed, purposely provided for that end, and kept as a record in the parish.

If a minister refused or neglected to take it, he was to be turned out of his church.

In St. Margaret's the covenant, having been written in the vestry-book and bound up, has been preserved.

In the parish of St. Bartholomew the covenant was copied on parchment, and was after the Restoration burnt by the hangman.

There is a minute in the Saint Bartholomew vestry-book about it, however, as follows :—

1643.

A Solemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, taken at several times by these parishioners following: John Lightfoot, lecturer, and forty-one others and divers servants, as by the accompanying in parchment doth appear.

In the account-book there is this entry about it:—

P^d for engrossing the sacred covenant into parchment 0 8 0

Dr. Grant did not sign the covenant.

The next series of documents is taken from St. Margaret's book, and appears to have been the result of a device of Mr. Leonard Cook. He seems to have improvised a covenant of his own.

It is headed thus:—

The names of such householders of the parish of Lothbury who solemnly renewed their covenant on the 22nd of September, 1644, and particular have engaged themselves by lifting up of their hands—

First: To walk in all the ways of God according to His Word.

Secondly: To be willing to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found to go astray.

Whereunto they subscribed with their own hands.

Here follow the names, beginning with Leonard Cook, pastor.

After this there is another copy of the same document, signed by some other householders.

Then there is a further document, described as—

The names of some other householders in this parish, which could not be contained in the former list, who also upon the 29th September, after the forenoon sermon, with their hands lifted up to the Most High God, did declare and engage themselves from henceforth—

1. To walk in all the ways of God according to His Word.

2. To be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found blameworthy by sinning against God.

Here follow the names.

Next there follows a similar document, headed—

The names of such women that are wives or widows dwelling in the parish of Lothbury, who upon the 29th September, 1644, did also solemnly and publicly, in the body of the church, with their hands lifted, declare themselves heartily sorry for their sins that are past, and withal engage themselves from henceforth—

First: to walk in all the ways of God, according to His Word.

Second: to be willing to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found to go astray.

Whereunto such as could either write or make their mark subscribed with their hands and marks as follows.

Here follow the names.

There is next another copy of the same document, signed by other women, and then the following :—

The names of such maidens that are either daughters or servants to the inhabitants of Lothbury London, who, after they had been catechised some weeks before they were admitted to the sacrament, did also upon the 29th of September, 1644—which was the Sabbath before the sacrament—solemnly declare themselves heartily sorry for their sins passed, and that all did engage themselves from henceforth, &c.

First, To walk in all the ways of God according to his word.

Secondly, To be willing to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found to do amiss.

Lastly, there is a document described as—

The names of such young men that are either sons or servants to the inhabitants of St. Margaret-Lothbury, who, having been catechised on the grounds and principles of religion before their anticipation of the Lord's Supper, upon the 2nd of October, 1644, did solemnly declare and engage themselves as follows: &c.—

First. That they were heartily sorry, and desired to be humbled for their sins past.

Second. That they would earnestly endeavour to walk in all the ways of God, according to the rule of the word of God.

Third. That they would take it well to be lovingly admonished and reprov'd when they shall be found faulty and sinning against God.

Peter Pheasant, now Mr. Serjeant Pheasant, did not sign any of these covenants; he had just moved into St. Bartholomew's parish, where we shall find him.

The next minute is from St. Bartholomew's, and refers to Mr. Lightfoot's departure :—

The 16th of January, 1643.—Mr. Lightfoot called the parishioners together to the vestry house after sermon, and told them that the Parliament had conferred upon him a living in Hertfordshire, desired to depart with their consent, and said he was much obliged to them for their free choice of him when he came to them.

This living was that of Great Munden, Herts.

In the same year there are several very curious entries relating to the price of coals and the provisions for fuel, which, owing to the occupation of Newcastle by the Royalists, had reached almost fabulous prices.

On the 20th of February, 1643, an additional ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament was passed, "To enable Sir Thomas Middleton, Serjeant-Major-General for the six counties of North Wales, to take subscriptions for the raising of forces for reducing of the said counties to their due obedience, and

prevention of the access of Irish peasants into these parts." It was not unnatural that this cause should be advocated in the parish, where Lady Middleton lived, and this was done on the 16th of March, 1643. A special vestry meeting was held in the church, at which Mr. Lightfoot, the late lecturer, presided in the pulpit. The account of this meeting is as follows :—

16th March, 1643.—At a vestry Mr. Lightfoot preached in the pulpit for a liberal contribution from the parishioners of this parish for Sir Thomas Middleton, according to an ordinance of Parliament, to enable him, being Serjeant-Major-General for the six counties of North Wales, to take subscriptions for the raising of forces for the subduing of the said counties to their due obedience, and preventing the access of the Irish forces in those parts.

The appeal was not at all successful; only 59*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was collected, of which Lady Middleton subscribed 50*l.*

Mr. William James underwrit to send a horse.

Lady Middleton's subscription is thus entered :—

The Lady Middleton, by the hand of her son-in-law, Sir W^m Wittewronge, underwritt 50*l.*

The family of Wittewronge had long lived in the parish; their names can be traced as far back as the registers.

During the same month the Parliament passed a further "Ordinance for the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, and an exhortation touching the taking of it," and an intimation that ministers who would not take it should be put out of their livings.

At the same time the Parliament took it, and, among other members, Mr. Harbottle Grimston.

I presume, Mr. Grimston living in the parish, it was felt necessary to do something with Dr. Grant, who had clearly come within the law by not taking the covenant, and this was done on the 18th April, 1644.

The vestry minute of the transaction is as follows :—

At a meeting held the 18th April, 1644, there being present Mr. Grimston, Mr. Lamott, Mr. Gould, and others, I made a motion for that the Dr. (Dr. Grant) was to preach on Good Friday, and twice on Sunday, and on thanksgiving and fast day on Tuesday and Wednesday next, did desire them that they would be pleased to allow him one to help him. Captain Robinson, churchwarden, was sent for him; when he came they desired an answer of a motion was made to him by the vestry before concerning the resignation of his living. He told them if they would be pleased to let him have the propositions in writing, that he might know upon what terms they would have him resign, he would soon give them an answer, and so quit the vestry.

There is no entry of the motion here referred to, but it ended in Dr. Grant being arranged with.

The arrangement appears in an agreement set out *in extenso* in the minute-book, and from one or two vestry minutes; the substance of the agreement was, that John Grant (doctor of divinity) leased and demised unto John Lamott and others all that the rectory and parsonage of St. Bartholomew near the Royal Exchange, in London, and all messuages, tenements, glebe lands, and appurtenances whatsoever to the said rectory or parsonage belonging or in any way appertaining, for the term of twenty-one years, if the said John Grant should so long live, at the rent of 50*l.* per annum, payable quarterly during his life, which said lease had, made, and taken in the names of the lessees before-named, was so had, made, and taken in trust only for the use and behoof of the parishioners of the said parish, nor otherwise, nor to any other use or uses, and by his said lease the parishioners of this parish had power to nominate and elect such able and godly ministers as they, or the major part of them, should choose, to preach the Word of God unto them there, and to do and perform all such offices and such services as both belong to the rector there, without the interruption by him or others by his agreement or consent.

The document is signed by Mr. Harbottle Grimston, and Mr. Pheasant, and twenty-two other parishioners.

There is this minute in the account-book :—

| | |
|--|---------|
| Paid Mr. Allestrye for the writings concerning Dr. Grant's | |
| business | £1 10 0 |

This was probably a much better fate than awaited most of the clergy, for evil days were coming, and had come, upon the Church of England. Archbishop Laud was executed on the 10th January, 1644, and the Prayer Book was perscribed, but I suppose that his long service in the parish entitled Dr. Grant to some consideration :—

The next matter was to fill up Dr. Grant's place :—

At a vestry held January 26th, 1644.—At a vestry held the day and year above written, there being present those of the parish whose names are in the margent, it was put to hand concerning the choosing of a minister in the room of Dr. John Grant, and there was nominated one Mr. Thomas Cawton, who was chosen to be the minister by a free consent, and it was then agreed that he should have for his pains 100*l.* per annum, to be paid him quarterly by even and equal portions, until such time as the parsonage itself should come into his own hands, which will be at the time of Dr. John Grant his decease. The churchwardens for the time being are to receive the money for him and to repay it to him until such time as the said Thomas

Cawton shall be fully invested in the parsonage, and then, and not before, the said 100*l.* per annum is to cease. And further it was then agreed upon that the said Thomas Cawton should have the parsonage wherein Dr. Grant now liveth for his dwelling-house at Lady Day next following, at which time, or before if it be required, Dr. Grant is to leave the house.

On the 24th May, 1645, an ordinance was passed by Parliament for collecting money for the relief of the town of Taunton, which describes in very clear language the miserable state to which the town was reduced.

These moneys were collected in June, and the minute in St. Bartholomew's book is as follows:—

Moneys received on the 10th of June, 1645, of the parishioners of Bartholomew-the-Exchange, the upper precinct, for the relief of Taunton for raising of 500 dragoons. Received by Richard Venner, their names as follows.

Then follow sixteen names, which contributed 50*l.*, of which Mr. Lamott gave 20*l.*, and a Mr. Ralph Collins gave 1*l.*

Then follow these items:—

Received of Mr. Bratten, a nag, at 5*l.*

Ralph Collins, who contributed a pound, has this addition:—

Received more of Ralph Collins, a saddle.

Received of Mr. John Webb, six belts.

October 19th, 1645, it is accidentally mentioned under this date that Mr. Serjeant Pheasant was made a judge, and that he was about to quit the parish.

In the month of December, in the same year, a collection of old clothes was made in St. Bartholomew's parish for maimed soldiers. Mr. Grimston contributed a bundle of linen. The contributions consisted of shoes and boots and linen, some good and some bad. Mrs. Lay, a widow, contributed a good suit. Mr. William Webb a black suit.

There were sixteen contributions in all.

At the end of the list is written:—

All these were carried in unto Chandlers' Hall by Dowgate. Witness the clerk which went with me.

At the same time Mr. Cawton took his seat at the vestry of St. Bartholomew.

In the year 1646 Mr. Leonard Cook left St. Margaret's, and Mr. Watson was appointed as his successor. I have been unable to find anything of these worthies, except three sermons of the latter, and his picture. Both of them were Presbyterians.

Mr. Watson's appointment appeared in the following minute :—

At a vestry lawfully called, the 26th of July, 1646, for the election of a minister in Mr. Leonard Cook's place, there were these gentlemen put to in election—Dr. Mayer, Mr. Constable, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Watson, and the choice fell on Mr. Watson with unanimous consent.

Also it was put to the vote that Mr. Watson should be intreated to come to lecture on the Lord's Day in the afternoon, as Mr. Cook had it.

It was also voted that he was to have his dues paid.

The Mr. Gibbon here mentioned was the gentleman of that name who was afterwards executed with Mr. Love for praying for King Charles II.

King Charles I. was executed upon the 30th January, 1648, and by this time the Church government of the City of London was purely Presbyterian.

It was divided into twelve unions of parishes called *classes*, each *classis* being ruled over by elders.

The parishes of St. Margaret's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Christopher's, St. Benet-Fink, St. Peter-le-poor, St. Botolph-Bishopsgate, Allhallows-in-the-Wall, St. Stephen-Coleman-Street, and St. Michael-Bassingham, formed the seventh *classis*. As far as I can ascertain, Captain Venner and Colonel Harsnett were two of the elders selected from St. Bartholomew's. I almost doubt if there were any chosen from St. Margaret's; a Mr. Wilkinson represented St. Christopher's.

In 1648 there is this entry :—

Paid Captain Venner for the classis 0 10 9

In the next year there are these entries :—

Paid for wine, bread, and ale at the morning exercise . . . 1 9 0

Paid Colonel Harsnett for the classis 1 0 0

The regulations for the admission to the Holy Communion were very stringent, and a power was given to the elders, by an ordinance of Parliament, which very much exceeded anything Archbishop Laud would have ventured to propose. No person could receive the Holy Communion who was not approved of by the elders of the *classis*, whose power of inquisition exceeded even that of the School Board. The little finger of the presbyter was thicker than the loins of the archbishop. Not only could the elders refuse to admit a person who was ignorant of the necessary doctrines of which they were the judges, but they had the power of summoning any parishioner before them, and of requiring him to confess or be put on trial of all sorts of things which they conceived scandal—from murder down to travelling on Sunday.

The *ultima ratio* was, of course, excommunication, but there were censures and suspension from the sacrament. The only redeeming feature was, that, by a special clause in the ordinance, no use could be made of any confession or proof made before the eldership at any trial at law of any person for any offence. The whole of these regulations are set out in an ordinance ordered to be printed by the Parliament, on the 29th August, 1648. I may mention the following heads as showing pretty plainly the nature of them: "Rules and regulations concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," "In cases of ignorance," "The same in cases of scandal;" "of excommunication," "of the course of proceedings therein;" "the order of proceeding with offenders who manifest repentance;" "the order of proceeding to excommunication;" "the sentence;" "the order of proceeding to absolution;" "the sentence of absolution."

The next minute from St. Bartholomew's book is, I think, of considerable interest; it will show how little these strict regulations were to the liking of the parishioners:—

August 27th, 1649.—At a vestry then holden it was taken into consideration that, in respect of the parish grievances, and especially through want of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, duly administered formerly in this parish, that for the time to come Mr. Cawton be desired to administer the same without coming before the elders, whereupon it was ordered that Mr. Cawton should be sent for, which was done. When he came into the vestry Mr. Lamott told him the sense of the parish, and desired him to deliver the sacrament to all his parish, to beget love one with another. His answer was he would take it into consideration, and satisfy the parish in a short time what did lie in him to do should not be wanting.

In the same year John Evelyn makes allusion to this. He says, under date 18th March, "Mr. Owen, a sequestered and learned minister, preached in my parlour, and gave us the blessed sacrament, now wholly out of use in the parish churches which the Presbyterians and Fanatics had usurped."

The following are the only items in this year from the account book worthy of remark. The first item usually comes in another and less polite form:—

| | |
|---|-------|
| Paid John Holmes for his paynes getting poor women out of the parish | |
| big with child and ready to lie down | 0 5 6 |
| Paid for bread and ale for the ministers at the morning service | 1 8 0 |
| Paid for three men watching Mrs. Spencer's house | 0 1 6 |

In the year 1650 there is the following entry in St. Margaret's book:—

At a vestry holden the 29th December, 1650, the churchwardens acquainted the vestry with a

precept from the Lord Mayor, by order of the Council of State, for the having down the king's arms from the east window:

In the same year there are the following entries in St. Bartholomew's account book :—

| | | | |
|--|---|----|---|
| Paid Mr. Clark for taking down the King's arms and for putting in the | | | |
| letter I | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Paid for ministers that taught at our church | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| Paid to my Lord Mayor's officers for not taking down the King's arms | 0 | 3 | 6 |

This latter item implies a fine upon the parish for not having sooner removed the objectionable emblems.

In the same year, 1650, there are several entries relating to the payment of Mr. Cawton; the last is as follows :—

February 9th, 1650.—At this vestry, the day and year above written, it is unanimously concluded and agreed, none dissenting, that henceforth the churchwardens of this parish do gather all the rents, tithes, and other profits of the glebe lands of this parish, and the lecture money; and that the same be kept in the hands of the same churchwardens, and not paid forth, either to Dr. Grant or to Mr. Thomas Cawton, but by especial order of a vestry, to be from time to time called; and that the same be paid forth by the churchwardens from time to time, in such manner and by such proportions as the vestry shall appoint in that behalf.

Confirmed by a vestry the 23rd of March, 1650.

The next entry is worthy of remark :—

The 30th of March, 1651.—At a vestry holden the day and year first above written it was ordered that, whereas I moved for 8*l.* 14*s.*, which I did lay out for moneys to preach when Mr. Cawton was in prison, that it should be allowed me out of the tithes, or whether I should put it to the parish account, it was denied to vote for the present. When Mr. Cawton was in a way to have his arrears paid then I should be paid my 8*l.* 14*s.*, which I consented to it for them to be allowed me.

This entry puzzled me a good deal, and I at one time reluctantly came to the determination that Mr. Cawton had followed the steps of his predecessor in St. Margaret-Lothbury, Mr. Baxter, had got into debt, and was for that reason in prison. But accidentally in buying some tracts of the Commonwealth I came across one which put an entirely different complexion upon the story. This is a printed letter from King Charles II. to Mr. Cawton, described as late minister of the English Church at Rotterdam, and in a note at the end it says that Mr. Cawton, being the pastor of the parish church of St. Bartholomew-behind-the-Exchange, was for several months imprisoned in the Gate House (meaning the Westminster Gate House, a prison for clerks), within a few days after the

beheading of the late King for praying openly for his son as King of Great Britain, &c., and, being afterwards again in great danger about the time of Mr. Love's suffering, he was forced, for the safeguard of his life, to flee into Holland, and was there preacher to the English Church at Rotterdam. The memorandum proceeds to say that King Charles II. wrote to him there a letter that he might show it to the Dutch and French Protestant ministers.

This was of course quite a different matter. You will remember that the King was executed on the 30th of January, 1648, which, as the year then commenced on the 25th of March, would in truth be the 30th of January, 1649, in our style.

Under date the 6th of March, 1649, Whitelock, in his Memoirs, mentions that Mr. Cawton, the London Minister, in his prayer before the Lord Mayor, having prayed for Charles II. as lawful king, referred to Mr. Steele and Mr. Cox to prosecute him in the Upper Bench for treason upon the late declaration.

Whitelock does not say what happened to him, but it is clear that he was imprisoned in the Gate House.

You will observe that the parish minute is dated the 30th March, 1651. Mr. Love was the minister of the adjoining parish of St. Lawrence-Jewry, and was an energetic young man of thirty-five years of age. During the year 1651 he carried on a correspondence with the Scotch with a view apparently to aid them in supporting King Charles II. For this he was apprehended, and, after having had his case investigated by the committee of Plundered Ministers, was tried before the High Court of Justice at Westminster, in June 1651, for high treason, and in his examination he denounced, among other friends, Mr. Cawton, as having been one with whom he was in communication. Mr. Cawton seems to have thought, with reason, that after his former trouble with respect to King Charles II. discretion was the better part of valour, and so he made his escape.

Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons were both convicted and beheaded at Tower Hill, on the 22nd of August, 1651, and Mr. Love's last speech in the shape of a long sermon exists. One has no right to judge a man in such circumstances hardly, but he made a very sorry figure.

I think we may deduce from these facts that the people at St. Bartholomew's, and they may also be taken to represent pretty fairly the City, were neither Presbyterian nor were they indisposed towards the King.

It must, I think, be assumed that it would have been easy for them to have got rid of Mr. Cawton, as he only held his position on sufferance, if his praying for King Charles II. had displeased them, and their remonstrance with him about the Holy Communion shows they were not disposed to the tyranny of the Presby.

terians. That Presbyterianism was on the wane may, I think, be gathered from a passage in Mr. Love's last speech, which I cannot help quoting. He says, "I would beg the ministers to keep up Church government; that they would not let their elderships fall; that they would take heed of too general admissions to the Lord's Supper; that they be not too prodigal of the blood of Christ by too general admissions of men to partake of the supper, that sealing ordinance." The fact no doubt was, the eldership which was at first a toy afterwards became a bore, and already in 1651 it was difficult to keep up a practice instituted in 1648.

About the same date Mr. Watson left St. Margaret's. He was, I think, implicated with Mr. Love. He is last mentioned in September 1651:—

At a vestry lawfully called by the churchwardens this 25th of September, 1651, it was then voted, after a long debate, that the 16*l.* 13*s.* yet uncollected, to make up the 40*l.* which is for the full discharge of Mr. Watson, their late minister, and all his family related to him, if the parish house standing in the church yard shall be repaired and let by the present churchwardens till the sum aforesaid be received, together with the repairs, either by that or some other way by the parish.

Mr. Watson's place was filled by Mr. Christopher Flower, who conformed in 1660, and lived many years afterwards.

There are one or two more entries in St. Bartholomew's relating to Mr. Cawton:—

19th September, 1651.—At a vestry then holden, Mr. Cawton, Mr. Cranford, Mr. Harding, Mr. Clarke were nominated for the Friday lecture. At the same time Mr. Cawton was chosen to begin it from Michaelmas next, but, if he should not return to the parish, that then for a short time Mr. Cawton procure able men to perform it.

This Mr. Cranford was the rector of the adjoining parish of St. Christopher, of whom I have before spoken.

In the month of October, however, it became plain that there was no hope of Mr. Cawton's return, and the parish proceeded to choose a new minister. This will be found in the minutes of the 19th and the 23rd November and the 5th December:—

19th of November, 1651.—At this vestry then holden the day and year above written, there being present (then follow the names). The chief occasion of this great meeting, thirty-six people being present, was for the choice of a minister to supply the place of Mr. Cawton, he being gone for Holland, but it being pretended by five or six among us that Mr. George Hall might be chosen, they left the vestry and sent to the Lord Mayor, Alderman Kendrick, who presently called for myself and brother churchwarden. With us went Mr. Brewer and Mr. Carlton. We were

desired to forbear going to choice of a minister till further enquiry were made of Mr. Hall, and my Lord Mayor would likewise have some others to preach, but consented we should go to choice the next Sunday but one. There tarried thirty in the vestry until we returned to them, who were made acquainted with the Lord Mayor's pleasure and his great courtesy to us, and so this vestry broke up.

This Lord Mayor, Alderman Kendrick, was a resident in the parish, and lived in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Grimston. He was related to John Evelyn, who, writing under date 25th April, 1652, says: "I went to visit Alderman Kendrick, a fanatic lord mayor, who had married a relation of ours." He was one of the Commissioners of Excise. On the 23rd Mr. Hall was finally elected.

23rd November, 1651.—At a vestry then holden the day and year above written, there being present the forty members. At this vestry Mr. Coffland, Mr. Clark, jun., and Mr. George Hall were in nomination, one to be chosen by vote to be our minister, under Dr. Grant, in the place of Mr. Cawton, for one year following, at which time Mr. George Hall was chosen, by thirty-three holding up their hands in the affirmative, and being put in the negative (all that would not) not one hand was held up against him, and so by a free election he was chosen to be our minister, whom God continue amongst us and bless us in time.

"It was resolved that I and my partner should demand of Mr. Harsnett, or any other, the key of Mr. Cawton's house, to be disposed of by the vestry, it being put to all in the vestry whether they would make their exceptions against paying the old arrears for tithes and lecture money, and there was not one excepted against paying what they were behind."

The reference in the account-book to this is as follows :—

Paid several men for preaching before we came to choice of
our minister 5 10 0

The last minute relating to Mr. Cawton is in December 1651 :—

5th of December, 1651.—At a vestry then holden the day and year above written, there being present [then follow the names.] It being put to the vote whether Mr. Cawton should have for his arrears the sum of 100*l.* or 135*l.*, it was voted that he should be paid 135*l.* At the same time Mr. Ashe, Mr. Smith, Colonel Harsnett, Captain Venner, and Mr. Newton promised to be helpful for the getting in of Mr. Cawton's arrears.

It being put to the vote whether Mr. Cawton should put in security for his children that were in the parish, and it was carried by vote that he should not.

It was voted that what could not be gathered of Mr. Cawton's arrears should be made up by a rate according to the poors rate.

These parishioners following have promised to lend the several sums towards the payment of Mr. Cawton's arrears, and it was voted that they should be repaid by the parish what they lent before Lady day next, and 115*l.* was collected.

At this vestry it was likewise voted that the parsonage-house be sufficiently repaired by tiling, plastering, glazing, and what else fitting to make the house convenient.

It was voted Mr. Spurlin should make a scaffold on the top of the church steeple to take down the ship to repair it.

This is the vane which I have spoken of.

The following is the entry in the account-book :—

Paid Mr. Greene, the smith, for repairing the ship 1 2 0

The next items relate to the well-known Act passed by the Little Parliament, enacting that marriages should be solemnised before a justice of the peace, and providing for the appointment of registrars.

There is no notice of this in St. Margaret's vestry-book, but in the register of marriages there is this entry :—

Be it remembered that whereas it appeareth unto me, Thomas Foot, one of the aldermen and one of the justices of the peace within the City of London, by a certificate under the hands of divers inhabitants of the parish of Margaret-Lothbury, London, that Valentine Cuerton, of the parish aforesaid, being an able and honest person, was on the 20th day of September, 1653, by the greater part of the inhabitants and householders of the said parish chargeable to the relief of the poor then present, made choice to be parish register there in the parish aforesaid according to a late Act of Parliament, made and intituled "An Act touching Marriages and the registering thereof, and also touching Births and Burials"—

I the said Thomas Foot, having sworn the said Valentine Cuerton well and truly to exercise the office of parish register within the said parish, do by these presents approve of the said Valentine Cuerton to be the parish register of the said parish, and to have the safe keeping of the books provided by the said parish for the registering of all marriages and of all births of children and burials of all sorts of people within the parish aforesaid according to the form of the Act aforesaid, which I do hereby signify under my hand this 28th day of October, 1653.

THO. FOOT.

I give one entry from the register of marriages :—

1654. Robert Robinson, Abigail Pinnock, both of this parish, was published three days, ye 2nd, ye 7th, and ye 14th of June in Cheapside, and married the 6th July by Alderman Andrewes.

There are no registers of baptisms between the 29th September, 1653, and September, 1660.

The following is the vestry minute of St. Bartholomew's appointing a registrar in compliance with the terms of the same Act :—

1653, 22nd September.

Ordered at this present vestry that Richard Jenkins, our parish clerk, be chosen Register for this

parish according to a branch of an Act of Parliament, bearing date the 24th of August last past, touching the registering of births, christenings, marriages, and burials.

In the register-book there is a note that the said Richard Jenkins appeared before Alderman Kendrick, and was sworn into his office as registrar.

The form of an entry of marriage in St. Bartholomew's is as follows :—

According to an Act of Parliament dated the 24th August, 1653, that there is a marriage between Thomas Chester, grocer, of this parish, son of Thomas Chester, merchant, of London, and Elizabeth Lewis, daughter of Roger Lewis, joyner, of London, of Stephen Coleman parish, publication was the 20th and 27th days of November and 4th of December, and there was no exception made. Witness my hand the 7th day of December, Richard Jenkins, the parish register.

The actual entry is short. It is as follows :—

Thomas Chester of this parish, and Elizabeth Lewis of Stephen Coleman Street, was married the 7th day of December, by Sir Jno. Woliston, knight, of the parish of John Zachary, London, 1653.

There are similar entries in the books of St. Christopher's parish.

In 1653 Dr. Grant died, and then, according to the terms of the agreement with the parish, Mr. Cawton should have been elected their rector, but Mr. Cawton was, as we have seen, in Rotterdam, and probably at that time he could not return to England.

A vestry minute at that date will show that the parishioners elected Mr. Hall, who had previously been acting as clergyman under Dr. Grant, and determined to petition the Keeper of the Seals for the appointment :—

1653.—At a vestry held the 5th of January, 1653, to advise about the funeral of Dr. John Grant, deceased, being then present these gentlemen of the parish as are nominated in the margin, ordered at this present vestry that Dr. John Grant be buried in the chancel according to his own desire, and that the parish shall rebate the church duties, and that there shall be allowed to his widow out of the parish stock 10*l*. ready money to bear the charges of his funeral costs.

Ordered also at this present vestry that two or three ministers shall be put in nomination who the parish will make choice of for their minister for the future. The parish promises to petition the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, under whom the gift or donation of this living belongeth, and it was put to vote between Mr. Bellows and Mr. George Hall, and Mr. George Hall was chosen by almost all the hands that were present.

In the parish account-book there is an entry as follows :—

Paid for the burial of Dr. Grant by order of the vestry . . . 10 0 0

At this time the Commissioners for the Great Seal were Sir Thomas Widdring-

ton, Whitelock, and Lisle, and, whether at the request of the Protector Oliver or not one cannot of course now tell, but the living was given to a person of the name of Sidrach Simpson, and the petition of the parish in favour of Mr. Hall was passed over.

Sidrach Simpson had been originally one of the divines selected for settling the new form of Church government and ritual in the Church of England, but he afterwards appears to have joined the Congregationalists or Independents, and to have been one of their principal men. I have a pamphlet signed by him, which is the Independents' Declaration delivered to the Assembly of Divines, showing their reasons for dissenting from the Presbyterian clergy.

Mr. Sidrach Simpson has left no trace of himself in the parish, and I should not have known that he had ever been a parson of it but that some years later the fact is mentioned in one of the minutes, when it is said that he died in the year 1655. That and the entry of his death in the register are the only two records that are left of him, but it is not the less a fact that he was rector of St. Bartholomew's. One of Mr Simpson's first acts upon being appointed to St. Bartholomew's was to preach a sermon against the government of the Protector Oliver, and for this he was apprehended on the 26th of January, and two days afterwards was committed to prison at Windsor Castle.

Mr. Simpson was kept in prison until the month of July, when he was enlarged, and liberty given him to preach anywhere ten miles from London, so that it is not much to be wondered at that he does not appear at all in the parish books of St. Bartholomew.

Shortly after Dr. Grant's death his wife became a pensioner of the parish, and continued so until her death. The first minute upon the subject is as follows:—

At a vestry held the 18th of March, 1653, Rumney's daughter, being distracted, ordered to be carried to Bedlam for her cure at the parish charge.

At this present vestry, a letter, or indeed rather a petition, was presented from the aged widow of Dr. John Grant, deceased, for some maintenance out of this parish, where her deceased husband had been so many years rector. The vestry wished this request carried out another way more fitting, that is, that every gentleman of the parish allow her yearly during her life what every man is pleased to spare towards such a good work, and the names of these benefactors, together with the sums that they please to allow her, are here written in the margin—viz. This pension written in the margin. These gentlemen have every one promised to pay unto Mr. Grant's widow quarterly during her life, and this pension before mentioned is to be given, the first payment at Midsummer, being the 24th day of June, in the year of our Lord God 1654.

There is an entry under date the 28th April, 1654, which showed how com-

pletely the Protector Oliver had assumed to himself personal government of every sort. It is an order from the Protector for choosing a scavenger for the parish.

Mr. Sidrach Simpson died on the 18th April, 1655, and was buried in the parish, and the living again became vacant, and the parishioners petitioned the Protector to appoint a successor.

At this time there was some trouble with reference to the Commissioners of the Great Seal. Major Lisle was no longer one, and Lenthal, the late Speaker of the Long Parliament, was appointed in his place; but the Commissioners had had a quarrel with the Protector about some proposed alterations in the Court of Chancery which ultimately led to the Protector requiring their dismissal; and upon the living falling vacant he did not offer it to them to fill up, but gave it himself to the congregation of Mr. Philip Nye, apparently by a document under his hand.

Philip Nye was another Independent, and was one of the Protector Oliver's chaplains.

He was with the English Commissioners who went to Scotland before the outbreak of the war, and his name appears constantly in the annals of that time as one of the principal preachers before Cromwell. The living appears to have been given to him and his congregation, and he put in as his *locum tenens* another Independent named John Loder.

Both of them after the Restoration published a declaration to the effect that it was a calumny against the Independent body to state that they were in any way abetting the late King's death. On the contrary, that the Independents were opposed to it. But, nevertheless, this Mr. Philip Nye was one of those especially excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and probably only escaped execution by his insignificance.

The following minutes relate to the application of the parish:—

April 27th, 1655.—This vestry was chiefly called for the parishioners to petition the second time in behalf of a minister, which was confirmed and presented to the Protector.

This petition seems to have produced no effect, for in the July following a further petition was presented.

July 29th, 1655.—At a vestry held it was then unanimously agreed that a petition should be forthwith drawn up and to be presently presented to the Lord Protector that he would be graciously pleased to give the parishioners an answer to their two last petitions which formerly were presented him, and the parties then nominated in the said vestry to consider upon the drawing up of the same were as in the margin.

In the account-book there is this entry :—

Paid on going to and fro to petition the Lord Protector for a minister . . . 2 4 0

The result of the petition was not favourable, for the Protector appointed Mr. Nye, and he delegated Mr. Loder as minister.

The following minutes will show that from the moment the new minister put his foot in the parish he was opposed by the parishioners, who did not like either him or his doings :—

January 19th, 1656.—At a vestry the day above said, there being present these persons whose names are written in the margin, Mr. John Loder desired this vestry to be called, and certify his presentation to this place as our minister, and offered to compound with such of the parish as should please for their tithes.

The parish took no notice of his application, and apparently considered his appointment illegal, and in July following he again called them together.

This is related in the following minute :—

At a vestry called upon the request of Mr. Loder this 23rd July, 1657, Mr. Loder did offer to the parish to set the tithes. He demanded 200*l.* per annum. Mr. Maslin asked him if he had a roll of the tithes; he answered he had. We : we are not willing to take the tithes, because he refused to administer the sacrament and to christen children except we would be joined in communion with his church; and he said that he had waited twelve months for us, but we do not comply with him. Mr. Lawson asked him how many souls he had gotten out of our parish into his congregation. Mr. Loder did not answer. I said, "None." Mr. Lawson much admired at it. Mr. Loder answered, he had gotten as many as he did expect. I asked him how he could answer so with a good conscience either to God or man to take tithes when he regarded not the good of our souls. He said he doubted not but that he would answer it to God and man with a good conscience. We told him we had no reason to pay tithes when our church was taken up and our pews filled with strange congregations. He said he could not help it; my Lord Protector gave the church to Mr. Nye and his congregation. Mrs. Grant's letter was read to the parish, and Mr. Flood promised me to assist me in the gathering of the money for Mrs. Grant.

At the same vestry it was voted that they should allow nothing towards the amending of the pews. It was further voted that, if the tenants of the new shops would pay me their rent upon my security, then the vestry promised me for to save me harmless.

It was voted that I should save the tenants harmless from any which should sue or molest them, if they would pay their rents unto me, which I did, and confirm unto them under my hands to Mr. Pollard, Mr. Pimm, and Mr. Hope.

Mr. Loder renewed his request on the 22nd of October, 1657, and the minute is as follows :—

At a vestry holden the 22nd of October, 1657, Mr. Loder desires to see the books of the particulars of his tithes. Ordered and voted that the books should not be shewed unto Mr. Loder,

and that they would save Mr. Savage, present churchwarden, harmless from any trouble that should ensure upon it. Mr. Loder desires me for to acquaint the parish that he hath forewarned the tenants from paying any rent of the new shops. Ordered, that I should demand the rent, and give security to the tenants for to save them harmless from Mr. Loder or any other, which is done accordingly.

Nothing of any importance in the matter took place during the year 1658. In the course of the year, viz., in the month of September, the Protector Oliver died.

The minutes show that the dispute between Mr. Loder and the parish continued during the following year. In September 1659 there is an interesting minute referring to the condition in which the City then was owing to the uncertainty after the Protector Oliver's death; there is also a Petition from poor Dr. Grant's widow complaining of her poverty. The minute is as follows :—

September 18th, 1659.—At a vestry then held in the parish church of St. Bartholomew, Exchange, London, those persons being present who are recited in the margent, these subsequent businesses were agreed upon. First, that whereas I acquainted them that Mr. John Loder, who had then a grant of the living from the late Protector, and he, with Mr. Phillip Nye, did officiate in the parish church every Lord's day to a gathered congregation whom they brought thither, one taking possession of our pulpit and the other of our pews. The said Loder was content that, in case the parish would consider him in his tithes, they should choose a minister to officiate in the afternoons on the Lord's days and administer the sacraments to them, but the gentlemen of the parish refused to accept of his proffer, denying his title, and resolving to have the use of their church the whole day themselves.

Note.—The sance bell being fallen down, ordered it be amended and set up, and some small charge to be laid out about the rest.

At the same vestry, upon a motion made for repairs of the church and bells, and the pews miserably torn; and Mr. Nye's congregation who would have repaired them; but the parish would not admit them so to do, lest they should claim thereby an interest in the church and pews, but made choice of those gentlemen hereunder written to be overseers for repairs of the church, and at present not to disburse more than twenty and five pounds about it.

The names of the overseers are given.

Mr. Young, stonecutter, was nominated to the vestry to be employed in the work, and approved by them, and afterwards conferred with by the overseers and ordered to take down the battlements of the church, which he did accordingly. He was also desired to give an estimate of the whole charge for repair of the church and steeple, which he did. And it was declared at the next vestry, as you will find recited in folio 149 of the book forward.

I informed the gentlemen then present that the inhabitants in Sweeting's Alley had paid me the rates charged upon them for the poor of this parish, and for so doing they desired the parish to indemnify them. It was voted the parish will save them harmless for paying the said moneys and me

for receiving of it. The parish also saves the tenants of the shops under the church (naming them) harmless for paying their respective rents for their shops unto me, and do also indemnify me for the receiving of it.

At the same vestry I moved the gentlemen of the parish then present to dispose of some part of the monies in my hands that was resting upon the balances of the last churchwardens' account; it was voted that I should desire Mr. Wm. Webb to enquire if the Grocers who already were indebted to the parish in 150*l.* would take 150*l.* more upon interest, which then I should pay in unto them and get what interest we could; but after Mr. Webb and myself had several times spoken with the wardens and divers of the Company we could obtain but 5 per cent. interest, saying they were proffered 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* at same rate; so in regard of the exceeding great hazard and danger of the times, by reason of public differences and decay of trade in general, the money aforesaid, being 150*l.*, was paid in to them at 5 per cent., and the bond taken in the names of Mr. Edward Carlton and Robert Lloyd, of this parish, and now remains in Mr. John Rolfe his hands, scrivener.

At the same vestry I acquainted them also that Sir Thos. Honeywood and his lady was in the church, and sent for me desiring liberty to set up a monument in the chancel for Mr. John Lamott, deceased, my lady's father, and she would lay out some money in consideration thereof for mending the chancel.

At the same vestry, upon a letter read from Mrs. Grant, the rector's widow, declaring that what allowance the gentlemen of the parish were pleased to give her formerly was by some dead and gone out of the parish ceased, by others suspended, and so small a sum at any one time not exceeding 5*s.* or 10*s.* brought to her that she could not subsist, whereupon her condition was referred to the overseers of the poor to go about the parish for subscriptions, and to take care that what hereafter be received may be more orderly paid unto her.

The following minute refers to the choice of lecturer, and also to a gleam of hope that the parish could get rid of Mr. Loder :—

At a vestry the 18th November, 1659, called in regard to the late death of Mr. Croft, for the choice of a lecturer for Wednesday in the morning, the charitable gift of Mr. Creshawe, there was put in nomination only Mr. Thos. Henchman and Mr. Hopkins, and in regard of the very great appearance we came forth the vestry house, and my partner and self stood at the Communion table, and every one present subscribed to a paper wherein Mr. Henchman and Mr. Hopkins's names were written, and in the conclusion it appeared that Mr. Thomas Henchman had thirty hands to be lecturer and Mr. Hopkins had fourteen, so we judged Mr. Henchman was clearly chosen lecturer for the year ensuing.

I acquainted the gentlemen present that Mr. Young, the stonecutter, had given me an estimate of the charge the repairs of the church would amount to according to their desire at the last vestry, which they ordered me to read, and, after reading of it, it was agreed the said charge should be taken into consideration by the gentlemen chosen for repairs of the church against the spring, when the parish intend to proceed to the repairing of it in case they can prevail for a minister to their own liking. In order whereunto at the same vestry were chosen to treat with Mr. Loder and

know if he were leaving the parish, as it was rumoured he did intend suddenly to do, being chosen at Windsor, these gentlemen following :

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Mr. Edward Carlton, | Mr. Thomas Netherway, |
| Mr. George Keate, | and |
| Mr. Thos. Bishop, | Myself, |

who accordingly spake with Mr. Loder the 23rd day following, but he denied that he was chosen anywhere else, and that he never intended to leave the parish as yet, nor would not upon any terms condescend that the parish should choose any but himself, who he said was their lawful person. However, if they desired a person to preach with them on the Lord's day afternoon, they should find him very ingenuous, so parted.

A minute in the following February tells the climax of the story ; but in order to understand it it is necessary to recapitulate some facts. As previously mentioned, on the 3rd of September, 1658, the Protector Oliver died, and in the month of May 1659 the Protector Richard was deposed.

In the November following a Committee of Safety was formed, to be shortly afterwards dissolved by the resuscitated Long Parliament, including the secluded members. The Commissioners of the Great Seal under the Parliament were Sir Thomas Widdrington and Messrs. Tyrrell and Fountain.

In the month of February 1659 Lord General Monk came to London, and on the 16th of February an order was made for the Committee of Plundered Ministers to sit.

This was a committee formed in the year 1644, the day after the execution of Archbishop Laud, and it seems to have had a variety of matters referred to it.

From its name it will be seen that its object was to provide, out of the livings of sequestered clergy, provision for those ministers of the Presbyterian section who had been dispossessed by the Royal troops. Afterwards its object was extended so as to include the question of tithes, the question of sequestration of livings, and even to a certain extent questions of ecclesiastical government, because the case of Dr. Love was investigated by this committee before he was brought to trial before the legal tribunals.

The Parliament, in appearance a continuance of the Long Parliament dissolved by the Protector Oliver, was practically under the entire control of General Monk, who was now in the City with his army and lodged in the adjoining parish of St. Peter-le-Poor. The parish took advantage of the situation. The parishioners, exasperated against Mr. Loder, and feeling that the power of the Independents, who were as odious to the Presbyterians as to the parish, was now gone, made,

under the advice of counsel, an application to the Commissioners of the Great Seal to declare the living vacant. It is not unreasonable to think that in this they would receive the assistance of their old friend and fellow-parishioner Mr.—now Sir—Harbottle Grimston, the Speaker of the House of Commons. The ground of the petition was that Mr. Nye, never having been properly appointed, the living had remained vacant since the death of Mr. Simpson, and a request was made on the part of the parish that the Commissioners would appoint a parson. Mr. Loder, who was determined not to give up without a struggle, made interest with the Lord-General Monk for a letter from him to the Commissioners asking that the living might be given to him if they considered Mr. Nye's appointment by Oliver invalid. The parish, hearing that Mr. Loder had obtained this letter, also made interest to obtain a second letter from General Monk reversing the first. As will be seen from the minute these tactics prevailed, and neither Mr. Nye nor Mr. Loder was confirmed in the living.

The minute is as follows :—

At a vestry held the 4th of April, 1660, the gentlemen present as in margin.

This meeting being occasioned by a petition, presented to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, signed by above three score inhabitants of the parish, and in the name of the parish, shewing that the rectory of said parish had been void ever since the death of Sidrach Simpson, which was four years and upwards, and no person appointed to execute the cure that would perform the same, and in the meantime the parish church was become ruinous and would require a vast sum of money to repair the same: They humbly, therefore, prayed that their Lordships would give the petitioners leave to recommend a minister for their own parish, worthy of their Lordships' presentation, and that may administer the ordinances of Christ to your petitioners' comfort, and they should pray ever.

This petition being presented the 19th of March past, the Lords Commissioners appointed us to appear the 23rd day following, having formally ordered Mr. Zachariah Crofton, who petitioned for the place, and one Mr. John Loder, who had for four years past officiated in the said parish church, but to a gathered congregation, by virtue of a grant from Oliver, late Protector, under his manual seal, for the said living, albeit it was and ever continued in the gift of the Lord Keeper or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, to appear the same day, and all the said parties then appearing accordingly.

In the first place, Mr. Crofton's petition was nonsuited. Then Mr. Loder was asked what title he had to the living, who (referring his grant by the Protector) answered he was settled by the Committee for Plundered Ministers. Then the Lord Witherington, chairman, demanded if the living was sequestered, and he being satisfied it was not, the Lords Commissioners agreed that title was invalid and out of doors in *illis verbis*. The Commissioners then demanded what other title he had for the living. Mr. Loder answered, "the Protector's grant."

Then Mr. Philip Nye produced a paper subscribed by Mr. Attorney-General Prideaux and

Mr. Solicitor-General Ellis, being their judgment in the case, that the Protector's grant, under his sign manual, was as authentic in law for any living as if it had been under the Great Seal of England ; but the Lords Commissioners denied it, and said that the Protector could not dispose of that which was their right to bestow, and that Mr. Loder's title which he pretended by that grant of the Protector was void, as well as the other which he had from the Committee of Plundered Ministers, notwithstanding he had obtained a letter from the Lord General to this effect.

That he being informed Mr. John Loder was settled by the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and yet, notwithstanding others were endeavouring for the seal for the said living, he made it his earnest request that they would not give any new title to any other parson.

Then Mr. Nye desired that he might have a trial at law to prove his title with whomsoever they should confer the living upon, and the Lords Commissioners bid him take his course.

Then was a letter delivered to the Lords Commissioners from the Lord General Monk to countermand his former letter to them in the behalf of Mr. Loder, which was to this effect,—

That, whereas he was bold to recommend one Mr. John Loder to them, and being informed that he is not a fit person, nor legally put in, he therefore desired he might not be continued.

The letter being read privately by each of the Lords Commissioners, without further inquisition, they desired us to withdraw, and, in a short time after, they called in Mr. Loder and Mr. Nye, and dispatched them quickly away, and, then calling in the parish, the Lord Witherington told them they had taken the petition of the parish into consideration, and, in regard they were so modest as only to desire liberty to present a person to them for their presentation, the Lords Commissioners did give them leave so to do, and that they should find them very civil to the parish, though they would not absolutely promise them to accept of him, but reserved that to themselves till they might know and judge of the person whom the parish should choose to present, and to that purpose gave us fourteen days' time to make choice of a person to present unto them. Some gentleman, then present at the vestry aforesaid, and I, having read the Lords Commissioners' order for making choice of one person to present unto them for our minister, did desire that two gentlemen may be presented, but, it being put to hands, it was carried in the negative—that we should present but one person. Whereupon about seven persons deserted the vestry and went away.

April 4th, 1660.

Whereupon the rest of the gentlemen left in the vestry being forty and odd, the number of thirteen being a complete court or vestry, and being desired to go on to election of one person according to the order aforesaid, these persons following were put in nomination : viz.—

Dr. Tristram Sugg.
Dr. William Grant.
Mr. Richard Stretton.
Mr. John Loder.
Mr. George Bowcher.
Mr. Nehemiah Rogers.

And all these gentlemen being put to hands, the election fell between Dr. Sugg and Mr. Richard Stretton, who being afterwards put to hands entirely, Dr. Sugg was very freely chosen to be

presented to the Lords Commissioners for minister; but before this last election Mr. George Smith did promise and oblige himself in a penalty of 500*l.* that Dr. Sugg should not meddle with the shops underneath the church, which were lately built, and in number four, if and in case the parish should now choose him, and he should be afterwards confirmed by the Lords Commissioners and settled in the living. The said Dr. Sugg being thus chosen, it was desired that every man that had given his hand for him would subscribe to a paper concerning the election, which they did, and the number of them were seven and thirty. After they had subscribed as aforesaid, I desired them to sit down again, and to think of some expedient to please the gentlemen that dissented, who, indeed, would have had Mr. Stretton to have him returned with Dr. Sugg for minister: whereupon they unanimously made choice of the said Mr. Stretton to be lecturer for the Lord's day in the afternoon, in case and during the time that Dr. Sugg have the living, and is continued in the parish, and for the unity of the parish, to contribute to a comfortable subsistence for him.

The minute reads plainly enough, but the parish account-book throws some more light upon the proceedings that led to the successful result, and these items must be read with the minute to understand how the business was brought about:—

| | |
|--|---------|
| To coachmen for the parish to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal Office, and for myself and others of the parish, to Whitehall and St. James's about evicting Mr. Loder and appointing a minister | £1 19 4 |
| Spent at several meetings about the minister | 0 9 5 |
| To Mr. Pearce, the Lord Commissioners' Secretary, for entering a caveat and for an order to appear on Friday the 15 th following | 1 5 0 |
| To Lord General's Secretary for a letter to reverse a letter Mr. Loder had obtained from General Monk to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in his behalf | 0 10 0 |
| For a certificate from the First Fruits Office that our living was void since the death of Mr. Simpson | 0 10 0 |
| For a copy of the General's letter on behalf of Mr. Loder | 0 5 0 |
| For money spent at Pope's Head, in Chancery Lane, with counsel to draw up a petition to Genl. Monk | 13 0 6 |
| For money given to counsel at various times | 3 10 0 |
| For a reckoning at the Cock, Temple Bar, with the parish | 0 5 6 |
| To Mr. Pearce, for an order to appear 14 days hence | 0 15 0 |
| To the ushers and porters at the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal | 0 7 6 |
| To Mr. Pearce for an order to appear again | 0 15 0 |
| For moneys spent the night we came from the Lord General with Major Taylor, conferring together about what was further to be done | 0 14 9 |

The minute and the accounts together show pretty clearly how the affair was managed.

Something had to be paid to Mr. Stretton, who failed to be elected, for there is the following entry in the accounts :—

| | |
|--|--------|
| To Mr. Stretton, who was sent for 40 miles to preach for approbation | |
| to the parish | £2 0 0 |
| For a messenger for himself and horse | 0 16 0 |

However, it was fated that neither Dr. Sugg nor Mr. Stretton was to have anything to do with the parish, for on the 29th May, King Charles II. came, and from a vestry held the 25th of June it appears that Dr. Brideoake was appointed rector :—

June 25th, 1660 :—The same day, the vestry understanding that there was a minister appointed for this parish, it was ordered, therefore, that the churchwardens and some gentlemen of the parish should give him a visit and to invite him amongst us to a meeting with the parish.

Steps were also taken to get rid of Mr. Loder, as appears by a meeting of the 6th of July :—

On July the 6th, 1660, at a vestry held, the gentlemen being present as in the margin, it was ordered and agreed that Mr. Loder, he that was the former parson, put in by the late Protector, should not preach any more in the said parish church, and to that end it was voted that I should, with the assistance of some gentlemen of the parish, keep him out, and that whatsoever charge or trouble might follow by so doing to me or them, that we should be kept harmless by the parish.

At the same vestry it was ordered that I should remove the pulpit door and stairs and to make the going up out of the north aisle into the said pulpit, and to have all the rubbish carried and cleared out of the churchyard, and that I and some gentlemen of the parish should treat with masons concerning the repairing of the church.

At this meeting the new parson was present, and is described in the minutes as Dr. Braddock.

The same day it was ordered that some gentlemen of the parish, with the churchwardens, should take into consideration Mrs. Grant's letter to the parish, and do something for her relief, and in order thereunto some gentlemen of the parish did subscribe, as by a roll made to that purpose doth appear, which is left in the under churchwarden's hand for him to collect to her, and so successively to the next under churchwarden to collect for her relief so long as the gentlemen of the parish shall continue their charity towards her.

This is a convenient resting-place. Dr. Brideoake's advent marks a new era in the Church of England and in the parish, and it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of him, condensed from the "*Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*" of Richard Newcourt, published in 1707 :—

Ralph Brideoake was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and took his degree in 1630, and being ordained was made chaplain of New College. In

1636 he took his master's degree, and was appointed corrector of the press in Oxford; for his services in this department he was appointed master to the free school in Manchester, and afterwards he became chaplain to James Earl of Derby.

Mr. Brideoake was in Latham House all the while it was besieged, where he did good service. When the King's cause declined he stuck fast to the family of Derby, and became a diligent solicitor for his noble patron's life after he was taken prisoner in 1651. Mr. William Lenthal, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was so much entreated by him on behalf of the Earl of Derby, that when he saw nothing could save his lord's life Lenthal made him his chaplain, and soon after appointed him preacher of the Rolls in Chancery Lane.

By Lenthal's endeavours he became vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire and was appointed one of the commissioners of the approbation and admission of ministers. He was subsequently appointed rector of St. Bartholomew's at the Restoration, and immediately afterwards he was made chaplain to the King and canon of Windsor. In September 1667 he became Dean of Salisbury, and in 1675 Bishop of Chester, with liberty to retain his canonry at Windsor. At this time he resigned the living of St. Bartholomew's. He died in 1678, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Before quitting the subject altogether I would wish to say that I have given but a small and imperfect idea of the many items of interest that may be gathered from the books. There are many other most interesting subjects touched upon in them incidentally, such as the amount of contribution given by the English to the French in the latter period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and during the reign of King Henry IV. of France.

Besides these, there are many instructive details concerning the proceedings after the Restoration, of the Plague, and of the Great Fire, and, above all, the rebuilding of the churches and the reassessment of the parishes consequent upon the Fire. There are, in fact, abundant materials for a large volume; but I have said enough to show the interest attaching to these books.

APPENDIX.

I.

Ornaments of the Church of St. Christopher, 1488.

These beth the psellis of the juellis, goodis, and ornamentis of the Church of Seynte Cristofre of London, founden in the same Church, the xxvj day of the monethe of Marche, the yere of the reigne of oure Lorde God MCCCCLXXXIIJ, takyn into the warde and kepyng of William Brown and Rob^t Ezyk, Wardens of the same Church, the which juellis, goodis, and ornamentis that Richard Croke and John Jacoby have receyved into theire warde and kepyng the xxvj day of the moneth of March, A^o Dⁿⁱ MCCCCLXXXVIIJ, as apperith by a Bille.

Inprimis.—A grete Crosse with Mari and John of silver and over-gilde weyenge ⁱⁱⁱⁱxxi uncis, of the gifte of William Gardynere, draper, and a foote therto of coper and gilt. [The bove Crosse havyng ij knopys laking.] [Sold.]^a

Iĥm.—another Crosse of silver and over-gilde, without Mari & John, havyng therein a plate of iron, the whiche Cross weyeth, with the iron, lxxix owncis.

Iĥm.—A Chales with a patent of silver and oŵ-gilt, w̃ a Trinite weyng xxi ownčs, w̃ the Crucifix in the fote and Mary and John.

Iĥm.—A Chaleys with the patent of silver and oŵ-gilde, with a crusefix & T. & S. therupon, & an hand upon the patent, the which Chaleys weyeth xvi ownčs. [Sold 1534.]

Iĥm.—A Chaleys with a crucefix, and Mari & John upon the foote and the coronation of Oure Lady upon the patent, weyng xxv ownces.

Iĥm.—A Chaleys with a crucifix and too hartis hedis upon the foote and the Jugement of God sitting upon the patent, the which Chaleys weyeth xliij ownces. [Sold 1536.]

Iĥm.—A Chaleys with a vernacle upon the patent, weyng vj owncis. [Sold 1534.]

[Iĥm.—A Chaleys off the gifte of Henry Walter, & the said name graved upon the fote.] [Lost in the year . . .]

Iĥm.—A grete Mustraunce of silver & oŵ-gilde, with the pxt of cristall, weyng lxxviii owncis. [1548, sold.]

[Soulde to Thomas Mostyan by the consent of a Vestrie for to pay the nessesarye charge of the said Cherche as apereth by the Cherchwardyns' account.]

^a The portions in brackets are additions in later handwritings of various dates, as may generally be gathered from the context

Iſm.—Too Senses of silver, pcell gilte, weyng bothe j^e and ij ouncis. [Sold 1536.]

[Bought by mister Jake, Cherchwardyn, in the yere of ̄ Lord 1536. 1 Censer of selver, pcell gilt, weyng xxv oz, cost 3/8 the oz. wē Mr. Thomas Hylton was Cherchwardyn w him. 4l. 11s. 8d.]

*Iſm.—ij Basons of Silver with Leggys Armes, weyeng lix ownē. [Sold 1536.]

*Iſm.—Too Candelsticks of silver, with Leggis Armes uppon them, weyng both lxx ownē.

Iſm.—A Coupe of silver & oſ-gilde, with a crucifix uppon the hed to put in the sacrement, weyng xxxj owncis. [Sold 1536.]

Iſm.—A Crismatorie of silver and gilte w ij imagis, oon of Oure Lady and the other of Seynt Cristofrer, the same Crismatorie weyng xxix ownē.

[The same Cresmetore, broken and conferted w^t a chales to make a comon comynyon cope, gilte, xl oz., by me, Thomas Groschampe, one of the Cherchwardenes, with the consent of the same parys.]

Iſm.—A Shippe of silver pcell gilte, for the frankensence, that weyeth viij owncis. [Sold 1536.]

Iſm.—A Mustraunse of silver & gilte w^t an image of Seynt Cristofre thereon, weyng the same Mustraunse vi owncis.

Iſm.—A Petar of silver with a Cristall thereon, gilt, wt c̄tayne reliks, weyng all-to-gedir v ouncis.

Iſm.—A Sepulture of silver with ij crosses thereuppon, and with certayne relyquees therein, weyeng all-to-gedir iiij owncis.

Iſm.—A Sepultre of silver and oſ-gilde, with the ffeesshe of Seynt Cristofre therin, that weieth with the ffeesshe xi ownces. [1536 sold.]

N.B.—Here is an addition made in 1518 which has been erased with the word "sold written at a subsequent date. It is illegible.

Iſm.—A paire of silver Feete belongyng to the image of Seynt Cristofre, weyeng both xviiij ouncis. [Sold 1534.]

Iſm.—A Pax of silver and over-gilte weyeng vj ounē lakking ij knop of a corner beneath. [and one knop more, laking 3 in all.]

Iſm.—ij rownde Crewtts of silver pcell-gilte weyng both xij ounē. [Sold 1536.]

Iſm.—ij square Crewtts of silver pcell-gilte weyng bothe iij ouncis. [Sold 1536.]

Iſm.—ij Shoue of silver, with a stone that sved sometyme for an image of oure Lady, that weyed bothe with the stone an ounce.

[The Sho woute the stone lakking, and the Sho w the stone sold by .]

^a Probably the gift of Thomas Legge, who, by his will dated 31 Edward the Third, gave various bequests to the Parish of St. Christopher. A copy of the will is in the Book of Records. He apparently increased the churchyard.

Iſm.—A Crosse of silver, the foote and the hed cristall, that weyeth an ounce and a half.

Iſm.—Ther is a Cross-Staffe of copper and gilte that is for the beste Crosse that cost the piishoñs xvij s.

Iſm.—A Sewte of crymysyn velvet, the orpharies of blewe cloth of tisew and flowres of gold, for preist, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, wī stole and fanons, and iiij coopes of the same sewte. That sewte was bought of my Lady Stockton. [Whereof one w cloth of golde blewe tyssewe; the orphers of the said coope was of redde golde, the whiche coope of red gold was of the gifte of my Lady Stockton abovesaid.] [Parfyt the 19 of May, 1550.] [Nota lacking orpharies.] [Sctr. ut supr.]

Iſm.—A Coope of blewe clothe tyssewe, the orpharies of red cloth of golde of the gifte of my Lady Stockton.

[Iſm.—A Coppe of clothe of golde, the orpharies with ymegery, all of Bruges werk, gyffe be Dame Thomassyn Peyvatt.] [Parfyt the 19 of Maye, 1550.]

Iſm.—A Sewte of red velvet for preist, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, browderid with griffons of golde with the armes of Legge, with too stoles & iij ffanons, and with iij coopes of the same sewte, and a cloth of the same to hange before the high altar, with a ffrontell of the same armes, and a cloth for the lectarn of the same sewte. [Parfyt.]

[Lackying a lectery cloth of this sewt whych Mr. Chambers hath in kepyng by the parson's request.]

Iſm.—A Sewte of Vestements of red saten with orpharies of blewe bawdekyn, for preist, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, with ij stooles and iij ffanons, and a coope of the same sewte. [Parfyt.]

[Iſm.—A Vestement of purpull velvet, wī orpharies of Brudges werke and said Vestment full of fleur-de-lys of gold, wī y^e albe and all thereto belongyng, gyvyen by Mr. Roger Atcheley late Mayor of London, 1st day of Nov^r, 1513.^a]

Iſm.—A Sewte of Vestements of blewe satyn, with birdes of goolde and lyons, and the orpharies of red bawdekyn, the grownde powdered with white flowres, for preist, dekyn and sub-deakyn, ij stooles and iij ffanons and a coope of the same wī sterres in the orpharies. [Parfet 19 May, 1550]. [Lackying the coppe].

Iſm.—A Sewte of Vestements of white bawdekyn, with libbards of gold crowned about their nekkis and rooses of red silke, for preist, dekyn, and subdekyn, with ij stooles iij ffanons and a coope of the same suyte. [✱] & ij Alter Clothes for the high alter of white saten steyned wī the same libardis, and ij ridels of the same and a ffrontell of white bawdekyn, with iij platis of blewe bawdekyn and ij pendauntis thereto to hange at the ende of the cloth to eke hit for the cloth is ōr shorte for the alter. [Parffyt to the crosse bencath.]^b

^a This was written in 1518. Sir Roger Achely (Draper) was Mayor of London 1511. Stowe says he was a careful Magistrate for corn, which he caused to be stowed up in Leaden Hall. He lived in Cornhill, and was buried in St. Christopher's church.

^b This memorandum was written by the Bishop of Gallipoli at the top of the entry, in the margin, and therefore refers to the cross inserted after "suyte," which would thus be beneath.

- Iīm.—A nother Sewte of Vestements of white bawdekyn, with rooses of goolde and orpharies of red bawdekyn full of the same rooses, for preist, dekyn, and subdeakyn, with ij stooles and iij ffanons and iij coopes and a cloth of the sewte to lye uppon a forme uppon the high alter undre the juellis. [Parfyt all this.]
- Iīm.—ij Coopes of white bawdekyn, & the grounde of the orpharies red, w^t libardis of goolde havyng in theire mouthes rolles. [Parfyt the 19 of May 1550.]
- Iīm.—A Sewte of Blak Vestements of damaske, and the orpharies browdred with imagis and trayfoyles of grene silke in the hed, and the growndes of silver with a scripture therein, and the armes with rynges of goolde, for preist, dekyn, and subdeakyn, with ij stooles and iij ffanons, and with iij coopis of the same sewte. [Parfyt the 19 of May 1550.]
- Iīm.—A Sewte of blak bawdekyn, browderid with threid of goold and the armes whyte with mones of blewe, for preist, dekyn and subdeakyn, and a coope of the same sewte. [Parfyt.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, of worsted with crownes; ār with goolde the grounde of blak.
- Iīm.—A Vestement of bawdekyn, white and red, with the orpharies of blewe, with crownes & steris of golde.
- Iīm.—A Vestement of red bawdekyn full of braunches of goolde and blewe steris of silke the orpharies of blewe playne bawdekyn. [Parfyt 19 May.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement of whyte bawdekyn, and the orpharies of red, with lambes and rooses of goolde with stoole and fanon. [Parfet.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement of cloth of goolde ffebule full of floures de lyce, & the orpharies of blew, red, and grene with strypes of whyte, for preist, dekyn; with stoole and fanon, & a coope of the same. [Parfet.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, of clothe of goolde febull, w^t stoole and fanon, & the orpharies of dyv's colours, and an egle splayed of blew. [Parfet.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, of red, and the orpharies of blewe worsted, with stoole and fanon. [Parfet.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, of silke, full of ray and of chekkis of dyvers coloures, and the orpharies of blew velvet. [Parfet.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, paled of purple and grene, and the orpharies of blewe with dyvers birdes of golde thereon. [Parfet.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, of whyte cloth, browderid w^t Jhesus. [Parfyt.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement, syngle, partie, oon side red and grene and the other side blewe and lyons of silver with longe tailes, and the orpharies of black, with crownes and steris. [Parfyt.]
- Iīm.—A Vestement of grene and red, single, with whyte flowres, and the orpharies of blewe velvet w^t images and steris of goolde. [Parfyt.]

- Iīm.—A Cope feble of grene, the orpharies of red, w^t flowres of whyte and grene. [Parfit].
- Iīm.—ij Coopis of blewe rayes. [Parfit].
- Iīm.—A Cope of cloth of gold feble for a child Bisshop. [Parfyt].
- Iīm.—A Vestement of blewe saten, the orpharies grene damaske, with blewe garters, stole and fanon. [Parfyt].
- Iīm.—A Cope feble for a childe, of dyvers coloures, and iij copes of white bustyan, and the orpharies of grene, thise iij copes being small coopes for children. [Lacking this.]
- Iīm.—A Cloth of blewe rayes, with a ffrontell thereon of blewe damasyne, with other pecys of the same rayes that belonged somtyme to the altars, and now been spente and made a curteyne for to close about the ffonte and another about our Lady of Pytie of the same rayes.
- Iīm.—A Cloth of feble silke to serve at weddingys for a care cloth.
- Iīm.—A Cloth of gold, fyne bawdekyn, with a valance aboute of silke, called a Vertame, that serveth to bere over the sacrement, with iiij staves and iiij bellis longyng therto.
- Iīm.—ij Awbes of ray for children of oon sewte.
- Iīm.—Six spare Amytes, of the which oon is browdered with gold and iij images therynne, John, Kateryne and Anthony; a nother is of red velvet with sterres of goold; the third of white damask; the fourth of red velvet with letters T. and C. of golde; the fifth of green bawdekyn with white and red flowers; the sixth of divers colors rayes.
- Iīm.—ij Cloths stained white for thappostelles altar, above with the Trinity, and beneath with Our Lady, and two riddells thereto.
- Iīm.—ij Clothes for the high altar stayned with the xii Apostelles.
- Iīm.—ij Alter Clothes of red and grene paled, and ij riddellis and a ffrontell of the same.
- Iīm.—A Clothe of red damaske with armes at every ende and w^t flowres of golde to hange above the table o'r the alter, & ij clothes of the same to hange before the alter, and two riddels of red tarteron and an alter cloth of diaper with a frontell of the suete of the best cope of blewe cloth of gold of my Lady Stockton's gifte.
- Iīm.—A Banner-cloth for the crosse of grene tarteron with the Trynyte theryn, of My Lady Stockton's geyste. [Parfyt 19th May 1550].
- Iīm.—ij Clothes for Oure Lady alter, oon to hange above the alter and a nother to hange before the alter, havyng the vij sacraments uppon them steyned & leid with golde, and ij curteyns of the same with shepe theryn that beth of Master White's gifte.
- Iīm.—ij Riddelless of lawne that renne behynde in the quere that beth of Johnson's wiff's gifte.
- Iīm.—ij longe and ij short Riddels of red silke with griffyons and T. of golde and crownes, that serve in the quere at tymes.
- Iīm.—A Lectarne Cloth, grownde blewe, with red strypes outhwarte, that is but feble cloth.
- Iīm.—ij Riddels for an alter, white stayned with roses of gold.
- Iīm.—Ther beth viij Pillowes of dyvers coloures, beside other that beth suspent & dampned for bad, as appereth in the pcellis of the suspent wares.

- Item.—A Gheton of silke betyn with golde and iiij baners with libert's hedis; ij baners with the armys of London, and vj small baners with dyvers armes, and iiij small baner clothes of Master Foster's gyfte, and a baner clothe for the crosse of our Lady of silke.
- Item.—iiij long grene Banner Powles, and iiij shorte standarte staves.
- Item.—xxiiij Aulter Clothes, good and badde, the most parte symple, and vj hussyllyng towellis, thereof oon playne feble, and the remeant diapre, of whiche is oon longe of my Lady Cooke's gifte, & a letell oon that was geuyn in Lent A^o 85 by Reynold Rutter's wiffe. [Lacking vi.]
- [Item.—Another Clothe of porpull velvet w^t flour-de-lys of gold, gyvyn by Master Roger Acheley, late Mayor of the Cete of London.^a]
- Item.—A Sewdarie of grene tarterne ffringed with silke on bothe endis, and a canape of knyt warke, ij kerchiffs of silke, oon red and a nother whyte for the sacrament.
- Item.—ij [large] paire of longe laton Candelstyckks standards, oon paire to set before the high aulter, and the other paire to sere for obites to sett on the tapers, bothe the paire weyenge
- Item.—[ij] Candelstyckks of a sewte to sett on smaller tapers uppon the alters, and to bere tapers uppon, of laton, weyng all
- Item.—iiij laton Candelstikks with ij noses to set inne talowe candell for the alters, and a candell braunche, w^t ij noses and a pyke set at the ffonte, of laton, weyng all
- Item.—A payre of Candelstikks of coper gilte, of whiche oon is broken.
- Item.—A payre of Candelstyckks, greate standards for grete tapers, of tynne, and a paire of lesse of tynne, that beth parte brent.
- Item.—ij payre peautre Crewetts that serven daily the preists.
- Item.—ij Crosses of tynne coper, on that hath had Marie and John that is gilte, and another without Marie and John that is blak.
- Item.—ij coper Disshes to gedre offryng inne, and iij sacryg bellys and an haly water stop, and a spryngell of laton therto.
- Item.—Ther beth iij Sup Altarees of the churches, a large and a middell, and a lytell oon that ben clothed in cloth.
- Item.—Ther beth xx Corpores Cases that longe to the Church, and iiij heeris to lay upon the alters, and iiij canvase to cover the alters.

BRAUNCHES OF LATON LONGYNG TO THE CHURCHE.

- Item.—Ther beth longyng to the Rode loft xxx Bolles of laton.
- Item.—In the quire before Seynt James a Braunche with vij flowres, that weyeth
- Item.—Before Oure Lady in the North Chapell a Braunche of vj flowres laton weyng

^a Written in 1518.

- Iīm.—Before Our Lady and Seynt Anne in the same Chapell is a Braunche of v flowres of laton, weyng
- Iīm.—In the South Chapell before the Trynyte is a Braunche of laton, with v flowres weyng
- [Iīm.—Before O^r Lady a Braunche of laton, w^t v braunchys.]
- Iīm.—Before Oure Lady of Pytie, in the body of the Churche, is a Braunche of iij flowres, of laton, weyng
- Iīm.—Before the pytie of Seynt Gregorie, in the body of the Churche, is a Braunch of iij flowres, weyng
- Iīm.—Ther is a Lavmpe hangyng before the Rode in a basyn of laton, and a basyn with cheynes and a sterre of laton for to hange in the Pascall at the season of Esterne.
- Iīm.—Ther beth ij olde grete Braunches of laton, that beth eche for oon taper that sved before Oure Lady & before Seynt Anne.

LENTE CLOTHES.

- Iīm.—For the high aulter ij Clothes of whyte stayned with the sonne uppon them, and a crosse with storges uppon the other.
- Iīm.—ij Clothes for the Postellys aulter, steyned with the crosse and storges, to hange oon above, and the other before the aulter.
- Iīm.—Ther beth for ij aulters of the same sewte both for above and beneth.
- Iīm.—Ther beth iij Clothes of the same sewte that sve for riddellys in the quere in the Lentyn season.

VAILE CLOTHES.

- Iīm.—Ther is a Vaile Clothe to hange before the high aulter, and therto longeth ij weyghts of leed, eche of xxviiij lbs.
- Iīm.—A Cloth for the lettarne of the same sewte for Lente.
- Iīm.—A Cloth to hange before the Rode, with the passion stare.
- Iīm.—i Clothes with the image of Seynt Cristofre to cover Seynt Cristofre.
- Iīm.—ij Baners of Vexilla, and a cloth to coṽ w^t Seynt John.
- Iīm.—viiij Clothes stayned to cover w^t other images, marked.
- Iīm.—iij symple Vestements of whyte bustyan, and the orpharies of red velvet to sve in the Lente season.
- Iīm.—ij Clothes for the sepulchre, oon with the Passion and the other steyned full of whyte leves.
- Iīm.—Afore the Rode lofte beth ij Curteyns of lynnyn clothe, w^t ffrynges of grene uppon hem of lynnyn syngle yaron.

BOOKS.

- [Inprimis.—A grete Antifoner of Master Sedney's gyft, begynnyng in the seconnde leef "Hoc modo dñi."]
- [Iīm.—An Antifoner beegynnyng in the seconnde leefe "Memorie que predit."]
- [Iīm.—A nother Antifoner beegynnyng in the secownd lefe "Allia hec anī dicatur."]
- [Iīm.—A nother Antifonyr that beegynnyng in the thyrd leefe "Campanis more debito."]
- Iīm.—An olde Antyfoner that begynneth in the secunde lefe "pares quidem filii."
- Iīm.—v mas Bokes, of the whiche one begynneth in the secunde leeff "Et in ramys palmař."
- Iīm.—A nother in the secunde leff "Et finiat hoc modo Artaculo."
- Iīm.—A nother in the secunde leff "te pater supplices."
- Iīm.—A nother in the secunde leffe "factoribus istius loci."
- Iīm.—A nother in the secunde leffe "repimusq. inimici."
- Iīm.—iiij Grailes, oon begynneth in the secunde leeff "Per totū adventū."
- Iīm.—A nother in the secunde leeff "Cumque dicāt missa."
- Iīm.—A nother in the secunde leeffe "In diebus illis."
- Iīm.—The iiijth begynneth in the secunde leeff "Spontanea grā."
- Iīm.—v pressessionaries, of the whiche oon begynneth in the ii^{de} leeffe "In funde."
- Iīm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff begynneth "Graduare."
- Iīm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff begynneth "Propitius inuocatoribus."
- Iīm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff begynneth "Quem potestatem."
- Iīm.—In a nother in the secunde leeff begynneth "Paupū suor."
- Iīm.—ij Manewells, oon beegynnyng in the secunde leff "Inimici et iīm." a nother begynneth in the secunde leeff, &c. "Mundi Spūs."
- Iīm.—ij Bokes, one called a legende and a nother called a tempall, oon beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "cecitate[m] quandā," and the other in the secunde leeff begynneth, "in quæ immaculatus."
- Iīm.—ij Portewos, oon beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Dei credim;" and the other with Briggitt's legent beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Ipo die et cotidie."
- Iīm.—A Lectorarie w^t a martelage therein, beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Relacio iīm."
- Iīm.—A Collectori in the secunde leeff beegynnyng "sibi in nob."
- Iīm.—A Primer and a Sequencer noted bothe in oon boke, beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "Carnem qui vivis."
- Iīm.—An Ordinall beegynnyng in the secunde leeff "festum scti Marcii."
- Iīm.—ij Queyres, oon of Corpus Cristi, with legende therein "The of Seynt Cristofer."
- Iīm.—A Pryk songe boke of paper royall with divers masses therein, beegynnyng in the first lyne of the secunde leeffe "Ne filii vīm."

- Item.—A Miter for a Bisshop, of the Lord Pygg's^a gifte of whyt damaske with Marie and Gabriell and Petyr and Poule thereon of golde image, and a case of leader thereto & a croyser staffe hed gilte thereto.
- Item.—On the est side and on the west side in the vestrarie beth on eche an Alter joyned and undre theme they be full of closetts to lay inne vestments and surples that beth daily occupied to kepe them clene and close.
- Item.—Ther stondesth the xxvi daie of Marche, Ao 88, in the churchyarde, a Desk joyned of Estryche burde, with an almery and ij durrees and iiij pair of stronge garnetts and a lok therto.
- Item.—Ther beth the same daie in the storehows xix Images of tymbre, and an image of Oure Lady in a tabernacle of tymbre, with many aungellis thereabought.
- Item.—In the churchyarde ther beth iiij longe Ladders lokked in a cheyne, oon of xxxi staves and a nother of xxv and anō of xxiiij.
- Item.—Ther be in the Rode loft a paire of Orgons with the ij peire blowers. The orgons close, to be shutte with clos leffes.
- Item.—Ther bith vi Judas Staves for torches peynted, havynge iche a castell gilded to set inne torchetts to bere with the Sacrement on Corpus Cristy daye and other tymes.
- Item.—Ther be ii Letterns of tre stondynge in the Quere.
- Item.—Ther is a standynge Letterne of yron and ii stondynge Letternes of tre in the Rode lofte, and a grete desk lettarne for the gret Boke, and ii smaller deske lettarns for the quere, and iiij letternes of tre for the iiij alters.
- Item.—Ther be xii Tables in the Church the xxvi daie of the moneth of March, Ao 88; of the whiche is oon of the x comandements, a nother hanging undre Oure Lady of Pitie with dyvers good prayers of Oure Lady and the sauter of charite, and a nother of Seynt Gregorie's Pitie of James Wellis gifte, a nother of Seynt Crasynns, a nother of Seynt Kateryne of dyvers good prayers, a nother of Seynt Anne, a nother of Seynt Jamys, and iiij of Seynt Cristofre, and ij of Seynt Sebastian.
- Item.—A Censers of latton and a Ship of latton therto for thensense, and a fire shofell of yron for to sette with ffire to sense with.
- Item.—Ther longeth to the Church the same xxvi daie of March, Ao 88, a crowe of yron, a whele barowe, a shofull and a matok.
- Item.—Ther beth longynge to the Church ij Carpetts, a more and a lesse, of whiche the more longeth for the high aluter, and the lesse to the Trynyte aluter.
- Item.—Ther beth longynge to the Church the xxvi daie of March, Ao Dñi mcccclxxxviij, vij Chestis and a forcer, of the which stond in the Vestrarie iiij therof, oon is plated all over

^a Perhaps the gift of John Peché, Lord Mayor of London, 1361, or his predecessor Henry Pycard, 1356.

with platis and bondes of yron to kepe in the juellis, a nother that is playne chest boundyn with bandis of yron to put in necessities, a nother litell chest to put inne evidences, and ther is a stronge bownden forcer with evidence; and in the Rode loft is a grete ship chest, and in the body of the Churche stond ij longe smale chestis, and in the Churcheyarde stondeth a longe deske chest for torches.

Item.—In the Vestrarie stondeth on the north side a grete closet, wherein beth certayne fframes to hange on copes, and in the same beth c̄tayne smale closetts, with lokkys and keyes, to shit inne the clerks chargs that beth daily occupied.

Item.—On the south side of the Vestrarie standeth a grete library with ij longe lecturnalles theron to ley on the bokes.

Hoc inventar q^d in p̄dis xxxiiij ffoliis exhibit erat coram me Johne Calipoleñ ep̄o Archino
Londōñ p̄mo die m̄sis ffebruarii anno dñi mⁱ quingentesimo xvij.^a

✠ IO. CALIPOLEN.

II.

List of Documents relating to St. Christopher's, 1488.

MEMORANDUM. THESE BETH THE SPECIALITEIS that I, Rob^t Ezyk, delyvered unto Master Croke and John Jacoby, the Churchwardens, as appearith by a bille delyvered to me by Master Croke the xxvi daie of March, Anno Domini m^ccccc^olxxx^oviiij^o.

Imprimis.—ijj endentures of Leses, of the whiche oon was of the leese of the vernacle with the tenantry therby to William Browne, for the t̄me of xx yeris, begynnyng at Midsomer, Ao 84, by covenaunte to paie yerely to the Churche ijxl. xiijs. iiijd. clere, he to bere all maner chargs and repations therof.

Item.—A nother of the Cok and Sterre, leten to George Venables for xii yeris after ijxl. xiijs. iiijd. by yere, begynnyng at Midsomer, Ao Dñi m^ccccc^olxxxv.

Item.—The iiij^{de} of the Aungell in Fletestrete, with the ij teñnt̄ries therby leten to John Cok for the terme of l yeris, begynnyng at Cristemas, Ao Dñi m^ccccc^olxxxvij, to paie yerely to the Churche ijxl. xs., and bere all maner of repations of the houses and vessellys.

Item.—v obligations therynne bownden John Wauton and Thomas Wayte in the sm of viijl. vis. viijd. wherof is paied, as appearith uppon the bak of oon of the obligations, xiijs. iiijd. rest.

^a This is a later addition to the older list, and was probably made on the occasion of an Archidiaconal visitation, at the time when the addition of the things given by Sir Roger Acheley was made.

III.

Properties of St. Christopher's Parish, 1488.

MEMORANDUM.—THESE BETHE THE PARCELLIS OF lyvelode pteynnyng to Seynt Cristofer's Church, showyng, at the xxvi daye of Marche Ao 88, howe they stond leten.^a Furst, the house that John Jacoby holdeth and dwellith inne, payeng by yere vii^l, and the tenements next hit on the west side, payeng by the yere xl. That is vacant from our Lady-daie in Lente last passid unto Midsomer, And the tenement next on the est side, that John a Ridis holdith for xxviis. viiid. by yere, the whiche grete house and the ij tenements beth letyn unto John Jacoby, by endenture, for tme of his liff and a yere after, payng for theyme yerely xvi. vis. viiid. The whiche lyvelode is of the gifte of My Lady Nerford,^a for the whiche the Churchwardens beth bounden by her testament.

IV.

Church Ornaments of St. Christopher, 1559.

Thes be the pcellis of goodis and ornaments of the Church of St. Chrystopher's fownde in the same Church the xxiiij day of Julye, A^o 1559, taken ynto the warde & keepyng of John Whithed & Gyles Event, Wardens at that tyme of the same Church.

In pms a Chalyce & a patent weynge viij oncs & a half, pt gult.

^bI^{tem}.—A Cross of copre & gylt w^t the foote also gylt.

^bI^{tem}.—A payre of laten Candellstycks.

^bI^{tem}.—A Senser of laten.

^bI^{tem}.—iiij Bolls of laten to sett taps yn for the Rode lofte.

^bI^{tem}.—A holy wa^t stocke of pewter.

^bI^{tem}.—A Pyxe of pewter.

I^{tem}.—A Chrismatory of pewter.

[The parcels are sold.]

^a Lady Margaret Nerford was a cousin of the rector of St. Christopher's in the year 1417, in the reign of King Henry V.; she lived in the Parish and gave bequests to it and to other Parishes in the city. She was buried in St. Christopher's, and a copy of her will, which is very curious, is among the Records. She was a friend of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.

^b These items are struck through with the pen at a subsequent date to the writing of the list.

Iīm.—On Altare Clothe of nettyll clothe, & ij towells of nettyll clothe.

Iīm.—ij playne Tabell Clothes & ij playne towells.

Iīm.—On old Tabell Clothe of diaper.

Iīm.—A Vestymēt w^t ij tunycles of clothe of gold, i^f an albe.^a

Iīm.—A red Vestymēt of saten of bruges, i^f an alb brok.^a

Iīm.—A Cope of blew vellvet with flowres of golde.

Iīm.—i Herse Clothes of clothe of golde.

Iīm.—An olde Herse Clothe with a red cross.

Iīm.—Four Altare Clothes, on of them ys crymsyn vellvet, & an other of them red velvet, bothe besett w^t flowres of golde, & on of red damaske w^t flowres of golde, and on of them ys fustyan apes with flowres of golde.

^a Iīm.—A Corporas Case and a corporas clothe.

Iīm.—A Turkey Carpet to lay under foote before the alter.

^a Iīm.—A Vayl of lynen to drawe athwarte the pyxe. [Sold.]

Iīm.—vij Surplises for men and ij for childerne.

^a Iīm.—ij Grayles & iiij antyphonayres, one of them yn prente.

^a Iīm.—ij Masse Books and ij hympnalls and v pcessyon books and a manuell.

^a Iīm.—ij grett Legends & ij psalters.

^a Iīm.—A lynnē Clothe paynted with the takyng downe of Chryst fro y^e Cross. } [Brent.]

^a Iīm.—iiij Baner Clothes for crosses paynted and gylded.

^a Iīm.—A Lampe of laten y^t honge in the body of y^e Church. [Sold.]

Iīm.—A desk of laten.

By me Gyles Evenet.

V.

Church Ornaments of St. Christopher's, 1561.

The second daye of Maye, 1561, and in the thirde yere of the Reign of O^r Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, &c., hereafter ensueth a note of suche goods and ornaments as were in the Church of Saynt Xpofer at the Stocks in London at the tyme of the entraunce of John Jakes into the

^a These items are struck through with the pen at a subsequent date to the writing of the list.

Churchwardenshippe p^rsed in the presence of Thomas Lawrence, Wyffm Whynyat, Richard Meryt and Thames Curtys, parishioners of the same p^rieshe, and lefte in the custody of John Mynte, Sexton then of the same Church, viz. :—

In primis a Table Cloth for the Comunion Table of nettell clothe, and two towells of the lyke clothe.

I^{tem}.—One playne Table Clothe and two playne towells.

I^{tem}.—One olde Table Clothe of dyaper.

I^{tem}.—A Vestment w^t two tunecolls of clothe of gold, p^te broken and ript.

I^{tem}.—A red Vestment of satten of Brudges broken in peces.

I^{tem}.—A Cope of blew velvet w^t fflowers of golde.

I^{tem}.—A Herse clothe of clothe of golde p^te and olde velvet.

I^{tem}.—An olde Herse Clothe of olde sore worne silk.

I^{tem}.—Thre Table Clothes narrowe, one of velvet tawney, a nother of fustyn a napes, and one of red velvet.

I^{tem}.—A Polpit Clothe of red damask w^t flowers of golde.

I^{tem}.—An olde Turke carpet.

I^{tem}.—vij. olde broken Surpleuses.

I^{tem}.—A wrytinge indented upon John Younge, made for certayne money due longe past, the some of *iiii^l. vi^s. viii^d.*

I^{tem}.—A desk of latten with a sawken.

I^{tem}.—A Comunion Cuppe of sylver and gilte weighing xii ounces & half a quarter.

I^{tem}.—Certayne peces of latten taken off graves.

V.—*An Holograph Will of Edward Grimston, Esquire, made in 1449. Communicated by JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, Esq. LL.D., F.S.A.; with some Remarks by CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President.*

Read December 4th, 1873.

Some years have elapsed since the Earl of Verulam obliged the Society of Antiquaries by the exhibition of a remarkable portrait of Edward Grimston, an eminent English *diplomate* of the fifteenth century. A chromo-lithograph of this picture was subsequently published in the *Archæologia*,* accompanied by a valuable biographical sketch of the person represented, from the pen of the Director, Mr. Augustus W. Franks, who there set down all the particulars of Grimston's life and connections which he had been able to collect.

We have now before us a will made by this personage in March 1449, in contemplation of immediate departure from England on a mission to the King of France and the Duchess of Burgundy. This document is entirely in Edward Grimston's own handwriting, and is interesting inasmuch as it supplies one or two additional facts in his private history.

The instrument, printed *in extenso* at the end of this paper, is in fact rather in the nature of what is now termed a "declaration of trust" than a will properly so called. It recites that the Manor of Elstanwick in Holderness had been conveyed by Sir Thomas Tudenham, knight, to Edward Grimston and his wife Alice jointly with Thomas Grimston, Piers Grimston (brother of Edward), and Sir William Lacy, in trust for Edward and Alice, and declares his intention that this manor, as well as all his land in Rishangles and Thorndon, in Suffolk (which estates we may presume were also vested in the same feoffees), should go to his wife for life, with remainder to the heirs of their bodies. In default

* *Archæologia*, xl. p. 455.

of such issue, the reversion of Elstanwick was to go to Piers Grimston—if married to “a gentlewoman of name and ancestry”—and to the heirs of his body; otherwise Alice Grimston to have power to dispose of Elstanwick for pious uses, and similarly of Rishangles and Thorndon, in which, as it would seem, Piers, on fulfilling the above-specified condition, was also to take a life estate with remainder to him in tail.

Such is a brief abstract of the document communicated by Mr. Howard, but the whole is worth reading.

The first recital in this instrument furnishes additional evidence that Grimston had been accredited to the King of France prior to July 24, 1449.

Mr. Franks's supposition (*Archæologia*, xl. 465) that the first wife of Edward Grimston was named Alice is also confirmed by this document. As to her surname we are still in doubt.

The manor of Elstanwick (called Elstronwick on the Ordnance Map) is four miles south-east of Grimston Garth, the ancient seat of the family in Holderness. The Tudenham family had a manor here, as appears from Poulson's History of Holderness, ii. 72. On the death of Robert Todenham on St. John the Evangelist's Day, 7 Hen. IV., his son and heir of the same name succeeded to his lands in Elstanwyk, which were holden of Edmund Earl of Kent, as of his manor of Cottingham, by knight's service. The son, being a minor aged 14 at the date of the inquisition on his father's death,* was in ward to Sir H. Tiptoft.

From the fact of the settlement of Elstanwick having been made by Sir Thomas Tudenham on Edward and Alice Grimston, it might be surmised that the lady was his daughter or other near relation. Had this however been the case, we should have expected to find the arms of Tudenham, Three bars lozengy, impaled with Grimston, instead of Three bars gemelles, on the tomb noticed by Mr. Franks. (*Archæologia*, xl. 470.)

WILL OF EDWARD GRIMSTON.

Be it knowen to all manere of men that yn as miche as I Edward Grymeston am commaunded and ordeigned by the kinge oure sovereign lord and by my lordes of his Councill at this tyme to go over the see on the Kinges Ambassade as well to his uncle of Fraunce as to the duchesse of Bourgne^{ne} &c., considering the juperdie; and perilles that often tyme; falle to the unsuerte of maney lyffe as well by see as by lande and specially yn suche viages—I thereupon willing and desiring what so ever oure lord do with me that Alice my true and bestbeloved wiffe may by the grace of god stande suere of suche pouer lyvelode as she and I have truely boghte and

* March 4, 8 Hen. IV. (1407).

purchaced:—Confesse therefore and knowlege that myn hole and full wille ys that whereas Sir Thomas Tudenham knight hath made a joint astate as well by deede as by fyne to me and to my seid wiffe to Thomas Grymeston, Piers Grymeston, and Sir William Lacy, of all the right title and clayme that he hadde or might have yn the maner and lordshipp of Elstanwik yn Holdrenes yn the Counte of Yorke, yn the whiche deede and fyne the seid Thomas Pers and William bene cofeffed with us of trust as well for hir suerte as for myn:—Where upon I pray exorte and require alle the seid feoffeys as welle as alle jugeys and other executours of the lawe to whome yt shall belange that at all tymeys when my seid wiffe willeth or desireth them or any of them to make a Release to hir use or to myn that yt be not failed nor refused to be done as ye will answeere at the highe jugement: For what so ever falle of me my hole wille and entent ys that she rejoysse the seid maner and lordshipp with thappertenaunces with alle that I have yn Rysangleys and Thorndon yn the Counte of Suffolke for terme of hir lyffe and so to the heierys betwix us of our bodyes begoten, yiff our Lorde like to sende us any, notwithstanding any feoffement or astate made to any creature. And if yt fortune me and my seid wiffe to deceasse withowten heierys betwix us lawfully begoten, yiff so be that my brother the seid Pers Grymeston wil lawfully be maried to any gentilwoman of name and of Auncestry, I will then that the Reversion or Remaynder of the seid maner and lordship of Elstanwik after the decease of me and my wiffe be unto my seid brothir and to the heierys of his body so yn gentille blode lawfully begoten. And elles my seid wiffe or elles suche as she wille ordeigne [may] selle and dispossesse the seid lyvelode of Elstanwik to the moste merites and weles of oure soules and of our progenitours specially to be yerely rememberid with the obsequies of dirigeys and messeys to be songen and prayed for oure soules yn [the] Chirche of oure Lady Seint Marie at Beverley. And as for oure lyffelode yn Rysangles and Thorndon to do therewith as may be moste for our lyffes weles and moste merite afterwarde for oure soules. Provided allwey that principally I forbode and defende that any issue that ys proceded or procreate or shall procede or be gotyn by my seid brother Piers Grimston yn any othir wise then of gentille blode and yn lawfull matrimonie shall enherite or possede any fote of my seid livelode, or that he or any of theme may otherwise make any title or clayme thereto but to be excluded by this my full wille and entent. Writen and signed with myn own hande and under the Seale of myn armes At London the xxviij day of March the yere of oure lord M^lcccc.xlix. and of Kinge Herry the vjth ye xvijth.^a E. GRYMESTON.

Endorsed in a somewhat later hand, "Edwarde Grymestones Wyff, Anno M^lcccc.xlix."

The seal is cut off. Parchment 12½ by 6½ inches.

The signature and paraphe at the end of the document agree exactly with the woodcut in the *Archæologia*, xl. 464. The seal originally affixed to the present document was probably identical with that of which the impression is given in the same cut.

^a Should be xxvjth

VI.—*On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus.* By THOMAS B. SANDWITH, Esq., *H.B.M. Vice-Consul.*

Read May 4th, 1871.

Recent excavations in Cyprus have brought to light a vast number of tombs of the primitive inhabitants of the Island, and a careful examination of the contents of these will help us to understand something of the manners, ideas, and artistic character of the different peoples whose remains are there deposited.

The form of the tomb commonly prevailing resembles that of the circular oven in common use in the East at this day, varying in size from four to six feet high, and from six to ten feet across. These are hollowed out of the earth, or in some instances the rock, without any stones or plaster being used in their construction. A small door, closed by a rough slab, from two to four feet below the surface, furnished the means of ingress, in front of which was a pit, afterwards filled in with earth; but in some, indeed most, cemeteries the door was communicated with by a narrow sloping passage about fifteen or twenty feet long, which likewise was filled in with earth.

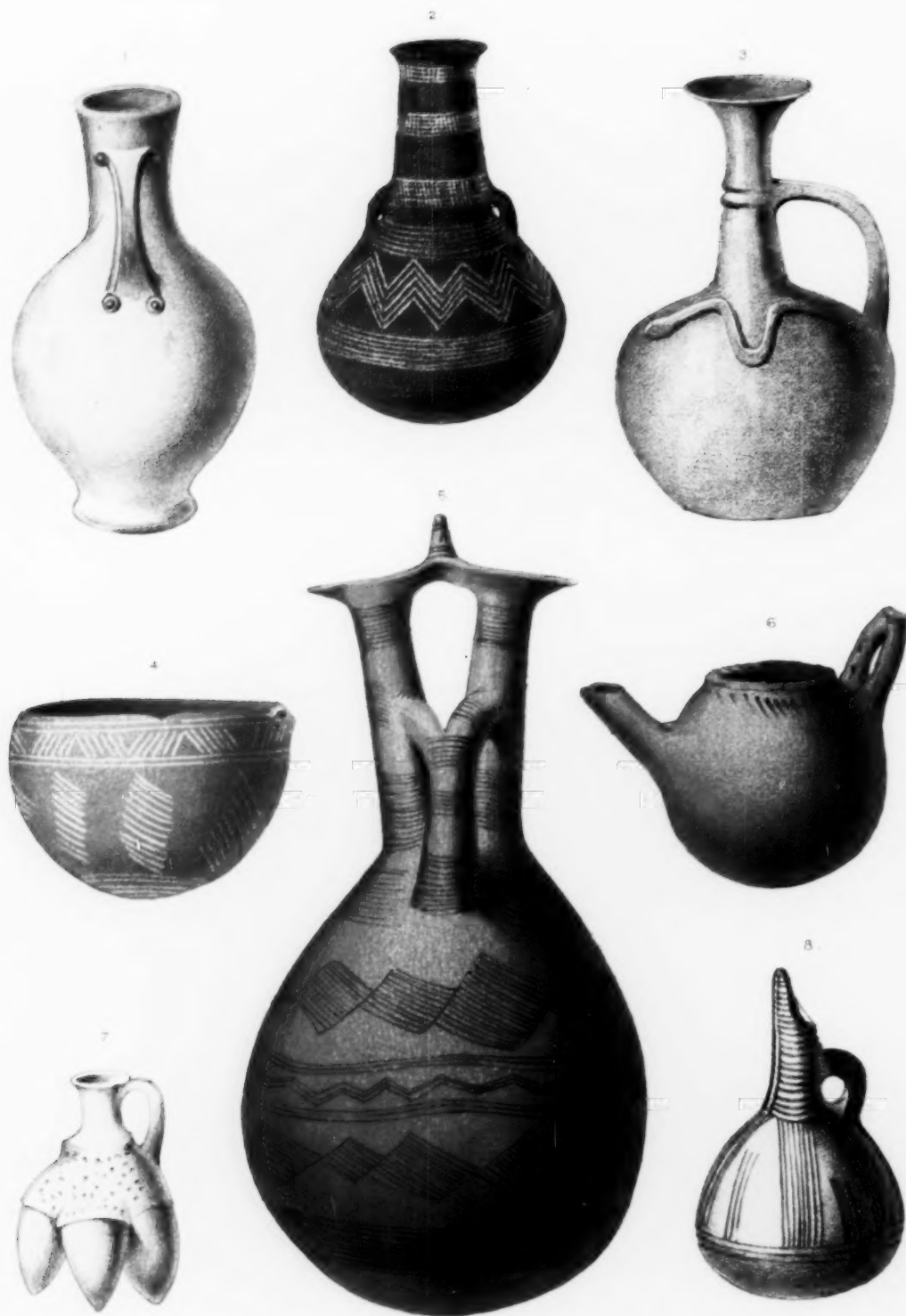
The position chosen for the cemeteries was nearly always a gentle slope a few hundred yards from the town or village where the community dwelt, which, as was to be expected, generally occupied the same or nearly the same site as the modern villages. Sometimes the burial-place selected was the abrupt face of a hill, where the door, though it might be more conveniently placed above the surface, is always found a little below, as if to conceal all trace of it. It is a proof of the greater prosperity and denser population of the land in the remote times now under consideration, that burial-places are frequently found in spots in the neighbourhood of which no villages now exist, while others again near little villages are so extensive as to have evidently belonged to large towns. This indeed we are prepared to expect from the ancient historical records of the island, which tell of naval and military contingents levied from the inhabitants by its Egyptian and Persian conquerors such as could only have been raised from

a population of over a million, and certainly not from the miserable remnant of 200,000 now existing.

In describing the contents of the graves, I will first speak of the human remains. No coffin was used, as no traces of wood are found. The number of bodies buried in one grave varies greatly, bones being sometimes massed together in quantities sufficient to have formed twenty corpses, whilst sometimes one or two bodies only occupy a grave, but on an average five or six would seem to have been buried together, probably members of the same family. Some difficulty is presented by the positions of the skeletons, which, though they are sometimes laid out at full length, are more frequently found lying confusedly in a heap, and in a space only three or four feet square. Such would have been the case had the bodies been buried in a sitting posture, a custom which obtained among the ancient Peruvians, as well as other races. In only one instance have bones been found calcined, showing that as a rule the bodies were not burnt.

It seems to have been the invariable custom in those ancient times to bury earthen vases with the deceased, containing, doubtless, drink and food, of which it was supposed they would stand in need. It may be observed, in passing, that a custom presenting some analogy to the above, and probably derived from heathen times, still exists in this island, both among Christians and Mussulmans, a custom which renders it incumbent on the nearest of kin to provide doles of food for the poor for a period of forty days on the occasion of a death. The breach of this custom is regarded as betraying a want of respect for the deceased, and its observance as more binding than the natural duty of providing for the wants of the widow and orphan children. The name by which this offering is called is "Food for the dead," and may well be a relic of the old custom, after the introduction of Christianity had destroyed the illusion that the dead themselves could ever stand in need of human food.

The pottery excavated comprises an immense variety of styles, both in form and ornamentation, the styles, moreover, being so distinct as to make it easy to separate the cemeteries into different classes, a careful examination of which leads to the conclusion that the various kinds of pottery are characteristic of distinct races. The ingenuity of the potters, or artists as they deserve to be called, of those remote times in devising new and singular shapes, and in adorning them with a variety of tasteful patterns, is certainly most remarkable, though the execution is not always equal to the conception. The cuneiform inscriptions inform us that Esar-haddon, who began his reign B.C. 681, received, as contributions from the subject nations of his empire, works of art for the decoration of the



Scale 1/2 linear.

C.H.R. del.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

C.F. Wall Lith. London E.C.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876

palace he was building at Nineveh, and amongst the countries enumerated Cyprus is mentioned as contributing stone statues and *vases* for that object. As the empire over which that monarch ruled embraced most of the then civilised world, it would appear that the Cyprians had attained to the highest excellence in the fictile art.* The accompanying Plates will give the reader an idea of the more characteristic and interesting types of the vases brought to light, but they fail altogether in conveying an adequate notion of the variety of form and pattern devised by the ingenuity of the original artists.

Proceeding now to the classification of the pottery, we may separate them as follows:—

I. A distinct and very remarkable style of pottery, consists of red vases, highly glazed, with lines incised in the clay when soft, the patterns being formed by a simple arrangement of lines both parallel and at various angles to each other (Pl. IX. figs. 4, 5, 6). The white colour of the incised lines in some of the specimens is simply due to lime contracted from the soil.

Much of this pottery is destitute of patterns, and is then much less highly glazed; a plain bowl without a handle being a frequent form, sometimes with holes pierced in the edge for the purpose of being suspended against the wall either by a string or nail. Some of the bowls are two feet in diameter, the clay being remarkably fine and thin, considering their size, and slightly porous. A few of the vases are black (Pl. IX. fig. 2), and sometimes the black and red are blended, as if produced in baking. Hitherto only three cemeteries containing this species of pottery have been discovered, one a few miles from Dali (Idalium), and the other two not far from Larnaka (Citium or Kittim), and I believe antiquaries are disposed to consider it as the product of very early Greek art. The presence of bronze or copper spear-heads in considerable abundance is a distinguishing feature in these tombs, as well as of those next to be described.

II. Perhaps the most common form of vase found in the cemeteries of the second class is the lecythus, Egyptian in character, of a delicate pale black pottery, generally without any pattern, but sometimes having incised lines in patterns similar to those of the preceding class, and often with raised lines winding snake-like round the body of the lecythus; the lines in one instance terminate in what appears to be the head of a snake (Pl. IX. fig. 3). They are covered with a thin

* This ancient people was certainly singularly addicted, as we should infer from the above historical notice, to the arts of the sculptor and the potter, since the soil of the island literally teems with fragments of stone statues and of the products of the potter.

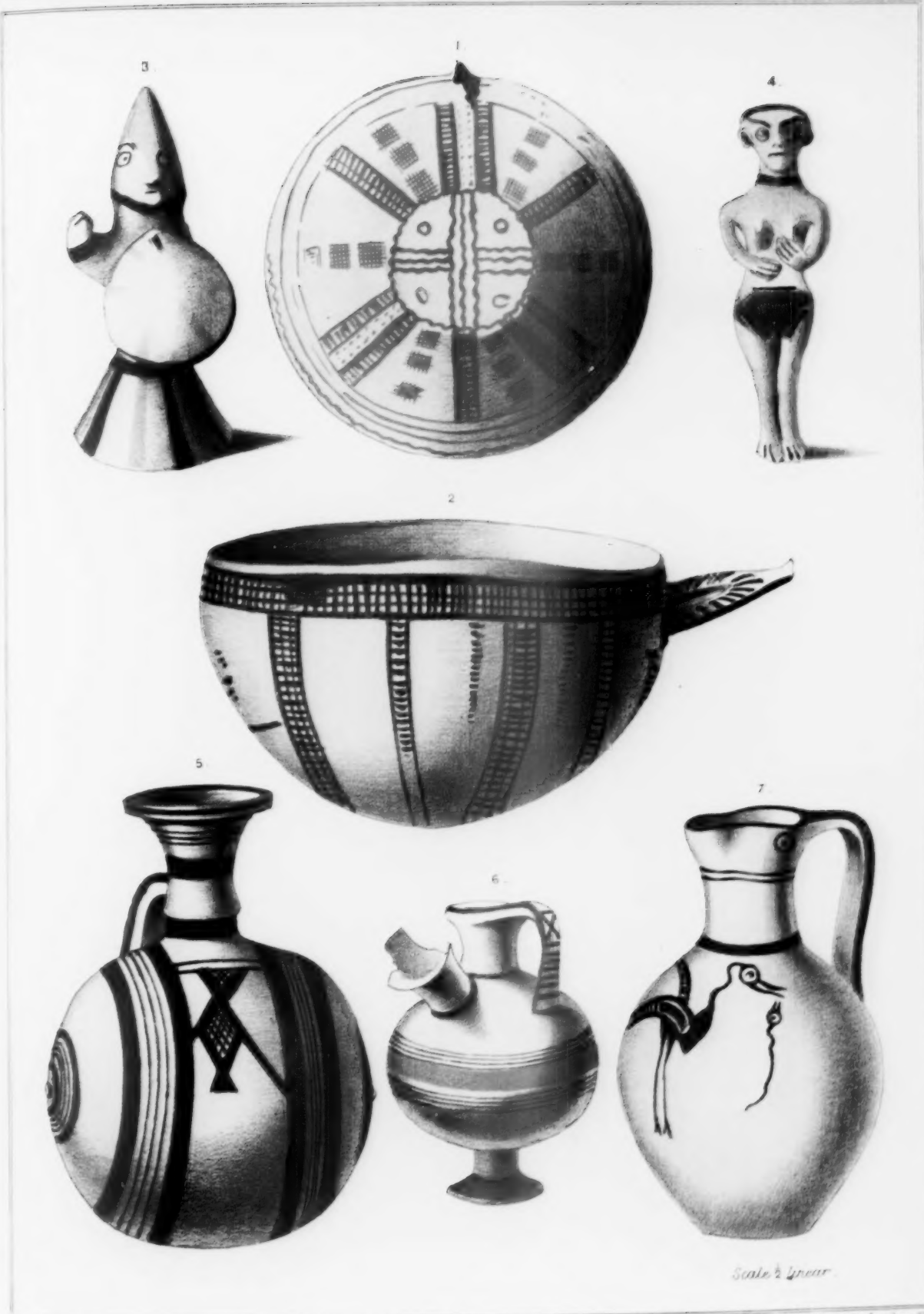
siliceous glaze. Another characteristic form is a bowl, spherical in form, with a triangular handle (Pl. X. fig. 2), having a simple black pattern, painted on a light buff ground, running round the outer rim, from whence similar patterns join the centre. The inside is always destitute of pattern, and indeed in the bowls and platters of Cyprian pottery it is generally on the outside that the potter lavished his ornaments, the intention evidently being that they should be suspended against the walls of the domestic interiors, where they would show to greater advantage. In the tombs they are always placed on the ground, from the impossibility of hanging them against loose earthen walls. Sometimes the bowl occurs without a handle (Pl. X. fig. 1), in which case a hole is often pierced for it to hang by, the pattern in one example being coloured pink. A common bowl, without ornament, but with the same triangular handle, often twisted, is of frequent occurrence, the form suggesting the idea that they were imitations of metal, as do also certain vases with twisted rims; as well as a jug in which the nail-heads, as if for fastening on the handle, are very conspicuous (Pl. IX. fig. 1). A few other interesting types are added to illustrate the variety of shapes belonging to this class of cemeteries; the pattern of one vase (Pl. IX. fig. 5) has been pricked into the clay while moist. There are also some remarkable vases in imitation of animals, the bull being most commonly reproduced, but it is difficult to say what creature the vase shown in the annexed woodcut is intended to represent. Perhaps it will be considered rash to affirm that the



PAINTED VASE, CYPRUS.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

nude figure (Pl. X. fig. 4) was intended for Venus. There is little doubt, however, that such is the case, as it is exactly similar to representations which have come down to us of the Persian goddess Melitta, who in the Persian mythology held the place of Aphrodite and Venus of the Greeks and Romans. The fact of its being found in one of these tombs would lead to the inference that the people



Scale 2 linear.

C.H.R. del.

C.F. Kell Lith London & C.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

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whose remains they contain were of Asiatic origin; while, on the other hand, the character of the cylinders and scarabæi sometimes picked up by the workmen, and above all the circumstance, which I shall presently mention, of the identity of the pottery with that found in Saïs, plainly prove them to have been largely subjected to Egyptian influences. As stated before, bronze or copper spear-heads are frequently found in this class of tombs as well as in the preceding, but in no others, a distinction of no slight importance in any attempt to fix their age. These cemeteries are more commonly met with than those of the preceding class, the existence of eight or ten being already known, chiefly in the east and south-east of the island, one being in the neighbourhood of Dali, two more in the central plain of the island, and two a few miles from Larnaka.

An exactly similar kind of pottery to that just described may be seen in the Boulak Museum—familiar to Egyptian tourists, the specimens there collected having been exhumed at Saïs, in the delta of the Nile. Now Saïs, as is well known, was allotted by Psammetichus in the seventh century B.C. as the residence of the Greek colonists in Egypt, and was chiefly inhabited by them. Many of these Greeks accompanied Amasis as mercenary soldiers when that monarch achieved the conquest of Cyprus in B.C. 560. There is, however, an evident difficulty in assigning so late an epoch to this class of cemeteries, not to mention that their contents bear little resemblance to Greek fictile art. It is more probable, therefore, that the same people who colonised Saïs before the arrival of the Greek immigrants colonised also certain districts in Cyprus either on the first conquest of the Island, B.C. 1500, by Thothmes III., or on its second conquest a century later by Rameses II. or even at a period anterior to these events. In those early times bronze weapons were in common use, while the contemporaries of Amasis had adopted weapons of iron, a metal which, though known to have been discovered long before, being painted red in Egyptian sculptures, was probably not in common use. The pottery, therefore, exhibited in the Boulak Museum, near Cairo, as found at Saïs, can hardly have been the work of the Greek colony established there, but of its earlier inhabitants. There seems to be no other way of accounting for so complete an identity in the fictile ware of the two localities than by assigning a common origin to the peoples in whose tombs they are found. I think there can be little doubt that this remarkable people must have been Phœnician, for it is certain that the latter established extensive colonies in Cyprus in very ancient times, and, unless we assign to them the class of tombs now under consideration, there are none others which can so plausibly be attributed to them. Neither is there anything improbable in supposing that the

earlier inhabitants of Saïs were a Phœnician colony who were banished to make room for the Greek immigrants. It is certain, at any rate, that the localities where these cemeteries are found, viz. the eastern and south-eastern parts of Cyprus, are precisely those in which we know the Phœnicians to have established themselves. A striking point of resemblance between the race identified with these graves and that tenanted the first class of tombs lies in the practice of burying their weapons, bronze or copper spear-heads, with their dead, a practice which proves them to have been military peoples. Some specimens of these spear-heads and an axe-head are annexed.^a The presence of bronze, which is an alloy of



COPPER IMPLEMENTS FROM CYPRUS.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

copper and tin, is an additional argument in favour of identifying these tombs as Phœnician, and, in fact, history informs us that they founded a commercial colony in Citium as early as the twelfth century B.C. We know, moreover, that their commercial intercourse with Egypt was even anterior to this.

III. We now come to consider the third class of cemeteries, which the excavations hitherto made show to have covered a much wider area of the island than either of the preceding ones, and the progress of discovery tends to establish the probability of their range being co-extensive with the island itself, though different localities are distinguished by varieties of the same kind of pottery. The fact, then, of their extended range, and the further significant circumstance of their

^a The celt is in the collection of John Evans, Esq. F.S.A., the remainder of the objects in the British Museum; they are probably all of copper, nearly pure. For an analysis of Cyprian objects, see *Compte Rendu du Congrès Préhistorique de Stockholm*, p. 346.



Scale 1/2 linear

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS

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W. H. & L. H. H.

C. F. H. & L. H. H. London F. C.

POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.

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being found in the neighbourhood of three several temples, from which inscriptions in the Cyprian characters have been excavated, are tolerably convincing proofs that they were the last resting-places of the indigenous Cyprians. The theory that they were the tombs of the Phœnicians would seem to be untenable, as neither historical notices nor the presence of Phœnician inscriptions warrant the belief that that people ever established themselves in any numbers beyond the comparatively narrow limits embraced by the territories of Citium, Idalium, and Tamassus, and for a very brief period at Salamis. The valuable historical chronicle of the Book of Genesis, which dates from a time before the Phœnicians set foot in the island, informs us that a people known under the ethnic appellation of Kittim (Citium), a son of Javan of the race of Japhet, first colonised Cyprus, Javan being the progenitor of the Yunân, or Ionians, Yunân being the term by which the Greek race are to this day designated amongst most Eastern nations. Evidence in support of this statement is supplied by the pottery found in great abundance in this class of cemeteries, the ornaments and emblems traced on which bear a striking analogy to primitive Ionic Greek art. I believe my friend Mr. R. H. Lang, whose long residence in Cyprus led him to give his special attention to this subject, was the first to establish, in an unpublished work on the ancient history of that island, that its primitive inhabitants were Aryan and not Semitic in race, according to the commonly received opinion of its being peopled by Phœnicians. This view I found subsequently confirmed by the independent researches of so great an authority as the Rev. Professor Rawlinson, who argues the question at length in an article in the January number of the *Sunday at Home* for 1869. I take the present opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to Mr. Lang for many valuable suggestions contained in this paper.

To return to our main subject. The pottery of this class of tombs is separated by a wide gulf from that previously described, all the characteristic forms of which now pass out of sight. The artists rely entirely on colour for ornamentation, the use of lines for that purpose scratched on the surface being abandoned. The colours employed are black, brown, yellow, red, and purple, the three former of which only are fast colours, the red being easily washed off with water. The ground is a pale fawn colour, except in certain vases specified hereafter, where it is red, and the clay is neither so fine nor thin as in the pottery last described. The fawn-coloured ground, however, is produced, especially in the case of the large amphoræ, by dipping the vessel in a wash of that colour, the ground immediately beneath the surface being a brick red.

The characteristic forms are—1st. The amphora (Pl. XIII.), standing from

one to three feet high. 2nd. A barrel-shaped vase from ten to sixteen inches long, and about the same in height, though sometimes smaller (Pl. X. fig. 5). 3rd. A kind of tureen, from six to eight inches high (Pl. XII. fig. 1). 4th. Oinochoês, or wine-jars, sometimes spherical in the body, sometimes more or less elongated (Pl. X. fig. 7). 5th. Pinakes, or plates, painted chiefly on the under side, as if meant to be suspended against the wall with that side towards the spectator (Pl. XI. fig. 3). They are either furnished with handles or with one or two little holes near the rim. 6th. Coarse, very porous, oinochoês, of a black material, with ribbed vertical lines for their only ornament (Pl. XII. fig. 3). These are often of diminutive size. 7th. Elegant little red vases, highly glazed, embracing some of the previous forms, and ornamented with black horizontal lines and concentric circles (Pl. XI. fig. 2). A few of this class have a pale buff ground (Pl. XII. fig. 4). These are the most highly finished vases, and, being often very diminutive, and provided with an orifice so small as to allow a liquid put into them to come out only by drops, were probably meant to contain perfumes.

The designs on all the foregoing vases, which are somewhat less varied than the shapes, consist of a variety of geometrical patterns, the lozenge and concentric circle predominating, though these are seldom or never found together, waves and lines encircling the vase, chequers, stars, and other simple ornaments being often intermixed. The large amphoræ are almost always adorned with either lozenges or concentric circles, and the last-mentioned little red perfume vases are always painted with horizontal lines and concentric circles, or either separately, traced in black, the lozenge never figuring upon them. Both styles largely pervade this whole class of pottery, the concentric circles predominating in some cemeteries, the lozenge form of ornamentation in others. Black is the chief colour employed, occasionally relieved by red. Another favourite ornament, frequently repeated on little jars with a whitish ground, is what resembles a wheel with four spokes, generally joined with some other simple ornament, as a star or cross, and always with an eye on either side of the spout. Sometimes this wheel-ornament is found on larger vases, but always accompanied with two eyes (Pl. X. fig. 7).

Amongst elegant forms is an incense-holder (Pl. XI. fig. 1), fitting which is a lid perforated with holes for the perfume to escape from. It stands eight and a half inches high. Another one, more than two feet high, but without a lid, which may have been lost, is now in the British Museum. The only examples I have yet met with in this class of tombs of an attempt to mould animals in pottery seem to have been imitations of the duck. One, and the most elegant,



Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ linear

C.F. Keil Lith London E.C.

VASE FROM CYPRUS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876.

is also in our national collection; the other, much ruder in character, is given in Pl. XII. fig. 2.

In many cemeteries, however, especially where they appear to have belonged to a village, the pottery discovered is of the commonest description, generally destitute of pattern, and sometimes with scarcely marks sufficient to identify it with the great class we are now describing. There is nothing surprising in this, as in poor communities no encouragement would have been given to merely ornamental art. It is enough for our purpose if we are satisfied that the types under consideration were so prevalent as to be entitled to the appellation of national, a term to which the pottery of neither of the previous categories can fairly lay claim.

The most interesting kind of ornament, however, has yet to be mentioned, and one which materially aids the antiquary in his endeavours to assign a probable age to these ancient tombs. In the pottery therein contained we meet with the first efforts of the inhabitants of Cyprus to draw animal forms. We have seen the rude representations of the bull moulded in clay by the occupants of the second class of cemeteries, but here, for the first time, the earliest attempts at portraying the outlines of animals and man in colours are seen. On one of these is a scene representing a goat carried to sacrifice, tied to a pole borne on men's shoulders, followed by a man with uplifted arms, and wearing a high-crowned cap. The scene covers two-thirds of the neck of an amphora (the only fragment remaining) discovered by Mr. Lang, while on the third side is the lozenge ornament divided into panels, and flanked by parallel vertical lines. This is perhaps the earliest, as it is certainly the rudest, specimen of the mimetic art yet discovered, and is all the more remarkable as delineating the human form, which on the earliest vases is so rarely met with. In another vase, in which the concentric circle appears, is a female figure standing out in relief, of a very interesting character, and in another, a similar head, more highly ornamented, serves as the mouth of the vase, a spout projecting from the side. They were found in the neighbourhood of Idalium. The two pendent locks falling over the shoulders in front is a common attribute of the early Cyprian race, and with the type of face itself serves to distinguish it from the Egyptian on the one hand and the Assyrian and its kindred Phœnician type on the other. The Cyprian face, with its large, prominent nose, strongly-marked eye-brows, and broad forehead, with single or double locks falling over the shoulders in front, has been so often reproduced in both stone and terra-cotta as to be a well-recognised type by those familiar with this branch of archæology. The Biblical account in assigning an Aryan race to Cyprus as its earliest inhabitants is thus far borne out by the type

portrayed on the pottery being neither Semitic nor Hamitic in character, though on such an obscure subject I would express myself with diffidence.

Birds are a favourite subject with these primitive artists, though the treatment is sometimes so conventional that it is not always easy to see which of the feathered tribe were intended to be represented. We have already noticed a jug (Pl. X. fig. 7), on which is shown a stork in the act of seizing a snake, or as if the reptile had just dropped from its beak. Another vase of elegant form, resting on peculiar feet, seems to be ornamented with a swan (Pl. XII. fig. 5). In a third jar we see two vultures, represented probably as feeding on the body of the deceased, while between them, as if emblematic of immortality, the lotus-flower flourishes. The lotus-flower is a favourite ornament with these early artists, several jars having been found adorned with it. The bull, and more rarely the human form, are sometimes represented, but jars having for their subjects any form of animal life are comparatively rare, and do not amount to one in a thousand. The majority of such vases have been excavated from one burial-ground, which is of great extent, and at a distance from any town, about half-way between Larnaka and Famagousta, not far from a village called Makrasyka, in the south-east corner of the island. The neighbourhood of Idalium has also produced a few.

An idea has perhaps now been given by the aid of the annexed plates of the most interesting or commonest types of pottery brought to light in this class of



LAMP FROM CYPRUS.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

tombs. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the better kind of pottery is found in all the tombs. The contrary is the case. Most of the graves

contain but two or three common vases, either destitute of pattern or with the simplest designs. These were evidently the graves of the poorer people. A rich man would frequently have a large assortment of vases of all sizes, doubtless votive offerings of his nearest kindred. A common open lamp (see woodcut) of plain clay, on which no pattern or subject is ever represented, not unfrequently forms a part of the furniture of the deceased's abode. No lamp formed like the Greek has as yet been discovered in this class of cemeteries. Now and then little rude clay figures of men, and men on horseback, are found, coloured black and red, which it has been the fashion, perhaps without sufficient reason, to consider as toys. One of these was found with about sixty pieces of better pottery. Amongst them was a large amphora, which itself was filled with small vases, resembling diminutive oinochoês, and a few pinakes. The presence of so much superior pottery would indicate that the tomb belonged to a family of distinction. Another represents a man carrying in his arms a goat or sheep for sacrifice. The large clay pendent ornaments are pierced with holes, as is also his peaked cap, to which they would be attached by string or a piece of wood. This type of figure is illustrated by Pl. X. fig. 3.

It now remains to attempt to assign some date to the class of cemeteries we have been considering, and in doing so both to fix a limit to the time down to which they may have reached and to assign an epoch in the remote past when they had their origin. To attempt the first, it will be necessary to state that the class of tombs next to be described is characterised by the abundance of glass vessels found in them; and, though vases of pottery accompany the glass, they are never adorned with concentric circles, &c., but are mostly without ornament, as if the art had fallen into neglect. The native Cyprians seem not to have adopted the styles of which the progress is so well marked in Greece and her principal colonies in Italy and elsewhere.

A few specimens have been found near Salamis of cylices and lecythi, with a black ground covered with a very lustrous glaze, on which elegant patterns in orange colour are painted. But Salamis was a Greek colony, where the arts were introduced from Greece herself. Nearly all the tombs there seem to have been rifled in a previous age, and the only cemeteries of a later date which are found in abundance contain glass and gold ornaments. Now the glass epoch, so to speak, could not have commenced in all probability before the end of the fifth century B.C., so that pottery seems not to have advanced in Cyprus, except in a few communities colonised by Greece in a more recent age, beyond the old style with its monotonous designs which has just been described. It is not improbable

that glass, originally introduced by the Phœnicians, may have been early adopted by the Greek colonists, as well as by the Cyprians, numbers of whom were Phœnician subjects in the little kingdoms of Citium, Idalium, and Tamassus. The neighbourhood of Idalium particularly contains several cemeteries where glass abounds. Inscriptions are wanting to aid us in the endeavour to fix the latest date of the old class of cemeteries. Some Phœnician letters in black paint were indeed found on a small unadorned vase obtained from the cemetery at Makrasyka, but the finder in attempting to clean the vase made them illegible. The fact of a solitary inscription in Phœnician being found there is not sufficient testimony in itself as to all the fictile ware of that place being Phœnician, when the general evidence is against such a theory, and we may well imagine that potters and other artizans of that nation were most likely scattered all over the island. One or two jars of coarse red ware with pointed bases, also bearing Phœnician characters, and which are supposed to be measures of capacity, have been excavated from the site of the old Phœnician port of Citium, but no pottery of the kind we have just been describing was found with them. Dr. Birch, in his *History of Pottery*, states, that vases very similar in character to those now under consideration have been found at Athens, Santorin, and a few other places, and he thinks that they cannot belong to a later age than the seventh century B.C. They will thus be found to immediately precede the vases known as Archaic Greek, which archæologists attribute to the following century, but the Cyprians seem not to have developed this higher style of art.

In seeking to determine the infancy of a mode of sepulture whose latest development does not reach beyond the destruction of the Assyrian Empire, general historical considerations are our best guide. Assuming then that the people tenantry these cemeteries were Cyprians, they may be as ancient at all events as the earliest records of that nation. Those records go back as far as 1500 B.C., and, though I would be far from attributing any of the elaborate patterns to this remote epoch, there is no improbability in supposing that the simple mode of sepulture obtained then, or that the fashion of burying pottery was as ancient, seeing that rude vases of a far more remote date have been exhumed from tombs in Egypt and Chaldæa. About the year 900 B.C. the Cyprians had become so powerful as for thirty years to have kept the command of the sea, and from that date until 707, when the Assyrians reduced them to allegiance, they were free from external aggression, their old enemies, Phœnicia and Egypt, having already succumbed to the Assyrian power. During this interval of prosperity and repose the arts would certainly make great progress, and Cyprus in all probability was

in every respect far in advance of Athens, which at that time was a poor and obscure community. The knowledge of art derived from its long intercourse with Egypt and Phœnicia would have had time to fructify, and gradually to produce a style of its own. During this period the art of pottery would naturally partake in the general advance, and it would be by no means surprising if the vases sent to adorn Esar-haddon's palace at Nineveh, about the year 680 B.C., comprised some of the most elaborate designs now brought to light. Traces of Assyrian influence in certain patterns sometimes occur, and they would naturally belong to the closing period of the art.

There is a striking difference in the style of art evinced by the pottery which has just occupied our attention and the little clay figures which are sometimes found with it. The latter are so rude as to appear to belong to an earlier epoch. In many of the old temples of Cyprus great quantities of these shapeless clay figures, painted in alternate lines of black and red, are found, representing persons in the attitude of prayer, men on horseback, and chariots, drawn generally by four horses, with the driver in front and the warrior behind. In a comparatively level country like Cyprus, chariots seem to have played an important part in war, as we find they did in the neighbouring country of Palestine as early as B.C. 1400. As art progressed, and perhaps in deference to innovations in religious belief, these rude figures seem to have been cast out of the temples, as many were found just outside the temple recently uncovered at Idalium, but none inside. The question as to what epoch they must be assigned is involved in much obscurity; but it seems scarcely possible to imagine that they were the product of the same age as some statues in stone and terra-cotta of considerable artistic merit discovered in the above-mentioned temple of Idalium, and to which competent critics assign an age as far back as 600 B.C. Lastly, the fact of the total absence of the Greek lamp in these cemeteries must not be lost sight of in our search for chronological data.

IV. I proceed now to pass rapidly in review the fourth class of cemeteries, in which glass vessels predominate. In these tombs, which are constructed exactly like those of the preceding class, the pottery is much less abundant and of coarser material and commoner design, evidently showing that the art had fallen into neglect. But, if we miss the variety of form and ornament distinguishing the ceramic art of more ancient times, we are more than compensated by the beautiful iridescence which the magic hand of time has wrought upon the vases. This seems to be caused by the slow decomposition of the glass through the action of moisture and carbonic acid, resulting in the scaling off of portions of

the glass in plates thin enough to give the play of colour seen in soap bubbles and in Newton's rings. Originally most of the glass was colourless or light green; a very few specimens of blue glass with white spiral lines, and of colourless glass with blue bosses, having been also found. A lamp, with simple ornaments, or with an animal or bird raised in relief, is not uncommon in these cemeteries, the maker's name in the genitive case occasionally occurring on the under surface—for example, FAVSTI, CΘΤΡΙΑΩΝΟC. The common open lamp formerly in use is found more frequently, but never in company with glass, inferior pottery taking its place. In the age we have now reached, such common lamps were only in use amongst the poor, as, indeed, they continue to be amongst their descendants at this day. A chemical analysis of the glass, lately made by Mr. John Thomson, son of Professor Thomson, of Glasgow, gives the following constituents and their proportions:—

| | White Glass. |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| Silica | 68·18 |
| Alumina | 2·70 |
| Oxide of Iron | ·82 |
| Oxide of Manganese | ·92 |
| Lime | 7·73 |
| Soda | 18·46 |
| Magnesia | Slight trace. |

Mr. Thomson remarks that the above analysis shows that other ancient glasses, such as Egyptian and old Roman, were similar in chemical composition, and that the ancients used the same materials and very nearly in the same proportions as we do at the present day.

Besides glass, these cemeteries contain gold ornaments, chiefly ear and finger rings, sometimes set with precious stones.

The ear does not appear to have been generally pierced to receive the earrings, which were attached by being pressed against the ear-lobe so as to grasp it; and, lest they should be lost by dropping off, they were sometimes attached to each other by a slender chain passing behind the neck.

From a few of these tombs sarcophagi have been unearthed, and now and then the tomb was built of solid masonry, and divided into three or five compartments at either side and at the end, capable each of containing one body. Stone circular columns, called stelæ, from two to four feet in height, and from six to eight inches in diameter, have also been met with in such tombs. Under the capital is

a band of pine-cones, lemons, or pomegranates. The two following legends are selected as specimens occurring on these stelæ:—

| | |
|---------------|--------|
| ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΕ | ΑΠΟΛΩ |
| ΚΤΝΗΓΕ ΧΡΗCΤΕ | ΝΙΔΗ |
| ΧΑΙΡΕ | ΧΡΗCΤΕ |
| | ΧΑΙΡΕ |

The character of the writing would lead one to assign a date as late as the Christian era to the former at least of these inscriptions.

Before closing this paper I am anxious to correct an impression which has obtained currency amongst several *savants* interested in Cyprian antiquities, owing to statements put forth by the present American Consul in Cyprus, General di Cesnola, who, more than any other person, has been instrumental in uncovering the archæological treasures of the island. In a biography of him, published in Italian, his native language, it is stated on his authority that the ancient tombs which I have placed in the third class, but which he supposes were Phœnician, were discovered by him as lying many feet underneath the more modern ones containing glass, and he adduces this as a proof of their great antiquity. This statement is repeated with fuller details in an introduction to a catalogue of antiquities belonging to M. di Cesnola, recently sold in Paris. The following is the passage:—

“D’après une observation fort curieuse de M. di Cesnola, les tombeaux Grecs étaient placés audessus de la nécropole phénicienne, car, en fouillant le sol, on trouvait, à deux ou trois mètres plus bas, des sépultures renfermant des objets de l’ancien style; puis d’autres, plus anciens encore, et ainsi de suite jusqu’à une profondeur de 42 pieds. Les générations successives avaient établi là leurs champs de repos, sans se douter peut-être que leurs ancêtres, que d’autres nations, bien des siècles auparavant, avaient déjà fait de même.”

This appears to be a mistake. In the first place the cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Idalium, to which the writer refers, are not in one spot, but in many, most of them separated from each other by intervals of 100 or 200 yards, a fact to which I can testify from having repeatedly gone over the ground and made excavations in these cemeteries myself. In one place a Cyprian burial-ground containing pottery classified under the third class of tombs lies on a hill-side close to a more modern one containing glass, and here a certain intermingling of tombs occurs on which the theory of the American Consul is founded. I went carefully over the ground in company with workmen who had excavated for

M. di Cesnola to see whether in any case the Greek tombs containing glass had been superimposed on the more ancient Cyprian. One was at last found lying some eight feet below another, but, in searching amongst its *débris*, broken fragments of glass were found and not pottery of the ancient kind, and one of the workmen remembered distinctly having uncovered this tomb and finding glass there. Had it, however, contained the old kind of pottery, the circumstance would have been quite immaterial when the manner in which these graves were originally hollowed out is once understood.

I have already stated that the means of communication with the door of the tombs was in some cemeteries by a narrow sloping passage, about twenty feet long, which was afterwards filled in with earth. On examining the hill where these cemeteries are intermingled, it turned out that the passage communicating with the tomb containing glass had entered the hill by the steeper side, while the tomb in the higher level had been entered by a shaft at right angles to it, from a different face of the hill, the passages in this manner nearly meeting each other. I learnt that in two other cases the same thing had occurred. Of course the workmen in making their excavations proceed by the quicker method of digging straight down on the tombs from above, so that a person unacquainted with the presence of the side-shafts would be not a little puzzled to account for their superposition. M. di Cesnola, we presume, shared this ignorance, and thus imagined successive generations burying their dead over each other, till a height of forty-two feet was reached. In giving the above simple explanation of a phenomenon by no means extraordinary, I hope to have disposed of an untenable theory.

NOTE.

The delay in publishing this memoir has arisen from the small size of the sketches that accompanied it, which rendered them unsuitable for engraving. Advantage has, however, been taken of the author's having sent a portion of his collection to the Leeds Exhibition, 1875, to obtain larger drawings from selected examples. Where necessary these have been supplemented from the collections of Cyprian pottery in the British Museum.

Pl. IX. All from the Sandwith Collection. Fig. 1 is now in the British Museum.

Pl. X. Figs. 1, 2, 6, 7, Sandwith Collection, of which fig. 1 is now in the British Museum. The rest in the British Museum.

Pl. XI. Figs. 1 and 2, Sandwith Collection. Fig. 3, British Museum.

Pl. XII. All from the Sandwith Collection. Fig. 3 is now in the British Museum.

Pl. XIII. In the British Museum.

VII.—*The Early Statutes of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Chichester, with Observations on its Constitution and History.* By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D. F.S.A., Præcentor of Chichester.

Read May 7, 1874.

THE earliest copy of the Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Chichester occurs in the Dean's Book, a MS. marked 148, now in the library of University College, Oxford, which formerly belonged to Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, and was given in 1692 by Maria Langbaine, widow of his son Gerald Langbaine, gentleman commoner of the former college. A note on one of the leaves shows that a former owner was John Crowcher, Dean of Chichester from 1425 to 1460. "[Liber Decanatus] Cicestren' qui nuper erat de novo ligatus per mag. Joh^m Cruch' decanum predicte ecclesie qui eciam de bonis suis propriis restituit implementum decanatus predicti, quod erat alienatum et abductum per M. Ric. Talbot penultimum predecessorum dicti Johannis decani. Dictus etiam Johannes plurima bona expendit circa reparaciones dicti decanatus et manerii sui de Coudr. et aliarum domorum pertinentium ad dictum decanatum que omnia erant quasi in ruina. Ideo parcat sibi successor et oret pro anima ejus."

The book contains a *Tropar* of the Use of Chichester, and meditations and prayers, some of them by Dean Thomas Lichfield; it is of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and must have been compiled very soon after the codification of the old customs in 1247 and before the Statutes of 1271, which are not in the collection. There is a careful transcript by Dr. Hutton in the Harleian MS. 6973, but by the kindness of the Master and Fellows of University College I have been able to adopt their MS. as the text. A few headings have been added within brackets from the later copies at Chichester,^a and the Statutes of 1314 and other ordinances and customs have been incorporated as illustrations in their proper places.^b

^a The Rev. C. A. Swainson, D.D., senior residentiary, who has arranged, after long labour, all the capitular documents, considers that "the chapter transcript was written about the year 1725."

^b In my *Cathedrals and Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals* the reader will find the whole cathedral system explained at length.

Copious extracts from the capitular documents were indispensable to explain many obsolete expressions and furnish a commentary upon points which time has rendered obscure.

The cathedral church of Chichester is one of those technically called of the old foundation, such as Salisbury, Lincoln, Lichfield, St. Paul's London, Exeter, Hereford, Wells, York, and those of Wales, to which reference is made in the Statute *Qui Censentur Residentes*. The constitution, as it was framed and grew up under the fostering care of bishop Ralph and his successors, comprised a dean^a and a chapter, including four dignitaries,^b and canons, who also held prebends,^c and at first were bound to long terms of residence^d and ministered in

^a See Stat. Constitutiones Antiquæ. The deanery was endowed by Seffrid II. The old income was 107*l*. The dean held the vicarage of Aldingbourne, and "the deanery of the parish of the Holy Sepulchre," Chichester, and the prebend of Westergate. The dean held the patronage and tithes of St. Bartholomew's Westergate, besides the urban deanery or deanery of Christianity (a title suggestive of a time when a heathen population existed round the cities and towns) as his peculiar jurisdiction until it was abolished on Jan. 1, 1846, by order in Council dated Aug. 8, 1845, under the Act of 6 and 7 William IV. c. 77, s. 10. It included Rumboldswyke, Fishbourne, St. Andrew's, St. Martin's, St. Olaf's, St. Pancras', St. Peter's the Great juxta Gildhall, St. Peter's the Less, St. Mary's in Foro, St. Mary's Hospital, and "Subdecan. sive Vicaria S. Petri Maj. sive subdecan'." (Lib. Inst. Pub. Rec. Off. Cic. Dioc. 5, fo. 1.) On Dec. 11, 1340, the primate made an award owing to a contest between Bishop Stratford and the dean, that the latter had jurisdiction, except during the time of an episcopal visitation, over the city churches and in matrimonial causes, and had authority to correct ecclesiastical offences not reserved to the bishop. The name of Little London, which certainly was part of the possessions of the Hospitallers (Min. Acc. 31 and 32 Hen. VIII. m. 16 dorso), occurs in 1440, and the arms of the last prior, which were in the windows of the residentiary house near the gate, also suggest some connection with the Order of Knights of St. John, for, in a charter in the University College MS. relating to land outside the west gate, the clause occurs "excepto loco religioso." In 1642 the round church of the Holy Sepulchre, which stood on the mound near St. Bartholomew's (called the Mount) Church in West Street, was destroyed. Val. Eccles. i. 298; Clarke's MS. 29, p. 67. The deanery is now in the gift of the Crown, not according to the maxim laid down by Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. ii. p. 126. (See Stat. de Modo Eligendi et Installandi Decanum.)

^b In the Statutes of 1251, De Proventibus Defunctorum and De Expensis, these are called Dignitates and Personæ. See Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 1, ad verbum "dignitatibus," p. 118; and ib. tit. 7, ad verbum "dignitatis," p. 114; and lib. v. tit. 16, ad verbum "canonici," p. 327. See also the extract from Bishop Storey's Register under the Statute De Domibus Canonicorum.

^c Canoniam est jus spirituale quod aliquis assequitur in ecclesiâ per receptionem in fratrem et assignationem stalli in choro et loci in capitulo; Præbenda verò est jus spirituale recipiendi certos proventus pro meritis in ecclesiâ competentes percipienti ex divino officio cui insistit, et nascitur ex Canoniam tanquam filia a matre. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 7, i. p. 144, ad verbum "prebendas.") See Stat. De Institutione Canonicorum.

^d See the Statutes, De Domibus Canonicorum Decedentium. De Absentiâ Canonicorum. De Utilitate Residentium. Qui Censentur Residentes. De Plenâ Residentiâ et Semi-plenâ.

courses of priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; but in decay of discipline, "protested" (as the term ran) that is, demanded to be admitted as residentiaries and to share both in the common distribution of the cathedral funds and food, and in a division of the revenues arising from oblations, fees, and other sources of income." In the Visitation articles^b of 1675 are enumerated "decanus, dignitarii, canonici residentiarii, prebendarii," and the other members of the foundation, "vicarii chorales, vicarii laici sive clerici, omnesque ministri et servientes." The Register of Praty is more precise: "Ecclesia Cicestrensis habet quinque dignitates, præcentoriatum,^c cancellariatum,^d thesaurariatum,^e et duos archidiaconatus Cicestrensem et Lewensem: xxxii. præbendas et xvi. cantarias." In 1415 there were equal numbers of dignitaries and canons and of vicars. Bishop Praty mentions three stalls of deacon canons and five of sub-deacon canons. All the stalls except those of Highley and Wittering were in the bishop's gift by collation. The dean was elected by the chapter. The dean, præcentor, chancellor, and treasurer were also called "persone," "maiores," and "superiores."

^a See the Statutes, De Panibus Canonicorum. De Diversis Consuetudinibus. De Antiquâ Formâ Distributionis Communæ. De Distributione Panis. De Distributione Communæ. De Cotidianis Distributionibus et Relevis Legatis et Annualibus. De Distributione pro Defunctis.

^b Art. of Inq. Stat. ii. fo. 5. Comp. Art. 1682, fo. 2. (*Ib.* p. 137.)

^c See Statute, Constitutiones Antiquæ. It was endowed by Bishop Seffrid II. cum præbenda cui annexa ecclesia de Ovyng. Tax. 80*l.*; dec. 8*l.*, at a later date 69*l.*; in 1520, 35*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*; and in the Parliamentary Survey 230*l.* The præcentor was lord of the township of Oving in 1316. In 1520 he had the farm of Hilsker in West Dean, and, according to the Parliamentary Survey, Quæ farm in that parish 1543. Precentoria in Eccl. Cath. Cic. et prebenda de Oving eidem annexa. Dignitas Præcentoralis sive Precentoriatu in Eccles. Cath. Cic. una cum prebenda sive Canonicatu de Owving eidem annexa. (Lib. E. 293. Writs of Parl. ii. 336, n. 53. Cranmer's Reg. fo. 388 a. Parker's Reg. fo. 199 b. Visit. 1558, fo. 3. Reg. H. and G. fo. 21. Reg. Storey, fo. 69. Reg. Rede. fo. 242. Book B. fo. 208. Act Book i. p. 61.)

^d See Statutes, Constitutiones Antiquæ and De officio Cancellarii. Founded by Bishop Hilary; cum ecclesia de Chityngleghe cum capella. Tax. 80*l.* dec. 8*l.* K. B. 98. Præbenda de Woodhorne de facto est unita sive annexa Cancellario. In his gift were the vicarages of Pevensay and Ditchling. De donatione ecclesiarum cancellario Eccles. Cath. Cic. (Leiger, fo. 69. Lib. E. 241. Reg. Storey, 1478, fo. 6. Lib. Y. fo. lviii. lxj.)

^e See Statutes, Constitutiones Antiquæ and De officio Thesaurarii. Founded by Bishop Hilary; cujus est ecclesia de Estbourne cum capella. Tax. 70*l.* dec. x. K. B. 63. Carta de nundinis de Estburne concessis W^o. de Nevyle, thesaurario. Lib. E. fo. 241. Lib. Y. fo. xxxiv.

^f See the Statutes, De Domibus Canonicorum in Civitate. De Residentiam Facturo. De Officiis Ecclesie Nocturnis. De Expensis. De Proventibus. De Antiquâ Formâ. Reparatio Ecclesie. Reg. Chichele. fo. 194 b. The installation of dean Roger de Scrope in 1383 was attended by "Joh. de Bishopestone cancellario et canonico prebendato in eadem tunc ratione dignitatis majore et seniore ecclesie." MS. Univ. Coll.

The dean has the spiritual oversight, and may correct offenders in chapter: he can give leave of absence over two days to residentiaries. The duty of the præcentor is to preside over the choral service, to note the ministers for choir duties, admit them, and read over the names of candidates for holy orders; he also is required to take his part at the enthronisation of a bishop and the installation of a dean. The chancellor was the librarian, muniment keeper, chapter secretary, lecturer, and schoolmaster. To the treasurer is entrusted the charge of all the servants, goods, jewels, plate, bells, lights, and ornaments.

The communar, one of the canons residentiary, acts as the capitular bursar, like the provost and economist in some other cathedrals.^a

The chapter is the congregation of the members of the corporation in one certain place at one and the same time, expressing their "voices" or votes, a majority of which is sufficient to confirm the decision of the matter before them. The precedence and habit are the same as in choir. The canons are summoned by letters mandatory by the bishop for a visitation, or by the dean and chapter, or by both the bishop and the dean, and are required to appear in person or by proxy, under pains and penalties which are increased to deprivation in case of abetting or offending in any breach of canonical obedience. Canons offending are to be admonished in chapter by the dean, they are to obey the mandate of the dean and chapter, and are privileged to make answer to the bishop in chapter only. The dean and chapter can enforce repairs of houses which have been occupied during a year, and allow no dilapidations of fixtures in houses vacated by death. Without their sanction no change can be made in the conduct of divine worship, but they can authorize special services. Statutes are made in chapter, being either the resolutions of the dean and chapter, confirmed by the bishop, or directions of the bishop confirmed by the dean and chapter under joint seals. In the absence of the dean, as during a vacancy, the senior residentiary who is present is president of chapter.^b The powers of residentiaries are given in the Statutes *De Residentid* and *De Cotidianis Distributionibus* and the later Statutes of Curteys and Harsnet. The lesser chapter meets on Oct. 10, Jan. 20,

fo. 219. See also the form of enthronisation and Stat. De Distributione Panis. In Wood's MS. Bodl. Lib. E. 3, fo. 28, they appear as the "Four Masters of the Church."

^a See the Statutes, De Communario. De Distributione pro Defunctis. Qui Censentur Residentes.

^b By stat. 1573, sect. 5. The term president occurs in a collation to St. Mary's Hospital, Oct. 20, 1447: Johannes Blounham precentor ecclesie Cath. Cicestren. ac presidens, et ejusdem loci capitulum. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 12.) In 1359 (Lib. Y. fo. lvi.) and also at Dean Caurden's installation in 1546. Day's Reg. p. 12. Comp. Harsnet's Statutes, 2, 5.

May 2, and Aug. 1, with the three days next following, by an order made Oct. 10, 1617.^a The great or general chapter was called on Oct. 13 yearly, when the audit was held. Ancient custom is to be regarded as a precedent and rule.^b

In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1281, the dean and præcentor each had, "cum præbenda," 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the chancellor, "cum ecclesiâ de Chiddyngele," the same sum; and the treasurer, "per se," 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The priest-canons, who paid their vicars stall wages of 13*s.* 4*d.*^c held the prebends of Bracklesham, Bury (not mentioned in 1291), Hova Ecclesia and Hova Villa (divided in 1353), Waltham, Woodhorne or Erlington, Highley, St. Bartholomew Colworth, Wilmington 1^e or the Chantry, and Wilmington 2^{da}. The deacon-canons, who paid stall wages of 6*s.* 8*d.* held the prebends of Bishophurst, Eartham, Ferring, Gates, Marden, Selsey, Sydlesham, Thorney, and Wightering. The sub-deacon stalls were Firle, Fittleworth, Hampstead, Heathfield, Ipthorne, Middleton, Seaford, Somerley, Sutton, Wisborough.

The present order of these in choir is this: on the decani side^d—

Dean, who was Prebendary of Westergate.

Archdeacon of Chichester.

Prebendary of Selsey, "præbenda theologo conferenda," 1259, *xxi l.*^e

Fittleworth, *vi l. xiii s. iv d.*

Wisborough [or Green], founded by Ralph II. *xiii l. vi s. viii d.*
(20*l.*)

Hurst [or Bishophurst], *xvi l. xiii s. iv d.*

Ertham, founded 1190 by Seffrid II.^f had the patronage of
Ertham Vicarage, *xl. (12*l.*)*

^a Book of Extracts, fo. 18 b.

^b See the Statutes, *passim*.

^c Under penalty of sequestration of the prebend. (Lib. Y. fo. clxiii. Reg. Islip. 1355, fo. 84 b.) The stall wages were paid until the Cathedral Act; and now compensation is given for their loss to the priest vicars by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

^d The Roman numerals give the value in Pope Nicholas' Taxation, the Arabic numbers that in Dean Fishmonger's Certificate, temp. Hen. VIII. made for the Valor Ecclesiasticus. Lib. Epi. 403.

^e Lib. E. 217. Leiger, 205.

^f The following charter of Ralph II. shows the manner in which prebends were augmented: "Assignamus imperpetuum ecclesiam de Aldingburne decano Cycestr. Prebendæ quoque de Wodehorne propter tenuitatem adjunximus et consolidamus ecclesiam de Amberle, quæ fuit membrum prebende de Aldingburne ita quòd de eis una sit de cætero et censeatur prebenda et deserviat per sacerdotem. Statuimus quòd ecclesia de Wiselbergha, quæ item fuit prebendæ de Aldingburne de cætero sit prebenda et deserviat per subdiaconum." Lib. Y. fo. xlv.

^g Ordinatio prebendæ, Lib. Y. ff. xxxix. xli.; Lib. E. 214.

Prebendary of Gates, viii l. (6*l.*)

Midylton [lands in Arlington], vi l.

Wightering [West], founded for a reader in theology in the close,^a had the patronage of West Wittering, xli l. (40*l.*)Waltham, x l. (16*l.*)Hethfield had the patronage of Hethfield and Selmeston,^b xlii l. vi s. viii d. (13*l.*)Woodhorne, formerly Erlington, founded by Ralph II.^c xli l. (17*l.*)Sidlesham, xxx l. (15*l.*)Ferring,^d xxx l. (32*l.*), founded by Bishop Hilary.^eHova Ecclesia, xxx l. (4*l.*) founded by Bishop Poore.Exceit [near East Dean], founded by Bishop Sherborne, Jan. 23, 1523, with 6*l.* a-year.^f

Colworth [a farm in Oving], mentioned in 1278, and Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. II. xxvi. xlii. 4.

Subdean.^g

Chancellor.

On the Cantoris side are—

Præcentor, Prebendary of Oving.

^a Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 15, 377, fo. 328; Lib. Y. fo. xlii. Bulla Clementis VI. quod prebenda theologo regenti conferatur. Per Bullam Gregorii XI. 1373, magistro in theologia conferatur. 1259, Conferenda regenti in theologia et confirmata per Bonifacium archiepiscopum Cantuar. Lib. E. 216, 217. Leiger, 205. The lecture was read in 1733 on all Wednesdays in full term, except when a holiday occurred. Inj. of Bishop, p. 109.

^b B. B. Willis, *Parochiale Angl.* 67.

^c A manor in Oving parish. Val. Eccles. i. 300; Lib. Y. fo. xlv. The prebendary had the patronage of S. Pancras Arlington.

^d Carta de confectione prebendæ, Lib. Y. ff. xxxix. xlii. The prebendary had the patronage of Ferring and East Preston.

^e Lib. Y. fol. 39 b.

^f These Wiccamical prebends were founded by Bishop Sherborne Jan. 1, 1523. Conferantur prebendæ uni Doctori vel Baccalaureo in Theologia vel ad minus Artium Magistro qui sunt vel fuerunt de Collegio S. Mariæ Winton. et Oxon. The dean and chapter nominate to Bargham, the three others are in the patronage of the bishop. Bursalis is endowed with a prebend of Wilmington. The prebendary was chantry priest of St. Mary's Hospital and chaplain of Talk's Chantry. Wyndham held the Hospital of Ham, and a chantry in West Angmering. Bargham was Master of S. James Hospital, Seaford. Bargham free chapel (Lib. Y. fo. lxiv.) was bought from Sir Edmund Dudley for 100 marks, and St. James' chapel from Robertsbridge Abbey for 20*l.* Exceit, a chapel and chantry of 5*l.* yearly, was bought from Bayham Abbey for 50*l.* (Val. Eccles. i. 301, 302, 305. Sherborne Stat.)

^g A stall was necessarily allotted to him, as the other vicars occupied the stalls of their absent domini.

Archdeacon of Lewes.

Prebendary of Henfield, [mentioned in 1309; the last presentation was in 1679. *Lib. Inst. I. 72*] xxx l. [*Haufond.*]

Bursalis, founded by Bishop Sherborne Jan. 16, 1520, with 20 marks a-year.^a

Ferles existed in the 13th century, v l. (10s. for many years.)

Sutton [church destroyed], xxvi l. xiii s. iv d. (18*l.*)

Bracklesham, xvii l. xiii s. iv d. (24*l.*)

Ipthorne [in Wyke parish], vi l. xiii s. iv d. (12*l.*)

Hova Villa, founded by Bishop Poore, divided from Hova Ecclesia in 1353, had the patronage of Bolney Vicarage, xxx l. (10*l.*)

Thorney, dates from the time of Henry III. x l. (12*l.*)

Seford, with the patronage of Seaford Vicarage, iv l. xiii s. iv d. (*Lib. Y. fo. xxxi.*)

Hyleigh [in Sydlesham parish], xxvi l. xiii s. iv d.^b

Marden, founded by the Aguillons, with the patronage of East Marden, viii l. (6*l.*)

Somerley [a farm in Wittering], viii l. (5*l.*)

Hampstead, vi l. xiii s. iv d.

Wyndham, founded by Bishop Sherborne Jan. 23, 1523, with 11*l.* a-year.^a

Bargham, founded, Jan. 23, 1523, by Bishop Sherborne, with 13*l.* a-year.^a

Bury had the patronage of Bury Vicarage, 13*l.*

[Wilmington], xxxvi l. xiii s. iv d. held by the Abbot of Grestein.^c

Treasurer.

The office no longer exists, as the dean's peculiar jurisdiction has been abolished, and the vicarage church of Saint Peter the Great has been rebuilt outside the close.

^a See note ¹ page 148.

^b Carta Seffridi II. de pace facta inter Rogerum capellanum et Guidonem de Bysshopston canonicum de Hylve. This is the first mention of a distinct prebend. The prebendary was to celebrate a mass of requiem on all Fridays except Christmas day and Good Friday. The prebend, by Bp. Storey's foundation, was in 1477 attached to the mastership of the prebendal school, and is in the gift of the dean and chapter. *Lib. Y. xli.*; *lib. E. fo. 77.*

^c The abbot of Bec had a stall in the choir of Wells, and those of de Lyra and Cormeilles at Hereford. 1414. Rex dedit decano et capitulo eccles. Cath. Cic. prioratum de Wilmington alienigenum in Com. Suss. qui (ut dicebatur) fuit prebenda in ecclesia predicta, quæ nuper fuit abbatis de Grastino in Normannia

The revenues of the cathedral proper constituted the *commune*, or common fund, arising out of pensions of churches. From it the resident members of the chapter were provided with a daily ration of bread, and also a weekly payment made on every Saturday, probably after chapter. The rest (residuum), after defraying the expenses of collection and of the communal, was, like contingent payments, at the disposal of the chapter. Bishop Hilary founded the prebend of Sengleton, to furnish the canons' bread. The money payment was restricted to canons who were present in choir at vespers or matins or high mass, except in certain cases of lawful excuse; but they received it if their vicars were present at the night office, since they maintained such deputies by stall wages. On certain feasts they received a money allowance or compensation in lieu of the previous distribution of choral wine.

The ordinance on the distribution of the *commune* points to two serious evils, one the neglect of attendance in choir, and the other of non-residence. At first non-residence was permitted only to students at the university and chaplains to the king, the primate, and the diocesan. Then residence became to be regarded as "labor" deserving "præmium," and virtually was personal attendance at specified services, during a certain period reduced to a minimum, in consideration of payment at a proportionate rate. In 1339 there were thirteen residentiaries; in 1441 there were only seven, including the dean, the præcentor, and the archdeacon of Lewes. At Bishop Storey's visitation there were present three "habentes dignitates" and three canons residentiary; but Bishop Sherborne found only two canons in residence. However, in 1527, there were ten residentiaries, including the chancellor, the treasurer, and the two archdeacons, and twelve are mentioned in Sherborne's obit. In Queen Mary's time the dean and one residentiary divided all. In Queen Elizabeth's reign the number rapidly increased, so that about 1570 there were seven or eight resident. In the time of Bishop Curteys they were reduced to their present number of four.

In 1247 a vigorous movement was made in favour of enforcing residence. Canons

valoris cexl. marc. per annum habendum durante guerra." Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V. MS. Harl. 6962, fo. 67. Similar instances of abbots holding cathedral prebends are mentioned in my Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals, my Scoti-Monasticon, and by Lyndwood, p. 133. Henry V. gave this prebend, with the alien priory, to found the Mortimer Chantry for two chaplains, which was confirmed by Edward IV. In 1675 it is said two stalls, formerly in the choir and belonging to the vicars choral, the Willington and Willington, are now laid down and omitted, being now unappropriated. Hay 204. There were eighteen stalls on each side, and eight returned stalls on the west against the Arundel screen: they were for the most part of Bishop Langton's time, but four were added by Sherborne.

were required to reside during the whole year, with the exception of absence during three weeks in each quarter, according to the use of certain churches. A relaxation was made at the same time in the case of those who had completed the full residence of one year, and who were henceforth allowed, with the licence of the dean or vice-dean, to be absent twelve weeks in a year, which counted as demi-residence (*semi-plena*). Any undue excess in this respect was punished by forfeiture of a share in the quotidian, unless condoned by the dean and chapter, but no exception could be made if the entire absence exceeded half a year.^a The income of a full resident was as follows: besides commune bread on the foundation of Bishop Hilary, he received 12*d.* a-week, paid by the communar on Saturday; the quotidian, or daily pennies; three pence for attendance at vespers or matins or high mass; one penny in lieu of wine, even if present only at the gospel on festivals of the first or second class; 12*d.* instead of wine on stated feasts, and 6*d.* on other principal days; a share in the "annual," or payment at masses for the dead, in the Rest of the commune, in fines, if present in chapter, and in legacies in the office of the dead; also half a mark at Easter, besides a portion of the half the proceeds of a prebend vacated by death; and a small sum, less than half a mark, for summer residence, probably because at that season canons preferred to the hot streets of the "ancient city," and the banks of the Lavant, their prebendal retreat.^b

Full residence was, on the other hand, discouraged by the imposition of strict and burdensome obligations. The Act of Spoliation^c which wrecked the cathedrals requires a residence of at least three months in the year, during which the residentiary must perform the duties of his office as required by the statutes of the cathedral. These laid down that he is not to be absent for more than two nights, without the dean or vice-dean's licence; he must reside within the city, and attend choir in his canonical habit.^d The canons paid on admission as

^a See the Statutes: *Constitutiones Antiquæ. De Distributione Panis. De Antiqua Forma Distributionis Commune. De Distributione Commune. De Cotidianis Distributionibus. De Absenciâ Canonicorum. De Diversis Consuetudinibus. De Residentiâ Plenâ et Semi-plenâ.*

^b See the Statutes: *De Utilitate Residentiæ. De Residentiâ Plenâ et Semi-plenâ. De Absenciâ Canonicorum. De Distributione Commune. De Cotidianis Distributionibus. De Diversis Consuetudinibus. De Festo S. Wolstani.* Henry VI. allowed the dean and chapter "quod c. libratas terre et redditus per annum acquirere possint ad augmentacionem canonicorum residentium vicariorum et chorum." (*Rot. Pat. July 1, 26 Hen. VI. P. m. 4.*)

^c 3 and 4 Vict. c. 113, sect. 3. *Comp. Canon 44. Canons of 1603, in my edition, p. 67.*

^d See the Statutes: *De Pœnâ Inobedientiæ. De Absenciâ. De Distributione.*

residentiaries [until 1870] to the dean and chapter 25 marks, and a similar sum to the fabric, which in other cathedrals usually was spent in providing "a precious cope," made of silk, which was used in processions. The residentiary was to be present at every day and night hour throughout a whole year in choir, and, if he failed in a single attendance, he must recommence his course. Every day during that period he entertained the vicar of his stall, two other choir-vicars, the porter, two sacrists, and one chorister. He gave a banquet to the dean and chapter, and all the ministers of the church, besides strangers coming from any part of Sussex.^a It is a pretty simple scene of a hospitable board, round which were grouped the higher and the humbler, with comers of every degree.

The choral or canonical habit was required to be worn in choir, consisting of an open black cope of silk, without a hood or embroidery, worn over the rochet or surplice. If a canon, being "entitled" or "inscribed," placed on the daily roll (tabula) for duty as hebdomadary or for other choral duty, failed to appear in person or by deputy, he was to be corrected by the dean in chapter.

As the canons wore the grey amess, so the vicars had a dark calabre amess.^b

Each of the dignitaries had his respective vicar, the dean's vicar, the sub-chanter, the sub-chancellor, and sub-treasurer. Each canon was also represented by a vicar. The strength, however, of the vicars' college varied. Ernisius the precentor^c gave at his anniversary distribution, "Capellano S. Petri majoris ecclesiæ, 2*d.*; x. capellanis regentibus parochias, 10*d.*; et x. pueris de choro, 5*d.*;" to every canon and vicar celebrant, 12*d.*; among canons attending, 6*s.*; among the vicars, 5*s.*; among ten chaplains^d ministering in ten chapels, two chaplains of St. Michael's, two chaplains on the foundation of Dean Thomas, and two Arundel chaplains, 2*s.* 8*d.*; and among the hebdomadary boys in course for the week, to be paid by the succentor, 9*d.*

In 1342 Dean Garland by his will^e bequeathed 4*d.* to each of the four petty canons, "quatuor vicariis qui dicuntur parvi canonici";^f 2*d.* to each of the twenty

^a Stat. De Residentiam Facturo.

^b See the Statutes: De Uniformitate Habitûs in Choro. De Offensâ in Divinis Obsequiis. De Distributione Communæ. De Officiis Nocturnis.

^c Lib. Y, fo. lxxviii. He was precentor in 1219 and 1251.

^d These vicars thus eked out their stall wages.

^e Swayne, fo. 299. The installation of Dean Roger le Scrope, in 1383, was witnessed by "domino Will^o. subdecano, Thoma vicario decani, Joh. succentore, Waltero subthesaurario, magistro Simone Halshale clerico et notario capituli [the chancellor's vicar] ac aliis vicariis chori, rectoribus et presbyteris civitatis et ecclesiæ multitudine copiosa." (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 219.) "Vicarius in choro et capellanus." (Ib. fo. 12.)

^f At St. Patrick's Dublin [1431], Leighlin [1430], and Waterford we find also minor canons, petty

vicars "cujuscunque ordinis," 1*d.* to each of the twelve "pueri de choro," and to each of the three priest chaplains; the two sacrists and four bell-ringers received 4*d.* a-piece. In 1397 there were twenty-eight vicarii in choro.^a In the time of Bishop Robert Reed, we find twenty-six "ministri." In 1441 there were eleven vicars who were chaplains of chantries and thirteen more.^b In 1478, on the Feast of St. John Baptist, at the obits of Henry V. and Nicholas Mortimer, each of the sixteen vicars received 18*s.* 8*d.*, the sub-dean and royal chaplains 7*s.* 6*d.*, eight choristers and two thuriblers 5*s.* 10*d.*, each of the two sacrists 7*d.*, the porter 7*d.*, and four bell-ringers 16*d.* In 1481 there had been twelve choristers, but henceforth four were to be thuriblers and eight singing-boys. Bishop Storey's visitation in 1481 was attended by twenty-two "vicarii chorales," including the sub-dean, virgifer, janitor clausi, and two sacrists. Dean Fleshmonger's Certificate for the Valor Ecclesiasticus mentions twelve vicars receiving each 2*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* and four lay vicars choral. In Bishop Sherborne's time, 1508-1536, the numbers varied from twenty-six to eighteen "vicarii in choro," two royal chaplains, eight choristers, and four bell-ringers. There were three classes of subordinate members: vicars of the first form or book; secundarii, who occupied the second form or row; and boys of the third form, who sat below all.^c At Sherborne's visitation^d there were two royal chaplains, ten vicars-chaplains, four other vicars, and two clerks. In 1527^e the ten residentiaries included the chancellor, treasurer, and the archdeacons; there were also twenty vicars-choral; 5 Edw. VI. eight priest-vicars (three conducts in the certificate at 13*s.* 4*d.*); 6. Edw. VI. six priest-vicars; 2-3 Phil. and Mary nine priest-vicars; 3-4 Phil. and Mary eight priest-vicars; 4-5 Phil. and Mary six priest-vicars; 26 Eliz. five priest-vicars. At a later date there were four priest-vicars, four Sherborne's lay-clerks, and four lay clerks. In 1604 there were six vicars and three lay vicars. Their wages in the Liber Regis are 2*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*^f In 1710 there were four vicars choral, seven lay clerks, whereof one was organist, and six

canons at Toledo, eight "moindres ou petits chanoines" in the twelfth century at Rouen, and demi-canons or semi-prebendaries at Lyons who were chaplains. S. Paul's from a remote period also had "capellanos qui vulgariter minores canonici nuncupantur," being regarded as "personæ secundi gradus," who celebrated at the high altar. At Salisbury, however, the "minores canonici de secundâ formâ" appear to have been in S. Osmund's time canons, not priests, forming a class above the boy canons who sat with the choristers in the third form, just as "clerici qui non sunt presbyteri ante stalla superiora" are mentioned at Aberdeen.

^a Reg. fo. 26 b.

^b Reg. Praty, fo. 73 b.

^c See Stat. De Offensâ.

^d Reg. fo. c.

^e Ib. p. ii. fo. 98.

^f Var. Obs. 58, 63. Val. Eccl. i. 298, 303. Certif. of Chantr. 50, 2.

choristers. When the number of residentiaries was reduced to four by bishop Curteys 1570-1582, the four priest vicars represented four distinct aggregations of prebendaries with 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* as "stall wages:"—1. Oving, Hova Villa, Woodhorne, Thorney, Heathfield, Sutton, Somerley. 2. Westergate, Colworth, Highlegh, Eartham, Seaford, Fittleworth, Ipthorne. 3. Waltham, Brackelsham, Selsey, Marden, Ferring, Wittering, Wisborough. 4. Bury, Hova Ecclesia, Gates, Sidlesham, Hurst, Firle, Middleton, Hamstead.

In 1811 Mr. Valintine enumerates four vicars choral, an organist, four lay clerks, six choristers, two vergers, and two sextons.^a

The older cathedral of the diocese of Chichester has been long under the sea. The tradition runs that the finial of its steeple was on a level with the keyhole of S. Richard's porch. Two venerable relics, sculptured panels, one the Raising of Lazarus, the other the Prayer of the Sisters of Bethany,^b now preserved in the south presbytery aisle, are said to have been brought from it, but they appear to be of later date, probably twelfth century. "The church at Selsey was dedicated to St. Paul, but now to St. Peter" we are told.

Chichester is first mentioned in the eighth century. K. Eadwig in 956, in a questionable charter given to Selsey, mentions bishop Brethelm and the brethren dwelling at Chichester.^c Bishop Stigand removed the see, about 1075, "*in Cices-tram ubi antiquitus et S. Petri monasterium et congregatio fuerat sanctimonalium.*"^d The see of Sherborne was similarly translated to Sarum, and Lichfield to Chester, and the Council of London, in 1075, required the translation of cathedral churches from villages to large towns.^e

In Domesday the town contained one hundred and sixty houses and a church; in the reign of the Confessor one hundred dwellings are mentioned.

The architectural history of the cathedral throws considerable light upon several portions of the statutes, and may be briefly told in this place. The church is 380 ft. long; its breadth in the nave, only exceeded at York, is 96 ft. 9 in.; the transept is 130 ft. across; the vaulting is 62 ft. high, and the steeple, 277 ft. high, is loftier than those of Lichfield and Grantham. Fuller^f

^a Guide, p. 39.

^b Engraved in Labarte's *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, translated by Mrs. Palliser, 1855, and in *Archæological Journal*, xii. p. 412.

^c Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* ii. 335, No. 459.

^d *Mon. Ann.* ii. 29, Winton.; iv. 372, Wigorn. W. Malm. 68, 205.

^e Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 363.

^f Worthies, ii. 385.

says, in an often misquoted passage applied to the spire, "Country folk are confident in their tradition that the master workman built Salisbury, and his man the church of Chichester, and if so "sequitur Dominum non passibus æquis." But proportion of time confuteth the conceit . . . Seffrid bestowed the cloth and making on the church, Bishop Sherborne gave the trimming and best lace thereto," that is, the gilding and chocolate paint formerly on the stalls, and the wall pictures and patterns on the vaulting, which were the work of Bernardi. The chancellor's stall before the restoration bore considerable traces of beautiful colours.

In 1147 William earl of Arundel^a gave to the church of the Holy Trinity, which he had injured, "quicquid juris habebam in quarta parte civitatis in qua ipsa ecclesia et domus canonicales et episcopalis sitæ sunt." He laid the grant on the altar with a silver-gilt cup for the reservation of the Holy Eucharist. Earl Hugh bestowed land for the cemetery "in viâ et extra muros."^b King John gave to the church "tantum de vico nostro [the West Street] circa muros cimiterii Cicestr. quod libere et sine impedimento possint ibi ædificare seldas (shops) habentes xii. pedes in latitudine."^c Henry III. bestowed the Broyle, then called Deep Dene, on the chapter.

Bishop Seffrid, 1197-1220, purchased the land between the close wall and the Lavant.^d

Of the early Norman cathedral, the eastern arm, the transept, and eight bays of the nave, with its aisles, 1090-1120, substantially remain; the eastern half of the nave formed the ritual choir until the removal of the stalls, probably in the fifteenth century, into the crossing, when the vaulting shafts were lengthened to the ground.

Bishop Ralph de Luffa "built his Cathedral Church of Chichester from the ground; it was scarcely finished, when as May the fifth, 1114, it was quite defaced, and a great part of the city defaced with casuall fire. Hee found meanes to repaire it againe, beeing helped much with the liberality of the King and some other."^e The fire did no very material injury to the main structure; the works

^a Lib. Y. fo. xxviii. Dugdale, Monasticon, vi. 1169.

^b Lib. E. fo. 9 b. Lib. Y. fo. xxviii.

^c Lib. E. fo. 11 b. Lib. Y. fo. xxxj. Dugdale, Monasticon, vi. 1169.

^d Lib. Y. fo. lxx. The southern defence of the precinct consists of walls of various dates, with semi-circular bastions. "In porcione ecclesie nunquam fuit aliud fossatum quam cursus Lovante. Non apparet ratio quare ecclesia Cycestr' in porcione sua non debeat habere domos herentes muris et turres supra murum." (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 6.)

^e Godwin, Catalogue, &c. 1615, p. 467.

were continued; the Lady chapel (in its present three western bays) and the vaulting of the nave-aisles were completed at a much later date, about 1170-1180; and on Oct. 3, 1184, the whole cathedral was consecrated.

A second fire, on Oct. 20, 1187, did great harm, and necessitated a costly restoration, for the walls were seriously damaged. At the east end the presbytery, now deprived of its apse, with the circular processional aisle, and made square-ended, was lengthened by two beautiful bays, marked by the grand marble pillars with satellites; and vaulting replaced the flat timber ceiling of the nave. On Sept. 12, 1199, the church was once more consecrated by Bishop Seffrid and six other prelates; and three dedication crosses still remain upon the walls,* one at the exterior of the south aisle, and one in each of the eastern chapels which flank the Lady chapel.

The thirteenth century saw a vast system of restoration carried on with the use of Purbeck instead of Sussex marble for the shafts, stone from Caen in preference to that of Quarr Abbey and Ventnor, and Sussex sandstone, and the addition of an arcade to the clerestory between 1200 and 1250. The central tower above the arches of the crossing was of the second quarter of the century. Simultaneously, that is, shortly after the consecration, by lateral development, on the south side two external chapels, which had once beautiful gabled fronts and pinnaced turrets, were added. Then three northern chapels were completed (c. 1250-1270).

A western Galilee porch was added with a gallery above it, which was probably

* 1108. Radulfus Episcopus Cicestrensis fecit dedicari ecclesiam (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 297). 1114. Ecclesia Cicestrie combusta est. (*Ibid.*) Civitas Cicestra cum principali Monasterio (Minster) per culpam incurie (a fault not yet out of date), iii^o. Non. Maii (May 5), flammis consumpta est. (*Hoveden*, i. 169.) iii^o. Non. Maii Civitas Cicestrie cum Monasterio ejusdem per incuriam igni succensa est. (*Hemingford Chron.* i. 42.) Ecclesiam suam, quam à novo fecerat, cum fortuitus ignis pessumdedisset, liberalitate potissimum regis, brevi refecit. (*W. Malm. de Gest. Pont.* 206.) 1187. Mater ecclesia Cicestrensis cum tota civitate xiii. Kal. Nov. quasi irato Deo in favillam est reducta. (*Matt. Par.* i. 443.) Combusta est ferè tota civitas Cicestrie cum ecclesiâ sedis pontificalis et domibus episcopi et canonicorum. (*Hoveden*, ii. 333.) 1199. Seffridus episcopus Cicestrensis dedicavit cathedralem basilicam sedis suæ cum vi. episcopis aliis mense Septembri. (*Ann. Mon.* ii. 252. *Waverley*.) Seffridus reedificavit ecclesiam Cicestrensem secundo igne combustam et domos suas in palatio Cicestrensi. (*MS. Catal. Episc. Cic.* *Leland, Collect.* ii. 341.) Seffridus ecclesiam Cicestrensem post incendium magnum sumptibus innumeris reedificavit. (*Ann. Mon.* ii. 256, *Waverl.*) Dedicata est ecclesia Cic. à Seffrido ejusdem loci episcopo, ii^o. Id. Sept. (*Ang. Sac.* i. 304.) See also *Ann. Mon.* ii. 73, *Winton.*; iii. 446, *Bermond.*; iv. 390, *Wigorn.* *Addit. MS.* 6262, fo. 77. 1447. Charta Adami episcopi de Festo Consecrationis ecclesiæ Cicestr. Oct. 3, olim Sept. 12. (*Hayley MS.* p. 163.) In the reign of Edward VI. the first Sunday in October was observed as the feast of dedication.

used by the choir when singing "Honor laus et gloria" on Palm Sunday.^a The sacristy, the north porch, and St. Richard's porch, with the parvise or secret treasury over it date within the first fifteen years of the thirteenth century. The additions of the time of King Edward I. were confined to ornamental work in the nave. The square-ended, instead of apsidal, chapels were added in the first quarter of the thirteenth century on the east side of the transept. Over the northern chapel is a large chamber which probably formed a charter-house, library, and muniment room.

The Norman basement of the south-west tower was supplemented by an Early-English superstructure.^b

In 1232, the dean and chapter gave of their substance. During five years they devoted to the glory and beauty of the House of the Lord a twentieth part of the income of every dignity and prebend, "ut transeat in usus fabricæ ejusdem ecclesiæ, quæ multiplici reparatione indigere dignoscitur."^c Bishop Richard, in 1249, reviving an earlier statute of Bishop Simon, extended the capitular contribution to half the revenues of every prebend, whilst one moiety of a prebend vacant by death went to the fabric and the rest to the use of the canons;^d he also ordered all parishioners within his jurisdiction to visit the Mother Church at Easter and Whitsuntide; and likewise payment of Pentecostal offerings to the

^a See my *Sacred Archæology*, under Palm Sunday.

^b In the time of Bishop Simon de Welles, 1204-5, K. John gave Bakechild Church to the "newly-dedicated" cathedral. "*Acquisivit Ecclesiæ ecclesiam de Backchild quam Joannes rex Angliæ dedit in dotem Ecclesiæ Cicestrensis noviter dedicatæ.*" (Lib. Y. fo. clxxvii.) On May 24, 1207, the King permitted the importation of Purbeck marble. "*Dedimus licentiam domino Simoni Cicestriæ episcopo ducendi marmor suum per mare à Purbie usque Cicestriam ad reparationem ecclesiæ suæ de Cicestriâ, à die Martii proximo post festum S. Trinitatis anno viii.*" &c. (Rot. Pat. 8 Joh. m. 16.) Bishop Ralph de Neville, or, as he was usually known, Ralph II. bequeathed 130 marks at his death, on Feb. 1, 1244 "*Dedit cxxx. marcas ad fabricam Ecclesiæ et capellam suam integram cum multis ornamentis.*" (Lib. Y. u.s.), and his executors, besides releasing a debt of 60*l.* due to him and spent on the bell tower, gave 140*l.* to the fabric of the church, receiving some benefit in return. Bishop St. Richard was also a benefactor before his death on April 3, 1253, "*dedit ad opus Ecclesiæ Cicestrensis ecclesias de Stoghton et Alceston, et jus patronatûs ecclesiæ de Mundlesham, et pensionem xl. s. in eadem.*" (Lib. Y. u.s.) He also bequeathed 40*l.* to the cathedral.

^c The calamity to which reference is here made is explained in the Chronicle of Dunstable under the year 1210: "*impetu venti ceciderunt duæ turres Cicestriæ. . . .*" Ann. Mon. iii. 32. Dunst. These were probably the upper storeys of the two western towers.

^d Reg. Islip. 1355, fo. 64 b.

cathedral throughout the diocese, whilst, as above, every new residentiary was to give twenty-five marks to the fabric fund.^a

The great activity which marked the thirteenth century was not concluded. The Lady chapel was then elongated.^b

The Decorated period did not pass without other additions to the fabric. To an early date in it belongs the inner doorway of the Galilee. Bishop John de Langton (1305-1337) erected the chapter-house over the treasury or sacristy.^c

The gable of the presbytery, with its rose window, is of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. Langton also built, c. 1315, the great and sumptuous south window^d beneath which his founder's tomb, under a noble canopy, is erected. In 1359 the first-fruits of the prebendal stalls were granted to the fabric^e; and, in 1391, one-twentieth of all their rents was allotted by the dean and chapter to the works, which embraced work round the high altar, for, in 1402, materials, "ad opus summi altaris," were stored in St. Faith's Chapel.^f A novum opus, a term applied to some special building at Peterborough and St. Paul's, was also in progress.

In 1384 Chancellor Bishopston bequeathed "xx marcas fabricæ ad notabiles antiquos defectus ejusdem reparandos."^g

To the Perpendicular period, we also owe the great north window, the detached bell tower (circa 1420), and the central spire, since rebuilt.^h

^a See Stat. de Cotidianis Distributionibus, lib. Y. ff. xiii b. clxxviii. Mr. Clarke's MS., Segrave's Chichester, p. 13. Hay's Chichester, p. 412. Lib. E. 178 b.

^b The benefactor was Bishop Gilbert de St. Leophardo, 1288-1305. Construxit a fundamentis Capellam Beatæ Mariæ in Ecclesiâ Cicestrensi. Item dedit ad fabricam Ecclesiæ predictæ mccc. marcas. (Lib. Y. u. s.)

^c "Expendidit in Domo Capitulari Cicestrensi, ex parte australi, in quodam muro et fenestris, à superficie terræ usque ad summitatem constructo cccxlii." The building communicates with a small chamber, for valuables, which is closed with a sliding door in the panelwork. "Item dedit ad fabricam Ecclesiæ cxxv. marcas." (Lib. Y. fo. clxxviii.) In 1637 the present muniment-room is called the upper chapter-house, and in the last century the east chapel of the south wing bore the appellation. See Langton's obit.

^d Leland, ii. 341. MS. Harl. 293, fo. 41 a.

^e Primos fructus omnium præbendarum pro primo anno ecclesiæ fabricæ juxta antiquam consuetudinem legitime præscriptam solvere tenebantur et tenentur consensu omnium præbendariorum. (Registrum Simonis Archiep. Cantuar. s. a. 1359, fo. 157 b.) See Stat. Reparatio ecclesiæ.

^f Reg. Rede, fo. xxxii. S. Half the income of a vacant prebend went for one year to the fabric. Ib. fo. 45 b.

^g Wills, Rous, 10. Richard Earl of Arundel, by his will, dated 1392, bequeathed 100*l.* to the Cathedral. (Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 127.)

^h Under the date of Henry VI. is mentioned "ordinatio pro anniversario Thome Patching xvi^o. Maii qui dedit 100 marcas ad construendum berefridum, vulgò Raymond's Tower. 1428. (Leiger. 37.) Tradition

The old customs and ritual, the anthem sung at nightfall before the rood-screen, the incensing at the elevation, the lighting of the church, the distribution of commune bread and wine, the dress of the ministers, the various chantries, the dog-whipper, the punishment of choristers by the succentor, the visits of minstrels and buffoons, plays acted by the vicars, the harper at the shrine, the collection of funds for the fabric, processions, and many a little picturesque detail of daily life will be found to throw much light on the services and habits of the period.

I now proceed to give, with a running commentary, the text of the important collection of capitular enactments known, as they are styled in one of the copies, as "*Antiqua Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrensis ab anno Domini MCXIII. usque ad annum salutis MCCLXX.*" The date 1114, no doubt, refers to the *Constitutiones Antiquæ*, as at that time the four dignities of the church had been founded and the constitution was completed. They are clearly borrowed from St. Osmund's Statutes of 1092 at Salisbury,^a and in all probability were derived from Rouen, as they present a marked resemblance to those of Lincoln, which Remigius conformed to the customs of the Norman metropolis. The rest of the old statutes follow, though not in strict sequence of time, yet perhaps according to the importance attached to their several subjects. I complete the series by some additional documents of a later date.

Those who drew up the statutes desired the observation of them with all their heart, as Bishop Sherborne has shown in that striking ordinance, when he desired the Book of his Foundations to be chained to the throne in the cathedral, "*librum ordinationum et fundacionum cathenatum in sede episcopali in ecclesiâ cathedrali.*"

And so at the end of the original statutes is this solemn warning, "*In ecclesiæ corpore, tanquam decens et celesti sponso placitum, summopere cavendum, ut membra non dissideant à capite, nec cujusquam materea dissensionis inter ea suscitetur.*"^b

The order, though not strictly chronological, observed in the University College MS. has been followed, as affording an authoritative text. The statutes follow at p. 95 al. 195, "*Statuta Synodalia dom. Ricardi II. Cycestr. episcopi;*" the only

has associated the tower with a Ryman of Appledram, who was compelled to sell the materials which he had accumulated, as he had failed to obtain the royal licence to crenelate his manor-house. (*Camden's Britannia*, i. 283.) See *Gent. Mag.* xvi. 90. The Paschal Candle used to be made in it.

^a See Report of Cathedral Commission, p. 363; and *Stat. of Lincoln, Novum Registrum*, p. 3.

^b *Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 206.*

punctuation of the original consists of diamond points or stops. It is, probably, the earliest copy of the statutes extant; but the original statutes sealed by the bishop and the dean and chapter have been long lost.

STATUTA ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS CICESTRENSIS

ET PERTINET LIBER IDEM AD DECANATUM EJUSDEM,^a ET SIC AD EANDEM
ECCLESIAM.

In nomine sancte atque individue Trinitatis, ab incarnatione Domini A^o M.CC.XXXII. Indictione IIII. Kal. Novembr., omnibus ecclesie canonicis qui vocari debuerunt canonice^b vocatis, presentibus omnibus in capitulo^c præfate ecclesie qui debuerunt et voluerunt et potuerunt interesse; hiis quidem personaliter comparentibus dom. Thom. decano, magistro Will^o thesaurario, Will^o Cicestr. archidiacono, mag^{ro} R. archidiacono Lewensi, et Will^o de Kainesham, G. de Gloucestria, Iocelino de Alta ripa, Ioh^o de Arundel' magistris, et Walt^o filio Petri, Rob^o de Amberl', Nich^o Crasso, Richardo de Glenthams, Johanne de Nevill'; ceterisque per epistolas consentiendo sui presentiam facientibus,^d edite sunt constitutiones subscriptæ, que postmodum, in presentia venerabilis patris et episcopi Radⁱ secundi, in ecclesia memorata tunc presidentis, confirmationis robur acceperunt.

The earliest surviving form of convening the great chapter (1570) occurs in the Lansdowne MS. xii. 194, in the account of the election of Bishop Coortesse, by the Queen's licence.^e

^a At the end of the *tropar* is inscribed "Iste liber pertinet ad decanatum Cicestr." &c., and at the end of a prayer of Dean Thomas (fo. 56b) "Iste liber totus pertinet ad decan' Cicestr."

^b For the canonical form of convening of Chapter by citation or letters mandatory, see my *Cathedralia*, pp. 77-79. Bishop W. Rede's copy of the Statutes is in Liber E. f. 179-189.

^c Capitulum est collectio personarum adinvicem de his, quæ eis incumbunt, in locis ad hoc assignatis tractantium. Hoc modo sumptum supponit pro personis congregatis in Ecclesia Cathedrali. (Lyndwood, lib. i. tit. 2, p. 14.)

^d Episcopus etiam cum Capitulo non potest facere statutum in præjudicium aliorum, nisi hi quorum interest consentiant, vel saltem sint præsentibus. (Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 1, p. 116.) The authority for confirming statutes is thus laid down in 1480: In matters and business touching the cathedral church the consent of the dean and major part of the chapter was sufficient to confirm statutes and decrees. Comp. Const. Othoboni tit. xxxv. p. 136. The dean and chapter were called Masters of the church. (Reg. Storey, fo. 71, r. 8. Leiger, 328.)

^e A licence for electing a bishop in 1253 is in Reg. 8, c. xvi.

The dean cites "confratres canonicos et prebendarios, per publice citationis edictum in stallis eorundem infra chorum affixis et ibidem aliquamdiu dimissis juxta antiquam et laudabilem consuetudinem dicte ecclesie ad comparendum. Horâ Capitulari precibus Matutinis in choro solempniter decantatis pulsataque campanâ ad capitulum more solito et consueto convenimus capitulariter et de facto propositâ per me decanum causâ illius convocationis et adventus, comparuit personaliter virgifer noster in hâc parte mandatarius et presentavit literas citatorias et monitorias et certificavit se vigore et auctoritate earundem legitime et peremptorie citasse vocasse et monuisse omnes et singulos confratres prebendarios et canonicos per publicum edictum in valvis chori affixum, ac per affixiones literarum in stallis eorundem infra chorum. Literis citatoriis altâ et intelligibili voce tunc ibidem publice perlectis omnibus et singulis confratribus cum alta voce tam in domo capitulari quam etiam ad ostium et præ foribus ejusdem domus publice preconizatis omnes et singulos non comparentes pronuntiavi contumaces et negligentes ac in penam contumaciarum suarum et negligentiarum hujusmodi et eorum cujuslibet, eis et eorum cuilibet terminum ulterius dicendi sive proponendi in hujusmodi negotio precensi."

The election, I may add, was made, per formam compromissi, by delegates, and the result announced by the "vice-dean."

[REPARATIO ECCLESIE.]

Ad decus et decorem domus Domini nos decanus et capitulum Cicestr' ^a constituimus ut per quinquennium de proventibus et redditibus dignitatum et prebendarum ecclesie nostre vicesima secundum estimationem in capitulo nostro provisam transeat in usus fabrice ejusdem ecclesie que multiplici reparatione indigere dinoscitur.

The statute was immediately put in force and external help sought, for we have ^b "literæ episcopi Radulphi III. pro fabricâ ecclesiæ Cyc."; and, in 1247, "literæ Thomæ Cantuar.; Episcoporum London. Norwic. Winton. Carleol. Bath. et Well. Exon. Lichf. Sarum. et Heref. de relaxatione et indulgentiâ pro iiij festis Pentecostes, S. Trinitatis, S. Reliquiarum, et S. Fidis, et pro fabricâ." These were indulgences granted to pilgrims visiting the cathedral at Whitsuntide and on Trinity Sunday, to make their offerings of S. Richard's pence. Bishop Richard required every adult within his diocese to communicate in their parish church at Easter, and at Whitsuntide to visit the cathedral to pay their offering long known as S. Richard's pennies or moneys; and if those not in the archdeaconry of Chichester visited the priories of Lewes or Hastings instead, their oblations were collected throughout the archdeaconry of Lewes and paid into the cathedral treasury; in 1480 they amounted to 5*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and in a later year to 7*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Fines and payments in commutation

^a In his quæ non tanguit Episcopum, possunt Decanus et Capitulum statuere id quod licitum est, absque consensu Episcopi. (Lyndwood, lib. v. tit. 16, ad verbum "constitutis," p. 327.)

^b Lib. Y. fo. xxiii. xxvii.

of penance, legacies, common in wills of the period, and freewill offerings contributed to the fabric fund. The following document illustrates the progress of the works:^a—

"Memorandum quòd Anno Domini MCCXLIIII mense Januarii, facta in usus proprios larga distributione bonorum piæ recordationis Radulphi IIdi. Cycest. episcopi, secundum extremam ipsius voluntatem, per executores testamenti sui apud Guldeford congregatos, reversi de congregatione executores de episcopatu suo electi, sc. G. decanus, E. præcentor, Joh. cancellarius, tunc archidiaconus Cyc., Raynerius prior de Tortenton, Walkelinus de Cycestria, relaxantes debitum lx librarum ad opus berefridi ab ipso institutum, de bonis suis mutuo acceptarum, et considerantes quod idem defunctus ecclesiæ suæ, cujus bona per xx annos et amplius perceperat, magis tenebatur quam quibuscunque cæteris, pro salute animæ suæ, fabricæ ejusdem ecclesiæ, quæ multiplici indigebat reparatione, de residuo dictorum bonorum exl libras, quæ fuerant in custodia prefati Walkelini, assignaverunt. Cujus rei contemplatione decanus memoratus et capitulum Cyc. multa debita quibus eundem defunctum sibi et ecclesiæ suæ obligatum fuisse commemorabatur omnino relaxabant. De dicta vero pecunia per dictum Walkelinum, custodem et procuratorem fabricæ, numerata per Dei gratiam opus turris lapidei quod relictum extiterat multis temporibus, quia desperatur, jam reparatione laudabili in elegantis structuræ formam consurgit et in brevi, Deo favente, consummabitur; in perpetuam vero hujus rei memoriam dicti executores præsentis scripto sigilla sua aposuerunt A.D. MCCXLVII. mense Decembris."

Some centuries later the spirit of the old constitution was appealed to not in vain by Bishop Brideoake.

On Holy Innocents' day 1642 the rebels "plundered the cathedral, seized upon the vestments and ornaments of the church, together with the consecrated plate serving for the altar. They left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit nor a chalice for the Blessed Sacrament. The common soldiers broke down the organs, and, dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said, 'Hark, how the organs go!' They brake the rail, which was done with such fury that the table itself escaped not their madness. They forced open all the locks, whether of doors or desks, wherein the singing-men laid up their Common Prayer Books, their singing books, their gowns and surplices. They rent the books in pieces, and scattered the torn leaves all over the church even to the covering of the pavement; the gowns and surplices they reserved to secular uses. In the south cross ile, the history of the church's foundation, the pictures of the kings of England, and the pictures of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester, begun by Robert Sherbern, the thirty-seventh bishop of that see, they defaced and mangled with their hands and swords as high as they could reach. On the Tuesday following, after the sermon, possessed and transported by a bacchanalian fury, they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments and stalls, and scraping the painted walls, Sir William Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers of these barbarous impieties. The sub-deanery church was then pillaged."^b

In 1675 Bishop Brideoake represented those "necessitates ecclesiæ in quam tempore motuum nuperorum vis plurima labiesque perduellium incubuerat; queritur dilapsas esse turres, laceratas

^a Lib. Y. fo. xiiij.

^b Mercurius Rusticus (1642), 139-143.

fenestras, convulsa fundamenta, ruinam minitantiæ Claustra, multaque præterea mala et incommoda quæ gliscente bello ecclesia sustinuerat, qua propter hortatus est uti quantum res suæ paterentur quilibet à Dignitariis et Canonicis aliquid in usum fabricæ juxta antiquam ecclesiæ consuetudinem contribueret." The deanery and chancery were in ruins, and, besides personal contributions, the dean and chapter sold the altar plate to repair the injuries done to the church.^a The entire reconstruction of the steeple has now dissipated a piece of old folk-lore here, that before a "bishop's death" a heron "comes and sits upon the pinnacle of the spire."^b

By way of contrast to the medieval method of constructing buildings, a copy of a paper in Dr. Ede's, the præcentor's, handwriting, c. 1684, will show how later architects dealt with churches in wholesale destructiveness, as Wyatt did in the last century: "An account of Dr. Christopher Wren's opinion concerning the rebuilding of one of the great towers at the west end of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, one-third part of which, from top to bottom, fell down above fifty years since, which he gave after he had for about two hours viewed it both without and within, and above and below, and had also observed the great want of repairs, especially in the inside of the other great west tower, and having well surveyed the whole west end of the said church, which was in substance as followeth: that there could be no secure building to the remaining part of the tower now standing; that, if there could and it were so built, there would be little uniformity between that and the other, they never having been alike nor were they both built together or with the church, and when they were standing the west end could never look very handsome. And, therefore, considering the vast charge of rebuilding the fallen tower and repairing the other, he thought the best way was to pull down both together, with the west arch of the nave of the church between them; and to lengthen the two northern isles to answer exactly to the two southern; and then to close all with a wall designed and fair-built west end and porch; which would make the west end of the church look much more handsome than ever it did, and would be done with half the charge." Fuller says, in 1662^c the church "now is torn, having lately a great part thereof fallen to the ground." There is much in the Act Book about this ruin.

Probably about this time, and long before a view taken in 1780, the north-west tower was reduced to its present unsightly form. In King's print it is shown with huge rents down its northern face.

¶ Quoniam vero super officiis et oneribus cancellarii et thesaurarii questionum sepius suborte sunt difficultates constitutione inperpetuum valitura sanximus ut onera subscripta ad se pertinere agnoscant.

DE OFFICIO CANCELLARII.

Cancellarius juxta antiquam ecclesiæ consuetudinem per se vel per ydoneam personam competenti experientia edoctam in modo pronuntiandi secundum ecclesiæ consuetudinem audiat lectiones ad officia nocturna deputatas. Hoc

^a A list of the subscriptions and gifts, including a flagon and cup for the Holy Table, is hung up in the Canons' vestry. The room over it was, probably, a reliquary chamber.

^b Defoe's Tour, i. 204.

^c Worthies, ii. 385.

autem faciat statim completo officio vespertino. Poterit tamen si voluerit, ut relevetur a laboris tedio, ante illud officium minores de secunda forma et pueros de tertia vocare et ipsorum lectiones ascultare.

Quilibet autem lecturus ad hoc ut ascultetur se offerat tempore opportuno. Alioquin si incongrue et inconcinne seu alias normam ecclesiæ offenderit, penam incurrat inferius statutam contra eos qui committunt defectus in officiis sibi deputatis secundum cotidianas tabulæ inscriptiones, qui in ecclesia Marantie^a solent nuncupari.

Ad ejusdem spectat officium quòd ad literas decani et capituli conficiendas notarium et scriptorem literarum,^b et alias ydoneum de secretis capituli sibi communicatis non revelandis juratum, suis sumptibus et expensis convenienter exhibebit, eique in hiis omnia scripture necessaria sine difficultate et more dispendio ministrabit.

Idem libros ecclesie correctione indigentes per se vel per ydoneum corrigat correctorem.

DE OFFICIO THESAURARII.

Ad Thesaurarii officium pertinet custodia thesauri totius ecclesie per diem et noctem, et thesaurarie,^c atque signorum pulsatio,^d et ornatus ecclesie, et

^a See also the Statute De Offensâ in Divinis Obsequiis. Marance was a notice of fine for absence. See my *Cathedralia*, p. 174.

^b The modern representative is the chapter clerk.

^c The treasury, vestry, or sacristy [Frances de Urrutigoyti, *De Cathedr.* p. 334] is the fine vaulted room, with its original door and iron scroll-work, below Langton's chapter-house. The sacristans were the treasurer's servants. "The vestry coffer where joyelles lyeth" is mentioned in the compotus of 35 Hen. VIII. It has five locks and is of great antiquity, measuring eight feet by twenty inches: it now stands near the north porch. "Acta in thesauraria" are mentioned in 1507. In the "treasury," in 1466, a prebendary was inducted. (Lib. B, fo. 3. Book of Extracts, fo. 1. Reg. Rede 1402, fo. xxxii.) For illustrations of the chest, ancient screens, and metal work in the cathedral, see Talbert's "Examples of Ancient Furniture" (1876), pl. 41—43. The earliest reliquaries were given by Beatrix de Lindfield (1216), "sanctuarium in figura crucis composita." (Lib. E. fo. xiii. b.) A question usual at visitations was as to the genuineness of the relics exhibited in church. (*Ib.* fo. 264.) The choir was provided with a "silver bauckette" for holy water. No inventory has been preserved, owing to the raid on the sacristy by the Council of Edward VI. who issued "at Greenwich, May 2, 1553, a lettre to the Commissioners for the sale of church goods in Chichester, that if they cannot make sale of thornaments of theyr church before the day it is prescribed unto them, that then they doo it as shortly as they can, having respect unto his majesties moost advantage." (Reg. of Council iii. 714.) The Transitional Norman Sacristy (now the Priest Vicars' Vestry) had an oven for baking the hosts. The round chimney remained up to a recent date. The upper rooms may have been those of the "presbyter reclusus" mentioned in Bishop R. Rede's will.

^d In the fifteenth century the complaint was made "quòd Sacristæ non pulsan ad minùs horâ xii^a. in

alterium sollicitudo, inventio et collatio cere ad luminaria ecclesie, suis sumptibus formanda facienda et accendenda.

Luminaria quidem cereorum in omnibus festis prime dignitatis, ad officia divina nocturna et diurna talia debent ab ipso ministrari.

¶ Supra altare majus accendi debent vii. cerei,^a quorum quilibet erit ponderis duarum librarum, et supra trabem pictam supportantem crucifixi ymaginem viii. ejusdem ponderis, et duo^b super gradus ante altare similiter et ejusdem ponderis; et duo in minoribus candelabris portandi ante sacerdotes quando incensant altare et duo portandi per ecclesiam ad incensanda altaria extra chorum; et duo accendi debent ad officia nocturna supra candelabra in medio chori, in festo vero Sanctæ Trinitatis tres, coram episcopo in sede sua cum presens^c fuerit duo: et unus extra chorum juxta gradus^d per quos est transitus ad vestiarium.

¶ In festis vero secunde dignitatis et tertie et in commemoratione beate

nocte, sive hora ii^a. vel. iii^a. nec continuant pulsationes suas ita longo sicut deberent." (Reg. Storey, fo. 71 b. Quod sacristæ dimittunt diversis temporibus nocturnis hostia ecclesie a media nocte usque manè aperta et inconclusa, in maximum periculum ecclesie et rerum ecclesiasticarum. Book of Extracts, fo. 7 b.) Sacriste pro munda custodia ambonum et repurgatione candelabrorum ecclesie, 6 d. (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII.) In 1675, it is said, "the 5 o'clock bell in the morning and the 8 o'clock bell at night are neglected to be rung, which formerly were observed;" these were the relics of the ringing for the matin mass mentioned in the statutes of the Prebendal School, and the curfew. The tolling of the bells before service was to continue for one quarter of an hour, and the warning to be one quarter of an hour previous. There are eight bells. The tenor is rung before the meeting of the great chapter, and the warner previous to the ordinary service.

^a In England a triptych usually formed a low reredos and costers at the side, and a dorsal supported on four tall pillars, forming taper-stands, inclosed the altar. (See MSS. in Brit. Mus. Dom. A. xvii. Tib. B. viii. Add. 1699, fo. 145.) St. Richard ordered a cross to be placed before the celebrant at the altar. Celebret sacerdos cruce anteposita. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 90 b.) The eight tapers stood upon a light-beam over the altar corresponding to the rood-beam above the choir door. The customary number and weight of the tapers, which were maintained by 15 marks, paid out of the church of Anna Porta or Ampport, were ordered by Bishop Stephen to be observed in 1270. (Lib. Y. fo. clxiv.) Richard Earl of Arundel, in 1187, left 1*d.* for the light before the altar and 12*d.* on St. Denys' day; and Savaric, in 1156, by charter, left an endowment for the same light. (Lieger, 125, 128.) Bishop Moleyns "dedit quosdam pannos ex serico velveto factos, rubei coloris, non minoris pretii, ad ornandum altare summum." (Harl. MS. 293, fo. 41 b.) Godwin calls them vela. The Computus, 35 Hen. VIII. shows that Lambert Bernardi [who, in 1533, received a salary of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] repaired "the painted cloth of the crucifix over the high altar."

^b Lynd. i. iii. tit. 23, p. 236; tit. 27, p. 253; lib. v. tit. 3, p. 298.

^c See Othonis et Othobon. Constitutiones, tit. xxii. p. 119. Comp. Lynd. lib. iii. tit. 4, p. 131.

^d The steps "ex australi parte ecclesie" leading towards the vestry (which retains its actual adjunct in a water-drain on the west side of the south arm of the transept) are still in use by the clergy on leaving

Virginis quando in choro celebratur, ad officia nocturna et diurna debent accendi quinque cerei et duo super predictos gradus ante altare.

¶ In festis vero quarte et ultime dignitatis^a et cunctis diebus ferialibus tres cerei supra altare sunt accendendi ad missam, supra gradus vero duo ad omnia alia officia.

¶ In omnibus autem festis secunde, tertie, quarte et ultime dignitatis et diebus ferialibus accendatur unus in medio chori ad nocturnum officium.

¶ Per magistrum vero Willm. de Nevill' thesaurarium^b qui bona thesaurarie in multis ampliavit, viij. cereorum supra trabem memoratam et secundi cerei in medio chori, et secundi ante sedem episcopi, et unius juxta gradus versus vesti-arium in festis prime dignitatis, et quinti in commemoratione beate Virginis factum est additamentum; quod ipso consensum liberaliter prebente imperpetuum mansurum unanimi assensu et voluntate decrevimus.

¶ Ad ejusdem spectat officium quotiens canonicus in aliquo altari majoris ecclesie missam celebrare vel audire voluerit semel in die luminare competens cum vestimentis, libris, calice, et ceteris necessariis ad illud officium, per sacristam^c seu custodem Ecclesie ministrare.

¶ Ad hec, que commemorata sunt, convenienter exequenda et expedienda idem tenetur de consensu et consilio decani et capituli sacristam et custodem fidelem et prudentem in ecclesiam constituere qui unum clericum sub se habere debet ad luminaria preparanda et accendenda, et ad cetera ministeria sua deputatum, et duos servientes ad minus ad signa pulsanda, qui ecclesiam totam inferius et superius scopis mundare bis in anno tenentur, semel ante pascha et semel ante festum dedicationis ecclesie.

the altar; as the custom in processions was at the enthronisation of Storey in 1478, and Praty in 1438. The steps open into the south aisle of the presbytery, where there are traces of the lines in the pavement once followed in the processions. This order was confirmed in 1270. (Lib. Y. fo. clxiii.)

^a These in other cathedrals were called simples; and, whether they had three or nine lections at matins, were treated as Sundays, and had two rulers of choir. The feasts of first, second, and third class were known also as principal, minus, and inferius duplex. The classification resembled that at St. Paul's. (Reg. S. Pauli, 53, 54.)

^b Treasurer 1232—1251.

^c 1479. "Servientes Thesaurarii modernis temporibus vulgariter vocati Sacristæ." Their duties are thus defined: The close gates were shut at nine in winter and at ten in summer. Immediately before the last peal (finalis pulsatio) for Mattins, Mass, or other office, the choir gates shall be shut by the church porter and securely closed, in order that laymen and others shall not enter, as in times past; but the south door shall be opened, shut, and guarded by the church porter for the ministers of the church at the necessary times. (Reg. Storey, 71, 71 b.) The verger in 1616 attended with his virge at the Epistle and Gospel.

¶ Ad eosdem pertinet cura ordinandi^a ecclesiam consuetis temporibus cortinis, velis, pallis, et aliis ad ornatum ecclesie deputatis.

¶ Hinc autem sacriste et ministris memoratis in necessariis providere tenetur de bonis propriis quibus congrue valeant sustentari.

Whether the permission to a canon to celebrate at will was often used we have no means of knowing, but the following was the order of the daily masses which were said from six in winter and five in summer up to 11 a.m.^b by the hebdomadaries immediately before the Reformation:

Missa in Mane (or St. George's), sung by the chaplain of St. George's.

Sung at 5 a.m. in summer, and 6 a.m. in winter.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Ad II ^m Missam | . . | Courses of Chaplains | Monday and Friday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Wednesday and Saturday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Tuesday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Thursday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Tuesday and Thursday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Wednesday and Friday. |
| Ad Missam III ^m | . . | " " | Monday and Saturday. |

The Chaplain of Altar of Benefactors (assistant).

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ad IV ^m Missam | . . | Courses of Chaplains | Monday and Thursday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday. |
| " " | " " | " " | Wednesday. |

V^a Missa. High Mass of St. Mary.

Succentor tenetur cotidie celebrare in Capellâ B.M. Virginis vel saltem interesse in Missâ ejusdem.^c

VI^a Missa sung by the King's Chaplain directly after Lady Mass, or the Chaplain of Okehurst, or the Chantry-priest of St. Pantaleon.

VII^a Missa. The High Mass, sung at 11 a.m.^d [The canonical hour was immediately after tierce said at 9 A.M.—Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23, p. 238.]

^a "Ordinandi" in another hand is interlined in darker ink by a contemporaneous corrector, no doubt under the Chancellor's direction, and "ornandi" erased.

^b Hayley MS. 189.

^c Reg. Praty, fo. 70 b.

^d "Anone after these thynges" [mass] "we do go into the Chapter House and there we take greate care and do take weighty counseyles by what meanes the servyce of God may be mayntayned, where the lettres of the pensyons do ly hyd, how moch treasure is in the treasure-house, how they may sende money to bringe in encesse that our canonshyppes might be made the more fatte, and we do also make a newe statute how

Besides the high altar there were altars dedicated as follows:—

ST. ANNE'S. There was a chantry here founded by Dean Walter de Gloverniā (Gloucester) 1262-80, and maintained by St. Mary's Hospital. One service was said weekly, and the chaplain received 20*s.* a-year, according to the certificate 18*s.*, retiring on a pension of 14*s.*^a

SAINTS EDMUND THE CONFESSOR and THOMAS THE MARTYR, in majori ecclesiā. It was built by St. Richard, who was buried in the adjoining bay next the pillar. A first chantry was for the soul of John sometime bishop, at 4*l.* a-year; a second chantry for the soul of Dean Thomas of Lichfield, 1232-47; and a third for Dean William de Bracklesham, 1280-1296. The chaplain received 4*l.* a-year.^b On the site of St. Richard's interment a chapel inclosed by a screen stood between two pillars on the north side of St. Augustine's altar, with the arms of Sherborne on the wall. The water-drain is said to have been "removed to the entrance of the church in the present century."

ST. EDMUND THE KING. There was a chantry here for the founder of St. Mary's Hospital, William, who became dean in 1157. There were two weekly masses of the Holy Ghost and St. Mary, and on other days the office for the dead with Placebo, Dirige, and Commendation. St. Edward the Martyr is also mentioned, but possibly by the error of the scribe. This dedication to Edmund the King may, however, have been altered by St. Richard. The warden and hospital of St. Mary's were bound to furnish certain bread and beer to the dean and chapter, and find a bright lamp always burning from nightfall to dawn before this altar. There was a chantry here called "Neville's," as in the Magdalen Chapel; the chaplain received 60*s.* a-year; according to the certificate it was fixed at 23*s.* 4*d.*^c

ST. CLEMENT'S, mentioned in 1481. There was a chantry here for the soul of Dean John Cloos, LL.D. who died in 1500; he desired to be buried "juxta ostium Domus Capitularis ecclesie Cicestrensis sub tumbâ marmoreâ;"^d possibly that in the south nave aisle opposite Bishop Arundel's tomb. The chantry priest received a salary of 66*s.* 8*d.* for two weekly services; the Certificate states that he had 72*s.* and retired on a pension of 70*s.*^e An altar-slab now placed in the Lady Chapel on the Holy Table was found embedded in the wall of the south aisle of the nave.

long season a newe chapleyne or chanon shall receyve no frutes at the begynnyng, that the buyldyng myght go forwarde by the pensyons." (Of the olde god and newe. 1534.)

^a Lib. Y. fo. xxii. xxiii. Hayley MS. 186. Reg. Praty, fo. 73 b. Val. Eccles. i. 303, 305. Certif. of Chantr. L. n. 2, in Public Record Office. Fundatio Cantariarum. "Semel Cantarista celebrans ad altare S. Annæ." The date would place this chapel on the north side of the nave.

^b Val. Eccles. i. 297. Reg. Praty, fo. 73 b. Lib. Y. fo. cliv. clvi. cliii. Val. Eccles. i. 303. Var. Obs. 68. "Ter celebrans ad Altare B. Thomæ Martiris, orabit pro animâ Willelmi Decani: et dicet singulis septimanis unam Missam de S. Spiritu, et unam Missam de B. Mariâ; cæteris diebus dicet Officium quod de defunctis solet, cum Placebo, Dirige et Commendacione." (Fundatio Cantariarum.)

^c Certif. of Chantries, L. No. 2. Lib. Y. fo. cliii. clviii. Leiger 146. Var. Obs. 186.

^d Wills, More, 14.

^e Var. Obs. 67, 186. Leiger 58. Reg. Storey 69. Swayne, 182. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 303. Certif. of Chantries L. "Bis celebrans ad Altare B. Clementis orabit pro animâ Joh. Cloose nuper decani."

ST. JOHN BAPTIST'S CHAPEL, mentioned in the charter of Bishop Simon for Bakchild, and therefore previous to the year 1199. Two chantries were maintained at it for the soul of William Earl of Arundel, who died in 1176. Four mortuary services were sung four times weekly. The income was 8*l.* a-year. Each of the Arundel chantry-priests at the dissolution was receiving a stipend of 72*s.* a-year, and retired on a pension of 3*l.* 10*s.* a-year.^a

ST. THEOBALD'S CHAPEL had an image of the saint, either the Hermit of Provins, who died June 30, 1061, or, more probably, the Cistercian abbot of Vaux de Cernay, one of the Montmorency family, who died Dec. 8, 1247. This chapel was on the north side of the nave, next to the tomb of St. Richard, as the image of the saint was removed to it. In 1634 tradition called this and the adjoining chapel of S. Anne the Arundel and Ryman chantries. The beautiful effigy of a lady in a kirtle and gorget, which Flaxman considered to be the finest in England, is pure Decorated of the fourteenth century, and stands on the site of St. Richard's tomb. In the next bay are two effigies of a knight (c. 1360-1370) and a lady (dating about 1340-1360) which have been removed from the north wall. Dallaway says that there was a lion rampant on the knight's surcoat.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S CHAPEL. William Neville, treasurer 1170-85, gave to it "Porthors sine notâ" (a breviary without musical notes), two cruets (phialas), a missal, and silver chalice. There was a chantry here in 1337 for the soul of Bishop Langton.^b The chapel it seems adjoined the south, and probably St. John's Chapel was on the north side of the Lady Chapel; both retain their dedication crosses. Bishop de Lenne says in his will "Corpus meum sive ossa deferantur ad ecclesiam Cicestren. et sepeliantur coram altare B. M. Magdalene ante ostium ejusdem capelle sicut transitur ad cappellam B. M. V.; ponatur unus lapis marmoreus planus insculptus de ymagine pontificis et literis de nomine meo, ut fideles ibidem transeuntes pro anima facilius excitenter orare: item volo fieri in dicta capella in loco ad hoc apto et magis opportuno imagines benè operatas et bene depictas Domini Jesu resurgentis et B. M. Magdalene genuflexe apparentis; et depingi de novo de bona pictura et duratura Capellam predictam de historia B. M. Magdalene ad dextralem sive australem partem, et ad sinistram partem in qua, scilicet, Capud B. Ricardi reponitur, de historia B. Ricardi."^c He gave a silver image of the value of 10 marks ad Feretrum B. Ricardi. I can remember the Flight into Egypt remaining on the west wall of the transept. Bernardi's "Bishops" are now in the north wing, but his graceful paintings and foliage, with Sherborne's rebus and mottoes on the vaultings, have disappeared.

^a Leiger, 41, 87. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 303. Certif. of Chantries, L. n. 2. 1478. Quòd decanus removebat unam imaginem S. Ricardi à Capellâ suâ S. Mariæ Magdalene ad Capellam S. Theobaldi, et ymaginem S. Theobaldi posuit extra portam S. Johannis Baptistæ, contra fundacionem ecclesiæ et consuetudinem antiquam in magnum præjudicium ecclesiæ, quia impedit oblationes fieri consuetas in honore hujusmodi ymaginum. (Visit. 1478. Inj. sect. 5. Reg. Storey, fo. 7 b.) Quater, cantarista celebrans ad Altare S. Johannis B. This chapel was on the north side of the Lady Chapel.

^b Leiger 293. Lib. E. cvii. 228.

^c 1373. Reg. Wittlesey, fo. 128, 129. The Catalogus states that he was buried "apud Wygorniam."

SAINT PETER'S THE GREAT, THE ALTAR OF THE SUB-DEAN, at which the dean and chapter were bound to find "duos torticios," also called the Altar of St. Peter, served by a perpetual vicar or sub-dean. In 1402 it still stood in the nave,^a and was a parish church in the time of Henry III. but the tithes were appropriated in the fifteenth century to the commons of the dean and chapter. The nave was wholly in the power of the dean and chapter, the parishioners holding their altar only by sufferance, and "the lines which were to guide the processions" remain on the floor.^b In 1695 the sermons were preached in the nave, and about a century earlier (1581) "matins were said at 6 a.m. usually, but at 7 a.m. from All Saints' to Candlemas." Before the reign of Henry VIII., but certainly after 1481, the sub-deanery church was moved into the "north aisle," the eastern chapel of the north wing, probably owing to the erection of the rood-screen by Bishop Arundel.

HOLY CROSS AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S beneath the rood in the nave. There was a chantry of Dean Thomas Lichfield, 1232-47.^c There were two weekly services; one chaplain received 4*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* the other 4*l.* 10*s.* and they retired on pensions of 4*l.* In the Computus the "Chantry Priest of the Rood" had 21*s.* 4*d.* quarterly. In 1248 the prior and monks of Sele agreed to pay on the quarter-days six marks and five shillings to the chaplain.^d Dean Fleshmonger desired to be buried "sub albo marmoreo lapide qui jacet inter altaria Nominis Jesu [Holy Cross] et S. Augustini." (Wills, Alenger, 57.)

ST. MARY'S ALTAR AT THE CHOIR DOOR. A chantry was founded for Bishop Arundel. There were two weekly services. The salary of the priest was rated at 78*s.* 2*d.* but in the Certificate appears as 4*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* Every night an anthem was sung here by the bishop's foundation; and an entry occurs in the Computus of 35 Hen. VIII, "for the choristers' anthem Nunc Christe, 3*s.* 4*d.*" Bishop Storey in 1480 required the vicar who was last admitted to a stall to sing the antiphon of the Blessed Virgin before her image, next the choir door, at the usual times, during a whole year. Dean Hasley, who died in 1412, desired to be buried before her image.^e

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL. There was a chantry called Okehurst's founded by John Goring, John and Cecilia Okehurst, and others, for one chaplain, who received 7*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* and had a pension of 6*l.* A fraternity maintained a chantry here,^f and there appears to have been near it St. Mary's

^a Rede's Reg. fo. 36.

^b Reg. Praty, fo. 70 b. 74 b. 77 b. Rede, fo. xxxvii. Reg. Storey, fo. 72. Book of Extracts, fo. 1. Tanner MS. cxlix. fo. 24. Valentine's Guide, 3rd edit. p. 36.

^c "Bis celebrans ad altare S. Crucis orabit pro animâ Thomæ Decani." See Stat. De Capellanis Altaris SS. Marise et Augustini. Lib. Y. fo. cxxvi.

^d Leiger, 251, 256. Var. Obs. 67, 186. Reg. Storey, Visit. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxviii. Certif. of Chantries, L. n. 2. Val. Eccles. i. 302. Part of a bracket, with the name of St. Augustine upon it, was built into the wall under the Arundel screen, on the north side of the choir door.

^e Var. Obs. 67, 186. Swayne MS. 252. Hayley MS. 5. Certif. of Chantr. 50. Storey's Visit. 1480, § 10. Arundel Reg. Lambeth, fo. 149 b. 158. See p. 66, 70.

^f Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. IV. P. i. m. 15, April 15. Reg. Storey, Visit. Book B. 230. St. George's Feast was ordered to be observed in 1415. (Lyndw. App. p. 68.)

chantry in 1336, maintained out of a prebend in the Castle Chapel of Hastings from rents at Salehurst, Odiham, and Mundefelde churches.^a The prebendary of Highley with his schoolboys attended the matin mass every day at this altar: and Dean Fleshmonger bequeathed 30s. "Capellanis de Okehurst et S. Georgii atque Nominis Jesu." (Wills, Alenger, 37.)

THE FOUR VIRGINS, in the eastern chapel of the north wing of the transept ("ex parte boreali ecclesie"), bearing the names of SS. KATHERINE, MARGARET, AGATHA, and WINIFRED. Here were two chantries founded in 1269 for the soul of Bishop John II. who died in 1262.^b

ST. KATHARINE's, founded before 1199, as appears from the charter of Bishop Simon for Pagham. There was a chantry of Bishop Langton in it, with three weekly masses and daily Placebo, Dirige, and Commendation. The chaplain received 72s. (4l. in the Valor), and retired on a pension of 3l. 10s. But there was a still earlier chantry founded here for the soul of Dean William, who died about 1180.^c Bishop Sherborne ordered that, at the antiphon of St. Katharine, his prebendary of Bursalis "provideat quod unusquisque puerorum habeat partem suam scriptam et notatam, et j. ceream candelam, et ea decantata, dicat dignior persona unam collectam cum versiculo de B. Katerina cum psalmo 'De Profundis,' concludendo 'Anima,' etc." Before St. Mary mass, "quolibet die videat quod sint compti, quodque habeant superpellicea integra et munda, et quod bini et bini decenter incedant;" and they were to go to the tomb and say "De Profundis" and some other prayers. Their devotions were to be "quotidie, vel eundo, vel surgendo de lecto, semel Pater noster, Angelica Salutacio, et Symbolum Apostolicum, 'Anima famuli,' etc." He also directed that "in Vigilia D. Katerine accendantur hora vii. viij. luminaria seposa, laquearibus altis suspensa, et convenient vicarii et choriste, ad tres quartas ante horam viii^m, in quorum concursu accendantur alia ij. luminaria cerosa, et decantetur una solennis antiphona ad laudem V. Katerine. Crastino mane, hora vi^a, pulsatores tintinnire magnas campanas, ad missam D. Katerine hora vii^a solemniter decantandam, ad Altare Benefactorum suorum, ubi (celebrata matutinali S. Georgii missa), sine intervallo, inchoetur missa S. Katerine."

Six pence for the boys' recreation immediately after were distributed.

ST. PANTALEON's, mentioned in 1244, was a chantry founded by Bishop Ralph I. for three priests who were appointed by the præcentor; the chaplain of "Ralf Randall's chantry" received 57s. 1d. by the year; the value at the dissolution was 60s.^d Pantaleon, Panteleimon all pitiful, was a physician of Nicomedia who suffered on the rack, and, having been tortured with red-hot plates of

^a Lib. B. fo. 230. "Li Charnell Howse" Chantry was in this chapel. (Compotus of 1544.)

^b Var. Obs. 69. Leiger 97. By Bishop Storey's foundation, "infra capellam in latere boreali ecclesie," there were four suits for the prebendary of Highley, as celebrant, red, black, white, and green; a chalice, two cruets, a missal, a damask pall, four altar-cloths, and a pall of brodura-Alexandri, which, Cahier says, was brought from Alexandria. (See also Hunter MS. Nominale. Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 24,523, s.v.) Ter celebrans ad altare B. Katarinæ, Agathæ, Margaretæ, et Winifridæ V V. orabit pro anima Johannis Episcopi II^a. et dicet quotidie Placebo et Dirige et Commendacionem. "When he singeth masse of requiem he hath on a blacke vestment." (Of the olde god and newe. 1534.)

^c Leiger 41. Certif. of Chantr. L. n. 2. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 303.

^d Var. Obs. 41, 67. Lib. Y. fo. xvi. b. Certif. of Chantries, L. n. 2. Val. Eccles. i. 299, 302. "Celebrans ad Altare St. Pantaleonis orabit pro anima Radulphi episcopi."

iron, was beheaded on July 27 in the Diocletian persecution. Churches are dedicated to him at Lyons, Cologne, Venice, and Constantinople. He is also commemorated in the Kalendar of Hereford Cathedral and the Breviary of St. Alban's.

FOUR ALTARS IN CHOIR, "iii altaria infra chorum:" 1. Sherborne's altar. 2. Opposite to it on the north side. 3. Altar of Bishop Ralph Neville. 4. Altar of Bishop Edward Storey. The second altar was the altar of Benefactors and Founders.^a Bishop Sherborne's altar stood over his grave. Sherborne founded lights to burn on these altars upon certain days. He appointed that he should be buried "in a pour remembrance that he had made there on the south side of the church."^b His cenotaph and image of alabaster remain in the south aisle of the presbytery. Bishop Storey was buried nigh "the high altar on the north side under a plain tomb which he himself in his lifetime had ordered to be built, in height and fashion exactly like another on the south,"^c "prope summum altare ex parte boreali ejusdem altaris sub tumba pro me noviter facta."^d

OUR LADY'S ALTAR. Dean Thomas de Lichfield founded a chantry in 1233, and endowed it with lands outside the West Gate. The chantry was in the bishop's gift. There was daily mass, or else three masses of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Trinity were said weekly, with Placebo and Dirige daily. The salary was 5*l.* a-year.^e Bishop Gilbert de St. Leofardo, "the founder of

^a "Ordinamus quod in singulis noctibus à vigilia Omnium Sanctorum usque ad festum Purificationis B. M. V. ad iiij. altaria infra chorum nostræ ecclesiæ Cathedralis, divinorum tempore, accendantur iiij. luminaria seposita in nocte; et in festis S. Trinitatis et S. Ricardi accendantur, cum nox est, et continuentur usque ad horam xi^m, viz. ad altare nostrum j. et ex adverso borealiter aliud; iiij^m ad altare dom. Radulphi Episcopi; iiiij^m ad altare dom. Edw. Story; quelibet candelarum duret per ij. noctes." The altar of the Benefactors and Founders was opposite to ("ex adverso borealiter") Bishop Sherborne's altar "altare nuper erectum super locum sepulture nostræ (Stat. r. xxii. b); statim post Missam S. Georgii sonet una campanella ad altare nostrum ad significandum populo quo confluat." It was the fourth "altar in choir." We have "Laying of ledd over the Benefactors' aulter xiv d.; ledd upon the ile over the Benefactors' aulter." (Compotus 35 Hen. VIII.) Secundarius Capellæ B. M. V. ex statutis ecclesiæ tenetur cotidie celebrare Missam de Requiem pro animabus Benefactorum. (Reg. Praty, fo. 78.) Pro iiij. luminibus super iiij. altaria in Choro lucentibus vj s. viij. d. (Val. Eccles. i. 298.) Infra or extra chorum; in the retro choir, behind the choir-stalls, or retro altare, behind the reredos. The site of Sherborne's altar is still pointed out by two image niches at the north-east corner of the south wing: Storey's and Neville's altars were in the feretory, placed in front of the pillars which face the Lady chapel.

^b Wills, Hogen, fo. 4.

^c Hayley MS. 345, 355. Browne Willis has preserved the tradition of the "tomb standing between two pillars on the north side of the altar." (Cole MS. xxviii. fo. 2 b; Mitred Abbeys, ii. 349.) Opposite to Bishop Ralph II. (Neville) on the north side is a monument for Bishop Edmund Storey. (MS. Lansd. 918, fo. 348.) Neville's tomb has been appropriated, only in the present century, to Bishop Day, by affixing a plate on it, engraved by King the artist. Browne Willis says, one in the south wing was "probably a monument for Bishop Day," (Cole MS. xxviii. fo. 2,) whilst Gough distinctly mentions Neville's monument. (Camden's Britannia, i. 105.) An Iconography, 1656, quoted by Willis, attributes it to St. Richard. (Mitr. Abb. ii. 348.) I printed the furniture of Sherborne's altar in Gent. Mag. xviii. n.s. 767.

^d Wills, Blamire, fo. 21.

^e Leiger 109. Var. Obs. 67, 186. Lib. E. cix. cx. cxi. 200. Val. Eccles. i. 303. Celebrans ad Altare

the chapel," endowed an anniversary. Henry Garland, dean in 1332, founded a salary of 40*s.* each for two chaplains serving the chantry, for the soul of Bishop Gilbert.^a There was a third endowment for the Lady Mass. The chaplain received 53*s.* 4*d.* a-year; the Custos Capellæ B. M. V. had 6*s.* 8*d.*; and the washer of the ornaments 8*d.* The sub-dean acted as epistolar. Ernisius the præcentor endowed the altar with the stipend of 8*s.* for a clerk ministering in the mass. Another person gave 18*d.* a-year for service (obsequia) at the altar and cleaning the space in front of it. Richard de Brome gave an endowment for wax to furnish the taper burning before the altar called the "Blessed Virgin's Light."^b There were also two chantries of Nicholas Mortimer, confirmed by his cousin Edward IV. on a foundation by King Henry V. The two kings' perpetual chaplains, being graduates, received 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* or, according to the Certificate, 12*l.*; they retired on a pension of 6*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*^c

THE ALTAR OF THE SHRINE OF ST. RICHARD, mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1289, and in the Bishop's Visitation in 1402. Nicholas de Wyche and William de Radinges his chaplain were despatched to Rome to secure canonisation of S. Richard, which took place on St. Vincent's day, Jan. 22, 1260. Bishop Stephen spent 1,000 marks on the consequent translation.^d In 1270 he required the dean and chapter "quod inveniant et sustineant in perpetuum decem cereos quadratos ad Feretrum B. Ricardi ardentis in festis primæ dignitatis, et duos cereos rotundos ad idem Feretrum, et tercium ad Tumbam Sancti predicti, et novem cereos circa Feretrum rotundos, ponderis quilibet duarum librarum, ardentis in festis primæ et secundæ et terciæ dignitatis, quilibet ejusdem ponderis, diebus ac noctibus continue ardentis."^e

The shrine and altar are mentioned in 1488. "Lego matrici ecclesiæ apud Cicestriam xvj. d. sub hac conditione quod ipsi de eadem faciant unam missam celebrari pro anima mea ad altare coram Feretrum S. Ricardi ibidem."^f Chancellor Burwell desired to be buried "nyghe unto the shryne of S. Rychard agenste the dore,"^g clearly that opening into the east alley of the cloister.

Upon a raised platform filling one entire bay behind the reredos, and reached by two flights of steps on the east side, this altar stood westward at the head of the shrine, which adorned what was afterwards called distinctively the "burying place," the site between the reredos and procession path, forming, as in other great minsters, the feretory of the patron saint. The original tomb

B. Mariæ orabit pro animâ Thome Decani; et celebrabit singulis diebus pro defunctis. Tamen si voluerit potest dicere unam Missam de B. Mariâ; unam eciam de Trinitate; et unam de S. Spiritu singulis septimanis; dummodò specialem orationem faciat in dictis missis pro animâ Thome Decani; et dicet singulis diebus Placebo et Dirige in ix. lectionibus. For Placebo and Dirige see my Sacred Archæol. s. v.

^a Certif. of Chantries, L. No. 2. Leiger 89, 39

^b Lib. Y. fo. cxi. cxiii. cxv. Swayne 433 b.

^c Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. P. iv. m. 160. Compotus 1479. Swayne 311. Lib. Y. fo. clxxxix. Val. Eccles. i. 297, 302. Certif. of Chantr. Sussex, L. No. 2.

^d Wilkins's Conc. i. 746.

^e Lib. Y. fo. clxiv. b.

^f Test. Falcon. Arnoldson. Reg. Storey, fo. 94 b.

^g March 5, 1509. Wills, Bennett, 35.

remained in its place. The shrine was jewelled, and had a watch-loft (as at York and Lincoln) at the back of the high altar, which then stood six feet back to the west. The watch-loft was removed in 1820.

On the 16th June, the eve of St. Botolph, 1276, the body of St. Richard was removed from his tomb and placed in a silver-gilt shrine, in the presence of the King and Queen, of Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, nine bishops, and a large number of magnates both ecclesiastical and civil.^a

The "donaria et oblationes" hitherto made at his tomb were continued at the shrine, to which the barons of Hastings always gave their share of the coronation canopy, and, in accordance with the times, Lovel, the harper and minstrel, was singing the praises of the saint when he received a guerdon of 6s. 6d. from the King on May 26, 1297.

1299. [27 Edw. I.] xxvii^o die Junii in oblationibus Regis ad feretrum ex una parte S. Ricardi in Ecclesia Cath. Cic. vij s.; et ex alia parte, vij s.; et ad mitram ejusdem Sancti, vij s.; et ad capud ejusdem sancti, vij s.; et ad tumbam ubi Sanctus Ricardus primo sepeliebatur, vij s.; et ad mitram Sancti Edmundi et ad Calicem Sancti Ricardi, vij s.—Summa, xlijs.^b Next year the King offered a cloth of gold and "mensuras" of himself in wax.^c On June 6, 1299, he gave a cloth of gold to the shrine and offered 7s. at the tomb, and the same sum to the head and other relics. In 1294 he gave a jewel made out of a vase found at Edinburgh.

A^o 1280, 8 Edw. I. Feb. 17. "Intelleximus quod vos quædam jocalia que feretro S. Ricardi Cicestrensis nuper affixa et postmodum subtracta fuerunt, eidem feretro, nobis irrequisitis, facere non vultis reaffigi; Nos recuperationem jocalium illorum divinitus reputantes contigisse iterato vobis mandamus quod jocalia illa ad honorem Sancti predicti de nostra licentia sicut magis expedire videritis dicto feretro affigi faciatis."^d

Thus there were three objects of pilgrimage at that time. The first was the original tomb, then left vacant; the second was the new shrine; and the third was the head of the saint in a reliquary,^e for, with the extravagant rage for relics, the body of the saint^f was dismembered, and, as in the case of St. Osyth at Chiche, St. Chad at Lichfield, St. Hugh at Lincoln, SS. Oswald and Wolstan at Worcester, St. Wilfrid at Ripon, and St. Thomas at Canterbury, his head was exhibited apart.^g

The following ordinance of Bishop Storey, in 1478, requiring the procession on Whitsunday to

^a Walsingham, i. 16. Ann. Mon. ii. 122, Winton; ib. 387, Waverley; iv. 268, Wykes; ib. 470, 471, Wigorn.

^b MS. Q. R. Wardrobe 13.

^c Add. MS. 24,523, fo. 67. Lib. Contr. Gard. p. 97.

^d Lib. Y. fo. xliij^o. Rymer, tom. i. p. ii. p. 183.

^e Feretro S. Ricardi j ouche; item capiti ejusdem j ouche auri. (Wills, 1384, Rous, fo. 5.) There were also vicarious pilgrimages. (Wills, 1439. Luffenham, fo. 25.) See also Test. Vet. 51, 68, 326, 726.

^f Gray's Reg. (Surtees Soc. Publ.) 149. Rym. Fœd. iii. P. 2, p. 720. X. Script. ad ann. 1364. Jo. Arch. Inst. xxxiii. 73. Ang. Sac. i. 525, 527.

^g 1441. Cantaria ubi caput S. Ricardi ponitur 33s. 4d. item quod esset una cantaria ubi . . . S. Ricardi scituatur. An Feretri et Reliquiarum custodia viro ydoneo et honesto sit remissa? [1294. The dean and chapter granted to Roger Capellano ad Feretrum S. Ricardi the chantry there, and assigned to him eight marks a-year out of Mendlesham Church in Norfolk, ad sui sustentacionem et clerici competentis sibi

meet in the choir and proceed through the chancel and nave, points to the position of the shrine in its usual position behind the high altar. The bishop says: "Fide dignorum relatione accepimus, quòd inter nonnullos nobis et jurisdictioni nostræ subditos et subjectos, ecclesiam nostram Cath. Cic. ac ipsorum subditorum ecclesiam matricem cum crucibus et vexillis, annuatim quolibet die lunæ ebdomade Pentecostes processionaliter, ad inibi S. Ricardo in honore Dei devotè offerendi precesque effundendi visitare debentes, propter prælationem et præminentiam, eorundem processionum in intrando et exeundo dictam ecclesiam nostram Cathedralem Cic., retroactis temporibus diutius verbera, obprobria, insidiæ, contenciones, homicidia,^a divinorum perturbationes, alia quam plurima mala evererunt, et verisimiliter in futurum evenient, inde ordinem subsequentem in antecedendo in processionibus hujusmodi duximus de cætero inviolabiliter observari, viz. quòd post inhabitantes burgum de Arendelle, et inhabitantes villam de West Dene et parochiam ejusdem, quos cæteros eo ordine antecedere volumus quo antiquius assueverunt, inhabitantes villam de Bosham in intrando ecclesiam nostram Cath. sint primi eo ordine, dummodò ipsi præsentés et parati sint ad sic intrandum horâ ix^a illius diei, quo processio fieri debet, per horologium ecclesiæ nostræ Cic. et non aliud signandum sumentes, præstò qui ad horam x^m non fuerint, tunc volumus, expetant et ingredi ecclesiam postponant, quousque omnes alii supradictarum et infra-scriptarum parochiarum ingressi fuerint; et post dictos inhabitantes villam de Bosham cum membris suis, viz. Apuldreham, Funtinton, et Chydham, cùm fuerint præsentés, parochiani deinde proximi; deinde inhabitantes villæ de Sidlesham cum inhabitantibus de Easton, et post ipsos parochiani de Felpham, et tunc parochiani de Bordham, et post ipsos parochiani de Selsey, cum crucibus et vexillis, cum etiã devotione intrabunt, et incedant, et non cum virgis longis et depictis, quas propter eas deferentium et aliorum assersentium, et paucorum indevotionem, risu, garrulationibus, clamore et tumultu, expensarum effusione, in eorum delationibus excitis et subortis, de cætero deferri vetuimus, provisò semper quòd primò intrantes, et omnes alii juxta ordinem in choro præsentés permaneant, et ex tunc cancellum et ecclesiam^b seriatim et pacificè eo ordine quo intraverint, cum omni humilitate exeant."^c How attractive and popular such processions were we gather from the language of the homilist, "While they offer, the music and minstrelsy goeth merrily all the offertory time, with praising and calling upon those saints whose relics be then in presence."^d Sometimes noble penitents had to humble themselves, as in the case of the Earl of Arundel, who, in the year of grace 1290, would go a hunting with harriers in the bishop's

ibidem deservituri.] Edmund Earl of March, in 1380, bequeathed to Wigmore Abbey a bone of St. Richard Bishop of Chichester. In an inventory of Selborne Priory, in the reign of Henry VI. "j. junctorium S. Richardi, item pecten S. Richardi," are mentioned, and "ij costæ S. Ricardi" were at St. Paul's. (Lib. Y. fo. liv. b. Reg. Praty 746. Lib. E. fo. 291 b. Art. Inq. in Visit. E. 264. Test. Vet. p. 111. White's Selborne, p. 384. Dugdale, p. 235.)

^a Comp. Ang. Sac. i. 513.

^b The nave. The procession met on the platform between the gradus chori and gradus presbyterii, and so proceeded to the Cancellum, the Feretory, "with its costly clausures."

^c Reg. fo. 44. See also Grostete's Const. in Brown's Fasciculus, ii. 413.

^d 3 P. Serm. against Idolatry, 218.

chace of Hoghton, and only obtained absolution for his poaching habits, "interdictâ in dictum comitem penitentiâ et jejuniis trium dierum, et peregrinatione ad S. Ricardum."^a

Commission for taking down S. Richard's shrine at Chichester. "Henry 8 to our trusty and well beloved servant Sir Wm. Goring, kt. and . . . Erneley, Esq. For as much as we have been lately informed that in our city of Chichester and Cathedral Church of the same there hath been used long heretofore and yet at this daye is used much superstition and certain kynd of idolatry aboute the shryne and bones of a certain bishop of the same, which they call S. Richard, and a certain resort thither of sundry our subjects, which being men of simplicitie, by the inculcation of certain of the clerge, who, taking advantage of the same, doo seke at the sayd shryne and bones of the same that God only hath authoritie and power to grant, We, wylyng such superstitious abuses and idolatries to be taken away, command you with all convenient diligence to repayre unto the said cathedral church of Chichester and there to take down that shrine and bones of that bishop called S. Richard within the same, with all the sylver, gold, juells, and ornamentes to the same shryne belongyng, and also all other the reliques and reliquaries, with all the plate, gold, juells, ornamentes aforesaid, to be safely and surely conveyghed and brought unto our Tower of London, there to be bestowed as we shall further determine at your arrival. And also that ye shall see bothe the place where the same shryne standyth to be rayed and defaced even to the very ground, and all such other images of the church as any notable superstition hath been used to be taken and conveyghed away.^b The 14th day of November, in y^e 30th year of Hen. VIII. THOMAS CROMWELL."

The shrine was taken down, rased, and defaced on Friday, Nov. 20, by the Commissioners, who furnished the following inventory:—

"Hereafter folowyth the juells of gold, sylver, relykks, ornamentes, and other juells takyn from the shryne in the Cathedrall Church of Chichester the ffryday the xxth day of November, the xxxth yere of the reyne of Henry the VIIIth, by Wyllm. Goryng, knyght, and Willm. Erneley, esquier, commyssioners unto our said sovereyn lord the Kyng, to take down the seid shryne, with all suche gold, sylver, juells, relykks, and ornamentes of the same, and the same shryne to be rasyd and defaced, as more pleynty apperith by the said commission, the which gold, sylver, and other jewells remaynyth in vj cofers, a caskett, and in a litell boxe. Item, first in a shippe cofer lv ymages sylver and gylt. Item, in a longe cophyn wheryn byshopp Rychards bones wer in lvj ymages of sylver and gylt. Item, iij other cofers full of broken sylver. Item, a cover with iij lokks that was delyvered by the deane and archedekyn with relykks and other jewells parcell of the seid shryne. Item, in a litell boxe xxxj ryngs with stonys, and iij other jewells. Item, in a casket xlj jewells sett with stonys and perlys." (Chap. Ho. Books. Publ. Rec. Off. A. 7⁵ fo. 102.)

This notice suggests a scene of violence and mutilation, sacrilege and fury, when the last relics of St. Richard's shrine disappeared.

Last of all, the dean and chapter had to pay for repairing the rough usage of the fabric:—

^a I printed the paper in *Gent. Mag.* N.S. xviii. p. 355.

^b Lamb. MS. 577, fo. 73, Draft of Privy Signet or King's Warrant n. 671, Pub. Rec. Off.

"1544. Unto Wolsey the masson, for amendinge of the Tumbe in our Lady Chapel, that was broken uppe when the Commissioners were here from the Councell to serche for the same, xv d."

This, no doubt, was the tomb of Bishop Gilbert, rifled in mistake, when the spoilers were at work and wrecked all round.

"Pro solutis cuidam aurifabro inquisitionem facienti inter aurifabros eo tempore quo expoliata erat Ecclesia Cathedralis per Empson etc. antehac non solutis sed sepius requisitis pro labore suo, iij s. iij d."^a

There was also Talk's Chantry (Val. Eccles. i. 305), connected with St. Mary's Hospital.^b On June 10, 1493, E. Bartlot and R. Burrell witnessed the will of Thomas Tauke, arm. who made only one bequest, "fabricæ Eccles. Cath. Cicestren'. xij^d." (Wills, Dogett, fo. 24.)

[DE DIVERSIS CONSUETUDINIBUS.]

In festis prime dignitatis hoc placuit observari ut canonicus intitulatus ad missam celebrandam nullatenus teneatur procurare^c ministros quosunque ecclesie, nisi gratis velit aliquem vel aliquos ad comestionem invitare. Nullus autem veniat nisi invitatus secundum consuetudinem optentam in ceteris festivis et ferialibus diebus.

In the 15th century,^d resident canons present at prime or high mass were not to leave the city without giving the customary dinner to their vicars and the choristers.

The *comestio* given by residentiaries lingered on in the waiting days or officiating days, as follows:^e

"On these days the toll began at half-past nine and at three, when the whole quire waited on the dean or residentiary of the quarter from his house to church, and he said the whole service and read the lessons. The first residentiary, on the feasts of St. Stephen and Purification, and Monday in Whitsun week. The second residentiary, on St. John's day, Monday in Easter week, and Tuesday in Whitsun week. The third residentiary, on the feasts of the Circumcision and All Saints, and Tuesday in Easter week. The fourth residentiary, on the feasts of the Ascension and Epiphany, and on Nov. 5. The dean officiated on his preaching days, the feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.

"THREE-CAKE DAYS were Purification, Circumcision, Ascension, and All Saints' days." The choir on these waiting days were entertained with cakes and ale, even in the time of Mr. Clarke

^a Compotus 35 Hen. VIII.

^b Sussex Arch. Coll. xxiv. 53.

^c Scil. in victualibus sive in pecuniâ.

^d Reg. Praty 1441, March 1, fo. 75 b.

^e Var. Observ. p. 61. No date is given, but it was probably in the seventeenth century. Juxta ritum aliarum cathedralium volumus ut diebus Natalis Domini, Paschæ et Pentecostes Decanus si domi sit, festis vero Circumcisionis, Epiphaniæ, et Ascensionis Domini, item Purificationis B. V., et Omnium Sanctorum et reliquis festis duplicibus prebendarii residentes suo ordine preces divinas et Sacram Synaxim in ecclesia publicè celebrent (Stat. Norwic. 7 Jac. I. cap. xvi. Lamb. MS. 1144. Comp. Stat. Cestr. Lamb. MS. 866. P. ii. 2, and Hereford, c. vii.; Lamb. MS. 736, p. 16.)

in the last century. The duty of giving a dinner or supper to the officers of the church and the choristers is still maintained; with the former it is compounded for by a money payment called "supper money," with the latter the feast is continued. The date of the commutation of the *comestio* may be traced to the time of Laud, who on Feb. 20, 1635, enjoined "that the meetings and hospital" (*sic*) "invitations, anciently observed by your residentiaries, and by them kept quarterly for the quire, be still maintained, or else that the same money be still given by the residentiaries by way of perdition, which some of them have lately begun to give, so that the quire acknowledge it to be a benevolence. Item that the stall-wages be restored to the vicars-choral due to them for doing service all the year at the high altar." (Reg. fo. 238 b.)

Quilibet autem canonicus presens in festis^a prime dignitatis sex, scilicet Natalis, Pasche, Pentecostes, Sancte Trinitatis, Dedicationis ecclesie, Reliquiarum, nomine vini^b quod inter canonicos consuevit distribui denarios duodecim percipiet. In ceteris festis prime dignitatis sex denariorum muneratione sit contentus. Unicuique vicario in hiis quatuor prime dignitatis sollempnitatibus, Natalis, Pasche, Sancte Trinitatis, [et] Dedicationis ecclesie, pro vino quod eis impendi consuevit de gratia tres denarii tribuantur.

^a There were twenty-nine feasts observed, including St. Richard, April 4 (the morrow), and June 16. Swayne 454. 1314. Quod Festum S. Wilfridi eo devocius quò gentiles de partibus Cicestris ad fidem Christi converterat, in ecclesia Cicestrensi celebretur et pro i^{da} dignitate teneatur. (Statuta, lib. E. 186.) It is a remarkable fact that the only old fragment of glass (in Langton's window) contains the arms of S. Wilfrid, Azure, three suns proper. Cum Festum S. Dionysii (Oct. 9), fuisset omissum propter Festum Reliquiarum quod ipsius die celebratur in ecclesia Cicestr. statutum est et ab omnibus concessum quod in crastino Festi Reliquiarum celebretur et fiat. (Lib. Y. fo. xxiv.) The Feast of Relics of S. Richard, at a later date, was kept as the Feast of the place, or Patron Saint, as usual [J. J. Bond, Handybook of Dates, p. 87, 62] on Sept. 15, at Chichester. It must have been translated, like that of the Dedication; which, in 1682, was still observed as a great festival. At Sarum the Feast of the Relics of S. Osmund was kept in July.

In 1294 there was issued Bulla P. Bonifacii de Indulgentiis concessis visitantibus ecclesiam Cicestr. in Festis St. Trinitatis et Translationis St. Ricardi. (Leiger 3.) The last notice of regard for the two principal founders occurs in 1678. An grata et pia fundatorum Wilfridi et Ricardi diebus statutis commemoratio inter Sacra facta est? R. In libro statutorum qui in manibus est non nobis occurrunt hujusmodi dies statuti. (Inq. ad. Visit. Episc. fo. 133, 135.)

^b One of the questions at a Visitation in 1299 was, An Sanctorum sunt omnes reliquie que in ecclesia exhibentur à catholicis venerande? (Liber E. 264.) Wine was given on the Feasts of St. Edward the Confessor and other days. Pro vino Choral in die Dedicationis ecclesie iij s. vij d., St. Edmundi C. xvij d., Nativitati Domini iij s. vij d., St. Ulstani xvij s., Pasche iij s. iij d., St. Trinitatis iij s. vij d., St. Pantaleonis ijs. vjd. (Lib. E. cvii. 35 Hen. VIII. Lib. Comp.) And, on state rejoicings, Pro vino dato in Choro Vicariis eo die quo canebatur Te Deum ob victoriam obtentam super Scotos, viz. xxv^o. die Maii, iij d. (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII.) Bishop Sherborne, a lover of old custom, made a new ordinance for an annual gift to the dean

DE DISTRIBUTIONE PANIS.

Cum vicarii canonicorum presentium de mensis dominorum suorum alantur, secundum normam ecclesie longa consuetudine approbatam, hoc omnium consensu est confirmatum, ut sive dominus sive vicarius officio nocturno interfuerit, dominus cotidianam panis distributionem que presentibus in illo officio debetur integre percipiat, et similiter si eorum alteruter fuerit infirmitate gravatus vel minucione per venas, de licentia facta decani vel exigente necessitate alterius superioris in ecclesia presentis, excusatus fuerit, et si neuter illi officio interfuerit, quod posset contingere, si secus fieret, quod non habentis excusacionis causam negligentia infirmitate vel minucione excusato verteretur in perniciem. His vero duabus causis cessantibus utroque in illo officio deficiente, nullus eorum pro pane mittat, vel etiam oblatum sibi recipiat, si juramenti quo ecclesie est astrictus transgressionem et transgressionis illius penam voluerit evitare.

The following rules were subsequently adopted with regard to the commune bread: Cum panis absentibus à matutinis subtrahi consueverit et vigilantibus laborantibusque applicari, volumus quod de cætero, in distributione incrementi dicti panis dictis absentibus, ne quicquam distribuatur de incremento prædicto.^a The following notes have been gleaned from MS. Collections, the records being no longer in existence: the date is probably after Bishop Rede's Visitation.^b

"At all feasts having the Proper service or the commemoration if they have proper antomes at Lauds, or III. Responds proper, and at all ferii and festi, and feasts of III. lections in Paschtime, every vicar that cometh to matynes shall have a cast of white bread and a little cob, so that he come within gradum chori before the 3rd Gloria Patri of the III. Priest's Psalms^c be ended, or else to be void of all profits for that time. They have each 14 loaves and 2 cobs weekly.

and chapter: "Comunarius ecclesie cathedralis, in vel circa festum S. Martini in hieme, provideat ad numerum quinarium, ad quartam partem dolii unicuique; et si fuerint quatuor residentes, quinta porcio detur theologo prebendario." 1670. Pro vino inter decanum et capitulum £5. (Sloane MS. 1677, fo. 9.)

^a Stat. 1314, lib. E. fo. 186.

^b 1402. Reg. fo. xxxiv. b.

^c The last three psalms, xciii. lxiii. and lxviii., always recited at Lauds. The "gradus chori" was the step on the east side of the stalls; the western door was closed when the service began; those who were late entered from the south aisle, whilst vicars who arrived before the "Invitatory" psalm received the "Venite loaf." The Privileged Ferials were those on which commemorations and the lesser simple feasts were superseded, or, except in a few instances, Doubles were deferred or translated. The proper anthem was a verse of its own psalm which followed, or one selected from Holy Scripture, as a summary having a special application to the day or season as distinguished from the ordinary anthem in the daily psalter. Three lessons taken severally from the Old and New Testament and some patristic commentary followed by their respective responsories (appropriate anthems repeated alternately) were interposed between each portion of the psalms allotted to matins on feasts of nine lections.

"1580. Each residentiary hath weekly twenty-one loaves, worth five shillings and six pence; and two odd loaves weekly, in all 13*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; out of which deductions are twenty-nine (loaves) for the vicars for venite bread, sixteen for Sherborne's clerks, and since 1663 the odd loaves for the dean's verger at 3*d.* the loaf; so remaineth 13*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*" It was known as commune bread, panis Commune, as in 35 Hen. VIII. "xviii. Maii. for ij. quarters of whette for the comune bread xxiiij*s.*"

1604. 240 loaves, each of 32 oz., were to come to the "binne," and 120 cob loaves, each of 12 oz. Out of these the dean and each residentiary had 21 weekly, and the 4 vicars and 4 lay clerks received each 14 loaves. 84 loaves, each of 22 oz., making 42 casts, were distributed every Sunday.^a Among other recipients there was then a dog-whipper, Bishop Sherborne's precluar or bede-man. Bishop Storey ordained^b "Quod quilibet vicarius choralis, de nocte surgens ad matutinas, habebit duos panes albos et unum criatum panem" (a cob loaf).

[DE ABSENTIA CANONICORUM.]^c

Canonicus vel vicarius absens pro negotiis ecclesie sibi a decano et capitulo injunctis si expensas fecerit de communa sibi erogatas, nichil de distributionibus commune recipiat cotidianis, nisi egressus a civitate et regressus ad eandem, quibus scilicet, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, integre debentur Canonicis diurna denariorum stipendia.

DE OFFENSA IN DIVINIS OBSEQUIIS.

Quoniam per impunitatis fiduciam nutritur audacia delinquendi in officiis precipue divinis, que peccatis nostris facientibus sæpius negliguntur, sanximus ut si quis in ecclesia nostra debitum officii cujuscunque ad quod intitulatus fuerit secundum cotidianas tabule inscriptiones non impleverit per se^d vel per alium qui sine offensa consueti ordinis ecclesie vices ejus potest supplere,^e si canonicus est per decanum in capitulo corripiatur: si vicarius est de stipendiis suis ebdomadariis pro qualibet tali culpa vel marantia unius denarii vel duorum jactura, vel

^a Hayley MS. 178. The cob was a cracknel or simnel made of fine flour. It is still given to the canons of the Cathedral at their admission. A cast was a couple of loaves. (See also Stat. De Antiqua Formâ, below.)

^b Reg. fo. 8.

^c In Liber E. "De Absentia."

^d See Stat. De Officio Cancellarii. At the Archbishop's Visitation, 1299, the question was put, An Canonici ebdomadarii missas suas celebrent sicut intitulantur, vel vicarii pro eisdem. (Lib. E. fo. 264.) The table was made weekly, and enrolled the rectors of choir, the hebdomadary boys, acolytes, readers, singers of responsories, celebrants, gossellers, and epistolers. Traces of the tabling will be found in the notes to Stat. De Officio Thesaurarii and De Offensâ, and in the existing Ordo Prædicandi. (See also Stat. of St. Paul's, edited by Dr. Simpson, F.S.A. p. 105, and Wells, fos. 11, 15, 73, 80. MS. Lamb. 729.)

^e "Suplere" is interlined by the corrector.

alia pena competentiori puniatur. Si vero non vicarius fuerit per Cantorem vel ejus vicarium^a castigetur. Si vero de tertiâ formâ^b fuerit ejiciatur a choro vel a magistro^c suo seu Cantoris vicario vij verberum ictus sustineat vel xiiij si offensam gravem commiserit.

HARSNET'S STATUTES 1611.

R. 4. No unreverend gesture nor unseemly talking be used by any of the vicars or lay vicars, or Bishop Sherborne's clerks, in time of divine service, upon pain of an admonition, and, after three admonitions precedent, upon pain of deprivation.

R. 5. No vicar nor clerk do presume to go out of the choir in time of divine service without leave first asked and obtained of the dean, if he be present, or, in his absence, of the president of the chapter, or, in their absence, of the residentiary of the quarter, under the like penalty as before. (Fo. 12.)

The carelessness of the vicars choral seems to have been chronic, for two centuries later than the earlier statute the following order was given:—The president of chapter for the time being is to correct absent vicars choral who neglect matins so that scarcely two or three appear in one part of the choir; as the younger and halier (forciores) sleep on in their beds.^d The complaint was made at the close of the fifteenth century "quod rectores chori non veniunt tempestive ad servicia divina, sed quandoque post mediam partem psalmi, quandoque in fine." "Quod non habent unum accolitur assistentem ad altam missam."^e The rule was eventually this:^f "Two of the calabre amyces must be the high rectors in all principal feasts and feasts of majus duplex."^g Two of the priests' stalls must be the second rectors in all the aforesaid feasts. Two of the priests' stalls must be the high rectors in all feasts of minus and inferius duplex. Two de secunda forma must be the second rectors on all the said feasts. Two de secunda forma must be rectors at all feasts of ix lections and commemorations.^h That every rector's course de secunda forma continueth two weeks alternis vicibus. None de secunda forma shall have a candle if a priest be present [to read the lections].

"If any person be absent from matyns that is in course to be rector, he that beareth the cope

^a The succentor. (See Stat. De Stipendio Vicarii Cantoris.)

^b See Stat. De Pueris in Tertiâ Formâ.

^c Duty of the Master of the Choristers. Harsnet's Stat. 1611, p. 10. Stat. fo. 14. Decrees of Dean and Chapter 1616, r. 12, 13, 16. *Ib.* fo. 18, 19.

^d Reg. Praty, March 1, 1441, fo. 75 b.

^e Reg. Storey, fo. 8.

^f Act Book, C. 99 b. Hayley 177. The date is probably of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

^g See Lyndwood lib. ii. tit. 3, p. 103, ad verbum "officio duplici." On Doubles the antiphon was sung both before and after the psalm, hence the name.

^h Festivals of the lowest grade observed on some ferials in each week that might be vacant during certain parts of the year, being feasts of the patron saint, and of S. Mary, kept usually on Saturday if possible. "Memorie habentur semel in anno quorum altaria sunt in ecclesia." (Sar. Proc. R. 3.)

for him" (*i.e.* wears the rector's cope in his stead) "all that matyns, from the beginning to the ending, shall have for his labour a loafe called a venite loafe, one of the two which the party absent did forfeit.

"If a calabre amess^a be absent, another shall bear the cope and have the *venite* loafe.

"Four wax candles are always distributed at the end of Lauds at the four uppermost books^b to the senior set of the book, to find the lights to the same book for that time."

The following statute was at length enacted regarding vicars:^c—

Cum cultus divinus augeri debeat et non minui, statutum est et ab omnibus approbatum, quod nullus vicarius duobus stallis deserviat, loca duorum occupando, cum vix ad servicium unius sufficere possit, nisi prætextu infirmitatis alicujus vel absentiae necessariae hoc si fuerit ad tempus permissum.

Vicarii inferiores singulis horis et officiis diurnis et nocturnis intersint jugiter et intendant, nisi per dominos suos praesentes fuerint impediti; quod si non fuerint, singulis absentibus in singulis vicibus unus obolus de stipendio suo subtrahatur, nisi licitam prætereundum poterit absentiae causam coram domino decano et probare poterit.

Cum non deceat vicarios melioris conditionis esse quam canonicos, statutum est et ab omnibus approbatum quod vicarius qui in obsequiis et obitibus mortuorum, dum in ecclesia Cic. fuerit, annuatim praesens non fuerit, nil percipiet de eisdem nisi minutus sanguine vel adversa valetudine detentus.

Cum absens fuerit vicarius ad tempus de licentia decani pro negotiis propriis seu alienis, intra civitatem sive extra fuerit, dum absens est, nil percipiet de iis quæ praesentes et laborantes percipere consueverunt.

Nullus auferat aut diminuat alii quod suo officio est annexum.

Vicarius seu minister ecclesiae qui de lapsu carnis convictus fuerit, per decanum corripiatur et corrigatur primo: quod si secundo fuerit convictus ad agendum in choro poenitentiam publicam compellatur; quod si tertio reciderit tanquam incorrigibilis a consortio expellatur.

Nullus canes in ecclesiam^d ducat propter foeditatem, quam in eadem saepius fecisse dinoscitur, sub poena suspensionis ab ingressu ecclesiae, si super id legitime fuerit convictus.

It was found necessary to proscribe plays and amusements in the church, for this question occurs at a Visitation: "An ludi theatrales et inhonesti fiant in ecclesia per vicarios et alios ecclesiae

^a Calaber was squirrels' fur imported from Calabria.* Bale mentions "costly grey amices of calaber and cats' tails" (Image, etc. P. III. ch. xviii.) and Hutton (1708) speaks of civic gowns "furred with grey amice," "and those below the chair with calabre" (New View, i. p. xxxiii.) The latter was a deep brown and cheaper fur and worn by vicars. See Reg. S. Pauli, 322.

^b At Winchester School the forms are still called books.

^c Stat. 1314, lib. E. 186.

^d The Homily speaks of God's house not being a house of hawks and hounds, and the Caroline Divines allude to the scandal of laymen entering church with dogs at their heels. The altar-rails were ordered to be made so close as to secure their seclusion. The dog-whipper I have already mentioned as a recipient of commune-bread. The office existed in several cathedrals. (See my Traditions and Customs, and Cathedralia, p. 196.)

ministros?^a Games of ball, buying and selling, and other indecencies^b were forbidden in the church cloister or cemetery (the Paradise and the north churchyard) by Bishop Praty in 1441. Jugglers and players were paid for their performances, which of course took place elsewhere.^c

Another curious custom is preserved on record in 1468: "Consueverunt, quolibet die Epiphaniæ Domini, duo vicarii circumire chorum et ecclesiam (the nave with its parish church, as at Salisbury, Hereford, and Lincoln), cum signo Spiritus Sancti sive imagine, incipiendo cum decano, et de post eum secundo in ordine (si ipse decanus recusaverit acceptare hujusmodi Spiritum Sanctum), et ad ceteros parochianorum et ecclesiæ donec fuit acceptum; et acceptans hujusmodi Spiritum Sanctum consuevit conferre unum ornamentum ecclesiæ, secundum voluntatem suam." It was probably a dove.^d

DE PUERIS IN TERCIA FORMA.

Statuimus etiam ut per magistrum scholarium et vicarium cantoris decem pueri^e eligantur idonei in tertia forma et eorum nomina in superiori parte tabule juxta marginem scribantur, et semper singulis deficientibus novi subrogentur. Et nullus nisi de eorum numero fuerit intituletur ad aliquod officium in tabule inscriptionibus,^e nisi fuerit de domo et familia canonici.

Illis vero decem^f potius quam ceteris specialius sepius et propensius à decano et canonicis opera misericordie in necessariis impendantur.

This statute does not seem to have been well observed, as in the Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 95 b, we find the following remark subsequently renewed by Bishop Storey in 1481.

"Quantum ad statutum de x pueris in tertia forma, cum modò sint xii. decens videretur quod de ipsis essent viii. claras et altas habentes voces pueriles, iv. vero majores pro thuribus deferendis." The choristers in choir wore albes with apparels:^g they were selected from the boys of the third form; others serving as acolytes and thuriblers. They were at an early period, certainly in the

^a Art. Inq. in Visit. 1292. Lib. E. 264.

^b Reg. fo. lxxix. Infra septimanam Pentecostes et etiam in aliis Festivitatibus fiunt a laicis ludi theatrales in ecclesia . . . introducitur in eam monstrum larvarum . . . in SS. Innocentium et aliorum Sanctorum festivitibus, quæ Natalem Christi sequuntur, vicarii presbiteri diaconi et subdiaconi, vicissim insanie sue ludibria exercentes, per gesticulationem debacchantes obscenam, divinum officium impediunt in conspectu populi. (1331, 1338, Stat. Wellens. MS. Lamb. 729, ff. 75, 88. Harl. MS. 1682, fo. 21. See Synod. Exon. § 13, Wilkins, ii. 140, and Can. lxxxviii. 1603, my edit. p. 126.)

^c 35 Hen. VIII. Mimis Dom. Comitis Arundell in ebdomada Nat. dom. huc advenientibus, ut solent, in regardis illis xx d. 2^o die Julii mimis et histrionibus dom. Principis huc adventientibus xx d.

^d Storey's Reg. fo. 8 b.

^e See Constitutiones Antiquæ under "Cantor debet," etc.

^f "Decem" interlined by the corrector.

^g Comp. 35 Hen. VIII. Lotrici albarum choristalium vj d. For apparellinge of ij dosen of children's albes aynste Christemasse viij d. The apparels were ornaments round the neck and cuff.

thirteenth century, described as hebdomadary boys of choir.^a The master of the scholars was the delegate of the chancellor, whose duty was to teach the choristers grammar.^b In the time of Henry VIII. he seems to have been one of the chantry priests, but afterwards simply "informatior in musica." He was lodged in the Vicars' Close.

HARSNET'S STATUTES, 1611.

R. 9. No clerk, vicar, or chorister shall be actually admitted into his place till he first make public trial of his voice and skill in presence of the dean and chapter, together with the master of the choristers or the sub-chantor. (Statutes, fo. 14.) See the decree of the dean and chapter, 1616, r. 12, fo. 18.

The good Bishop Sherborne took thought of the choir-boys in the highest and in material matters; first by the Choristers' Prayer: *Ordinamus quod singulis diebus in primo introitu eorum ad ecclesiam, in mane, circiter ultimam pulsationem ad Missam B. M., salutato venerabili sacramento, bini et bini accedant ad sepulcrum nostrum in dicta ecclesia, dicturi ibidem alternatim psalmum "De Profundis" cum versiculo "Non intres in iudicium" et cum oratione "Fidelium;"* and secondly by providing milk for the choristers: *In Anniversario ordinentur viii. parvi disci de electro purissimo, et portet quilibet choristarum discum suum lacte plenum, croco coloratum, zucaro dulceratum, et ovis inspissatum, et portent alterâ manu discum, et aliâ electum panem, cum cocleari argenteo, dicatque eorum unus, ferculo comesto, "anima dom. Roberti benefactoris nostri R. in P."*

STATUTA ALIA EDITA A° Dⁿⁱ M.CC.XLVII.^c

In nomine sancte ac individue Trinitatis anno domino M.CC.XLVII. mense Julii in crastino Sancte Marie Magdalene vocatis omnibus ecclesie Cicestr' canonicis

^a The notices of the choral service after the Reformation are very few. See Harsnet's Statutes 1611, tit. xxvi. and Art. of Inquiry 1700, ans. 5. (Stat. p. 159.) The following custom is curious and perhaps unique: In the seventeenth century the order was made that "the second anthem after the Te Deum shall be chanted on Litany days, and set on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays." "After the first lesson shall follow Te Deum Laudamus, in English, daily throughout the year, except in Lent, all the which time, in the place of Te Deum, shall be used Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino." [Rubric 1549.] Anthem is here equivalent to Canticle, as in the rubric the sentences of Scripture "solemnly sung afore matins" on Easter day are called "these anthems," and in 1662 "this psalm following [Ps. xcv.] except on Easter day, upon which another anthem is appointed." It was sung antiphonally and with recitation notes like the psalms on Litany days, and "set forth" in parts to an unrestricted melody or service on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays.

^b Rede's Reg. 1402, fo. xxxii. b. A patent to Christopher Payn, master of the choristers, with the chambers in the vicars' cloisters. (Swayne, p. 453 b.) His duties are defined by Harsnet's Stat. 1611, r. 10. "Will^o Sampson, cantaristæ, pro informatione choristarum v s. pro regardo x s.:" a payment was also made "pro pollyng and shavinge of the choristers crounes for vj quarters after viij d. a peece for a-yere, viij s." (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII.)

^c In Liber E. temp. Bishop W. Rede, this is called "Item aliæ constitutiones ecclesiæ predictæ."

qui vocari debuerunt et presentibus in capitulo personaliter G[*alfrido*] decano, E[*rnasio de Tywa*] precentore, et magistris Joh^s [Clympyng] cancell', Joh^s [de Reigate] archidiacono Cicestr', Laur' de Summercote, tunc officiali domini Epi. Cicestr', W. de Glover', Hervæo de Cornub', S[*tephano*] de Pagham, ceteris scil. magistris, W[*illelmo de Neville*] thesaur^o, Joh^s [Blund] cancell' Eborac'^a ac Laur' de Sancto Martino, et dominis P. Chacepor cancell' Exon.,^b W. filio Petri, W. de S^{co} Egidio, per procuratores canonicos, et dominis Abbate Grestein' et R. Passelew archidiacono Lewens., per procuratores non canonicos præsentiam suam exhibentibus, ceterorum vocatorum non venientium absentiam divina replente presentia edite sunt constitutiones subscripte.

DE DISTRIBUCIONE COMMUNE.

Quod vetus introduxit consuetudo circa distributiones commune, ut omnis de cetero dubietatis scrupulus auferatur, presenti scripto perpetue memorie placet commendari scil. quod canonicus de cotidianis denariorum^c distribucionibus nichil percipere debet qui in choro non interfuerit officio vespertino seu matutino,^d vel misse majori, nisi in civitate egritudinis vel minucionis causa, seu alia rationabili que legitima debet reputari, fuerit excusatus. Illis etiam diebus exceptis quo fatigatus itinere venerit in urbem, vel mane exierit ut suam perficiat dietam,^e quibus [diebus] impune ab ingressu ecclesie abstinere potest. Et etiam illis exceptis quibus de mandato decani et capituli pro negotiis ecclesie absentes fuerint, et expensis propriis militaverint. Qui autem civitatem ingrediuntur moram non facturi, nichil percipiant velut transeuntes, nisi in canonicali habitu in ecclesia cathedrali apparuerint.

DE UTILITATE RESIDENCIE.

Quia vero per residentes ecclesie periculis et adversitatibus obviatur, et ejusdem profectibus in temporalibus et spiritualibus providetur, quicquid superest, deductis

^a Chancellor of York from 1236 to 1248.

^b Wells. (Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 159.) Oliver does not mention him at Exeter. See Tanner's *Notitia*, 31. Browne Willis, *Lincoln*, 92.

^c Ut vere retributionis valeant Denarium recipere post laborem . . . ne opus Dei fiat ab aliquibus negligenter . . . (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23, p. 226, from S. Matt. xx. 2.)

^d Missam celebrare non debet aliquis non dictis matutinis. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23, p. 236.)

^e "Dieta, i.e. pro uno die." (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 7, p. 140.) A day's journey of twenty miles. (Cowell and Fleta.)

expensis et sumptibus consuetis, de proventibus ad communam pertinentibus ad ipsos in laboris sui remunerationem spectare dinoscitur, ad alios nequaquam, ne pares^a habeantur in premio qui impares sunt merito quo ecclesie deservitur. Hujusmodi vero proventuum distributiones fiant temporibus consuetis.

QUI CENSENTUR RESIDENTES.

Residentes vero censentur qui per totum anni circulum in officiis debitis ecclesie personaliter deserviunt, quibus, juxta consuetudinem quarundam ecclesiarum, conceditur de licentia decani vel alicujus canonici vices ejus^b gerentis qualibet quarta anni^c per tres tantum abesse septimanas.

In 1359 William Bergevene was locum tenens of the dean. In 1472 Robert Gest, residentiary, was locum tenens, and admitted a canon to residence.^c He was either residentiary of the quarter or the canon who had kept longest residence, and acted as president of chapter in the dean's absence, and is therefore called the "senior" by Bishop Curteys as the oldest resident. No important matter of business was to be sealed except in the presence of the dean or his locum tenens and all the residentiaries or their proctors, and after the mature deliberation of all.^d

CURTEYS' STATUTES, 1573.

R. 5. Every residentiary within this church shall keep house and residence per se aut per alium, the space of three months every year, to be appointed by the mutual consent of the dean and chapter at their audit, which audit shall begin the 10th day of October yearly. (Fo. 7.)

R. 9. Residentiaries absent shall leave proctors to consult and conclude of such things as shall be necessary for the state of the church at every one of the four several days before this time

^a Bishop Praty, 1441, enjoined the dean and chapter "quod fiat emendatio residentie ita quod Canonicus præsens in Primâ non sit absens nec extra civitatem in prandio; nec præsens in Missâ absens in mensâ; nec præsens in nocte absens in die; nec e contra, propter hominum obloquium et malum aliorum exemplum, quod canonici actualiter residentes multociens præsentes in Altâ Missâ divertunt se extra civitatem ad eorum prandium ad loca propinquiora et vicina civitati, non facientes provisionem pro prandiis vicariorum et choristarum suorum, sicque vicarii et choristæ illis temporibus mendicitatis suffragiis vivere intelliguntur, injungimus quod Residenciarii præsentes in Primâ vel Altâ Missâ ante refectionem congruam pro seipsis et suis ministris ecclesie non recedant." (Reg. fo. 71.) Pope Alexander III. ordered an allowance according to Gallican use. (Lib. Y, fo. xviii.)

^b "Decanus ea quæ pertinent ad officium suum potest aliis committere per se, nec requiritur consensus capituli. Episcopi vel decani dispositio non est libera, quando requiritur consensus capituli, maxime cum eorum consensus concernat omnes ut singulos et non ut universos." The Vice Dean is one "ut suppleat vices decani absentes quem deputat decanus loco suo ad tempus, et est remotivus." (Lyndw. lib. v. tit. 16, p. 327.)

^c Reg. Praty, fo. 75 b. Inj. March 1, 1441, r. 7.

^d Lib. Y. fo. clxvij. Praty, Stat. 1441, fo. 72, 75, 76.

appointed and agreed upon for such purposes, viz.: the 20th of January, the 2nd of May, the 1st of August, and the 10th of October yearly, and, in case of their absence, it shall be lawful for those that are there present to proceed, conclude, and execute in all causes as fully and effectually to all intents and purposes as if they were there all personally present. (Fos. 8, 9.)

STATUTES 1617.

5. Presidentship of Chapter, in the absence of the dean, belongs to the senior residentiary, and in his absence to the next senior . . . he which hath been longest resident be accepted and taken for senior whether he have a dignity in the church or but a prebend, the dignity of the dean only excepted. (Book of Extracts, fo. 2.)

It hath been the ancient custome that the senior residentiary should always begin his residentiary's quarter the first day of October, and that so in like manner all the residue of the said residenciaries should in seniority begin their quarters in order the first day of the first month of their such several quarters, and that all the residentiaries have in their times (as the officer of the said church hath affirmed) kept and observed the said custom. (Book of Extracts, fo. 19, 30 Sept. 1617.)

STATUTE 1828, FO. 119.

The dean and chapter may nominate and allow a competent stipend to some other residentiary or prebendary to supply the place of a residentiary disabled from keeping his statutable residence.

Besides the temporary vice-dean there was a permanent sub-dean. He was the dean's official in duties analogous to those of sub-deans of rural deaneries who proved wills in the absence of their superiors; and thus his temporary jurisdiction extended as far as the dean's permanent deanery. (Lyndw. lib. ii. tit. 1, p. 80.) A seal of the reign of Edward I. now in the British Museum, with the legend "S. Subdecani Cicestrie," represents the sub-dean praying beneath a figure of S. Peter; the rule was that an official's seal "tantum nomen officii habeat inculptum." (Const. Othobonis, tit. xxvii. p. 69.) He is named in 1383 as distinct from the dean's vicar in choir, being generally vicar of the parish church in the nave called St. Peter's the Great, in distinction to St. Peter's in the City (consolidated with St. Martin's by Richard King of the Romans on account of the parishioners' poverty), St. Peter's the Less and St. Peter's in Foro (which, having only two parishioners, were given by Bishop Ralph II. to St. Mary's Hospital). (See note on page 144.) He acted as epistolar in the Lady Mass. In 1481 subdecanus ecclesiæ heads the list of vicars. Since 1618 he received a share of 1s. 4d. in the special distribution to the choir on St. James's day. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the sub-dean appears to be alluded to as the epistolar.^a

^a Bishop Stratford "recepit juramenta corporalis obedientiæ de subdecano ecclesiæ Cicestr. et deinde de omnibus et singulis vicariis ejusdem ecclesiæ in domo capitulari vi. non. Oct. A.D. 1345." (Lib. E. fo. 169.) His principal duty as vicarius sive subdecanus is thus defined by the bishop at a visitation: Quod vos subdecanus, ut presbyter parochianus, ex officii vestri debito, preces dominicales pro Fundatoribus et Benefactoribus ipsius ecclesiæ nostræ vivis et defunctis, in ipsâ ecclesia secundum antiquam consuetudinem fieri consuetas clero et populo exponere tenemini. (Praty, 75 b.) In 1478 he is cited "inter curatos civitatis

DE PLENA RESIDENCIA ET SEMI-PLENA.

Circa personas vero ecclesie utiles, que ad minus per annum unum plenam fecerint residentiam, provisum est ut de licentia decani vel ejus vices gerentis valeant in qualibet parte anni pro suis propriis necessitatibus per plures abesse septimanas. Ita quod tocus anni absentia duodecim septimanarum quantitatem non excedat.

Si quis vero per majus tempus absens fuerit nichil percipiat de proventibus memoratis, nisi pensatis ejus meritis et temporis diuturnitate quo ecclesie deservivit^a placuerit decano et fratribus residentibus ei aliquid conferre de gratia, que omnino illi denegatur cujus dies absentie simul aggregati ad dimidii anni metas attigerint. Hanc autem gratiam volumus extendi ultra medietatem portionis plene residentis. Tales igitur contenti sint illis distribucionibus que presentibus impendi consueverunt.

DE COTIDIANIS DISTRIBUCIONIBUS ET RELEVIIIS LEGATIS ET ANNUALIBUS.

Consuetudo verò hec est quam observat ecclesia, presentibus in choro officio vespertino aut matutino vel misse majori debentur tres denarii cotidiani in forma supradicta.

Presentes in solempnitatibus prime dignitatis vel secunde si decanus et residentes voluerint dummodo interfuerint majoris misse evangelio^b in choro denarium nomine vini percipiant.

et jurisdictionis decani." (Reg. Storey, fo. 9 b. 71.) And as rector ecclesie S. Petri in ecclesia Cicestrensi. (Reg. Rede, fo. xxxvi.) He collected Peter pence in the deanery of Chichester. (Lib. E. 263.) He was styled sub-diaconus sive vicarius Ecclesie subdiaconi sive vicarie S. Petri Majoris in ecclesia Cic. (Val. Eccles. i. 304.) Thus we have the appointment by Cranmer in 1552, "Jacobus Lloid ad subdiaconatum ecclesiam sive Vicariam perpetuam ecclesie parochialis S. Petri Majoris infra ecclesiam cathedralem Cicestrensem." (Reg. Cranmer, fo. 423.) He acted as the epistolar and hence was called subdiaconus; "Subdiacono Cicestrie pro cantatione Epistolae dietim in Capella B. M. 8s." (Val. Eccl. i. 295, 305.) Are the stalls so divided in the quire among the vicars, according to former constitutions, that there is no injury done to the epistolar? (Visit. Art. 1679.) Can. xxiv. 1603. "In all cathedral churches the Holy Communion shall be administered upon principal feast days, sometimes by the bishop if he be present, and sometimes by the dean, and sometimes by a canon or prebendary, the principal minister using a decent cope and being assisted with the gospeller and epistler agreeably" [in my edition p. 35]. Comp. Stat. of Hereford. Lamb. MS. 736, fo. 16.

^a The scribe's error for "deserviit."

^b Private masses might be said "post lectum Evangelium majoris misse." (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. xxv. p. 238.)

Qui autem intersunt in choro^a exequiis mortuorum die vel nocte distributionem anniversariam recipiunt.

¶ Qui vero presentes sunt in capitulo cū relevia^b et que cum releviis ex consuetudine quandoque debentur offeruntur, ad eorum soli distributionem admittuntur.

¶ Redditum vero dimidie marce ad Pascha quem contulit Th[omas]^c decanus percipiunt tantum residentes et presentes.

¶ Legata verò, que relinquuntur ecclesie, presentibus in choro in defunctorum obsequiis distribuuntur.

¶ Que autem competunt capitulo ratione medietatis prebende vacantis per mortem canonici tantum pertinent ad residentes non solum tempore obitus canonici, set etiam tempore quo fiunt annualia obsequia pro eodem.

¶ Poterit etiam illis qui intersunt tempore obitus canonici fieri gratia supranotata, nisi dies absentie tempore quo fiunt annualia obsequia simul aggregati ad dimidii anni metas attigerint, juxta id quod supra memoratum est.

Canonicis, quibus de residentia estatis minus una marca debetur, non in blado satisfiat set in pecunia numerata.^d

This rule is more fully detailed in the following constitution:^e

1249. Cum in prebendis Canonice decedentium per annum integrum una earum medietas Canonicis in ecclesia nostra deservientibus, altera vero Fabricæ Ecclesiæ ab antiquo per episcopos nostros accedente consensu Capituli fuerit assignata, eademque assignatio ex constitutione apostolicorum felicis recordationis Eugenii Papæ III., et Alexandri Papæ III., extitit roborata, et pacificæ possessionis usu continue quasi spatio centum annorum firmata.^f Archbishop Islip in 1335 confirmed this custom.

DE CONSUETUDINE ANTIQUA ET APPROBATA.^g

Ut antique consuetudinis et approbate juramento firmate firma servetur auctoritas, nulla etiam ad tempus in obsequiis et ministeriis ecclesiasticis introducatur

^a Exequiæ: Memoræ solennes orationes pro mortuis. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 14.)

^b *Relevia*, ordinarily *finēs*, were the payment made by a new canon to the dean and chapter on succeeding like an heir and taking possession of a vacant stall. (Stat. of St. Paul's 59, 115; Comp. Spelman 483; Bracton ii. 36, 3; Cowel; Hale's Reg. of Worcester xlix.) Decanus et Capitulum ecclesiæ Cicestr. percipient proventus omnium præbendarum vacantium primo anno. (Reg. Peccham. 1279, fo. 159 b.) See also the Statutes De Proventibus Defunctorum and De Residentiam facturo for the payment of 25 marks.

^c Thomas of Lichfield, founder of Chantries at the altars of Saints Mary, Augustine, Thomas, and Edmund; he succeeded in 1232. (MS. Harl. 69, 73. fo. 11, 17 b. 18. Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 62. Swayne 252.)

^d It was "oblatio instar donationis . . . quæ fit in pecunia secundum morem Angliæ." (Lyndw. p. 21, 185.) Bladum, blé, AS. blæd, is corn.

^e Wilkins, Con. i. 696.

^f See also De Proventibus Defunctorum xxxiv. Islip's letter in Gent. Mag. xv. 626, and Lib. Y. fo. xiii.

^g Stat. 49, lib. E. fo. 181 b. laudabili observanda. Lyndwood defines laudable custom to be "omnia

novitas, nisi ex causa prius a decano et capitulo approbata, nec consuetudo censeatur sed potius corruptela, si quid ab aliquo vel aliquibus quantecunque auctoritatis factum esse commemoretur, nisi confirmatum fuerit observantia generali.

DE VENALITATE INTERDICTA.

Summi principis et sacerdotis auctoritate qui vendentes et ementes eiecit de templo^a candelarum venalitatem que in ecclesia fieri solet interdicimus, nec in cimiteriis vel universo ecclesie atrio vel patrimonio earum turpe sustineatur commercium, per quod in ecclesiastica veneratione non modicum evenire solet dispendium, sed potius brachii secularis invocetur auxilium,^b ut certe et determinate quantitatis modus qui assisa^c nuncupatur in ipsis, sicut in ceteris venalibus, statuatur, sicut in locis quibusdam famosis observatur.

DE DEFORMITATE IN CHORO PER ABSENTIAM VICARIORUM.

Ne vicariorum raritate^d ulterius in choro divinatorum^e deformetur honestas; statuimus ut quilibet vicarius egritudinis vel minucionis causa cessante missis et

illa quæ non est contra fidem vel contra bonos mores, et quæ est pia erga Deum et Ecclesiam." (Lib. i. tit. 3, de Consuet. p. 22. gl. i.) Consuetudo rationabilis et ecclesiæ utilis ideò inviolabiliter observanda. (Lib. iii. tit. 16, p. 187.) In casu statuti novi non esset declaratio antiquorum statutorum hoc prius dicentium, sed potius nova ordinatio. Consuetudo est optima legis interpret. (p. 187, ad verb. "involvi.") And again, Intellego illam Consuetudinem esse approbatam in quâ concurrunt requisita ad esse consuetudinis, dum tamen sit rationabilis et legitime præscripta. (Ib. tit. xxvii. p. 253, ad verb. "approbatas.") Jus scriptum statutum et consuetudo æquari videntur. Statuta et consuetudines æquantur. (Lib. i. tit. 15, p. 70, ab verb. "juramento.") The canons of 1604 require ut ecclesiæ [cathedralis] Statuta et Laudabiles Consuetudines (modò verbo Dei et prærogativæ regiæ non repugnent) . . . et si quæ per episcopum diocesanum, juxta Statuta et Consuetudines ejusdem ecclesiæ, ac leges ecclesiasticas hujus regni in visitatione suâ legitime præscribentur, inviolatè custodiantur. (C. xlii. See my edition, p. 65, and for the authority of the Ordo Prædicandî, Canon. xliii.)

^a This clause is founded on a Legatine constitution of the time. See Othoboni, Const. § 34, apud Lyndw. 137. The sacrist by the Wells statute was to prevent marketing in the nave (fo. 60). Quòd in ipsâ ecclesiâ necnon in claustro et cemeterio ejusdem pilarum ludi et mercationes venditioni publicè exponuntur, ex quibus sequuntur perjuria, rixæ, contentiones, verbera et aliquociens hiis pejora ac plurima alia inhonesta exerceantur, etc. (1441, Reg. Praty, fo. 74. See also Reg. S. Pauli, 391, 2.)

^b See Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 28; lib. iii. tit. 2, p. 127.

^c See Lib. Y. fo. clxvii. clxxxiii.

^d See Stat. De Offensa in Divinis Obsequiis.

^e Divine Service. "Divina, intellige non solum de missis, sed de aliis officiis, nam omnes horæ canonicæ appellatione Divinorum continentur." Lyndw. lib. i. tit. x. p. 53; ii. tit. vi. p. 112.

horis diurnis diligenter intersit, et si quando ex aliqua causa probabili, que legitima debeat reputari, illis interesse nequiverit, socium de eadem forma vicinum requirat qui sui vitium defectus attenuet (*sic*) unus autem unius tantum sic absentiam suppleat, ne novâ viâ vetus renovetur deformitas.

CURTEYS' STAT. 1573.

XI. That none of the vicars choral, lay vicars, singing men, or any of those which be commonly called Sherborne's clerks, depart out of the city of Chichester without the consent of the dean or senior residentiary in the absence of the dean. And that if any of them so departing without leave absent themselves above the space of two days, that such his or their departings shall be taken and had ipso facto for an admonition, and after the third departing without leave within one year he shall be expelled from his room and commodities in the same church. (Statute Book, fo. 4.) Comp. Harsnet's Statutes 1611, r. 12. Ibid. fo. 14.

DE STIPENDIIS VICARII CANTORIS.*

Ut sicut antiquitus factum esse memoratur succentor de bonis precentoris quadraginta solidos annuos, scilicet de synodalibus^b per manum archidiaconi Cicestr' recipiat, ad instantiam domini Ernisi^c tunc precentoris, confirmamus.

The sub-chanter was appointed by the dean and chapter on the nomination of the chanter (who in the last century was required to "appoint the anthems"),^d each vicar usually being in turn sub-chanter. His duties were to be present at the trial of vicars, clerks, and choristers, to bring in perditions,^e to direct the choir every Monday morning for the week following, etc.

The duty of the Sub-Chanter (Harsnet's Statutes, 1611, Statute Book, fo. 14.)

R. 26. He shall order the choir, and, in case there happen any disorder, he reform it; if in the choristers by correcting them; if in any other, by complaining to the dean, or, in the dean's absence, to his president of the chapter. (Decrees of dean and chapter, 1616. Statutes, fo. 21.)

R. 12. The master of the choristers or he shall oppose^f each chorister before his admission, and faithfully relate his aptness or ability of voice. (*Ibid.* fo. 18.)

* "Succentoris." Lib. E. fo. clxxxii.

Quod esset consuetudo quod unusquisque prebendarius, stallo suo vacante, possit unum vicarium ydoneum præsentare decano et capitulo infra mensem, qui staret in probatione in choro legendo et cantando per tempus congruum, et tunc præsentetur decano et capitulo per succentorem et unum vel duos de gravioribus vicariorum, qui deponerent decano et capitulo prædictis de ejus habilitate moribus et scientia. (Storey's Inq. 1478, fo. 6.) Stat. De Pueris et De Offensa.

^b Procurations given at visitations, or a fee paid at the annual synod held by the bishop.

^c Ernisius de Tywâ was præcentor in 1219 and 1251.

^d 1700, Book B. fo. 159.

^e Sc. quotidianæ, loss of the daily penny. Fines.

^f i.e., try and examine: the term Posers still remains at Winchester, and Appositions at St. Paul's School.

DE FRATERNITATIBUS.

Per fraternitates^a vulgares, que pro modico fieri solent, ecclesiastice venerationis vilesceat dignitas, quapropter ne decetero fiant nisi in certa forma et ex causa honesta a Decano et Capitulo providendis firmiter prohibemus.

There were two guilds in Chichester. That of the Merchants, dating from the reign of William I. which was licensed by Henry II. to consist of a master, the mayor for the time being, four wardens (custodes), annually chosen within a month after the mayor's election, a chaplain, brethren and sisters, and was re-established in 1446, as St. George's Fraternity, to maintain a chaplain in St. George's Chapel, which they attended. (Rot. Pat. 24 Hen. VI. P. ii. m. 1, May 13.) In 1541 the present Guildhall was formed out of the desecrated choir of the Grey Friars church, which it is to be hoped may one day, and that before long, be restored to divine worship in place of the mean and poverty-stricken churches which are unworthy of the "ancient city."

The guild received lands from bishop Sherborne to purchase wine, which was distributed at the Cross on the feast of St. George after service sung in St. George's Chapel and an anthem in the cathedral, and, when the usual honest merriment had been made, the toastmaster dismissed the guests with the words "All is over; pray for lord Robert's soul." A relic of this custom may be found in the younger townsfolk on New Year's Eve circling the Cross three times to the cheerful strains of a band of music.

DE ANNIVERSARIIS.

Anniversariis defunctorum qui passim ex gratia fieri consueverunt, ne in onus ecclesie consurgant, certus modus a Decano et Capitulo approbandus imponatur.

In 1678 a "catalogue of all gifts and benefactors was set up in an open place in the church to invite and animate the like charity in others." Will. de Kaynesham, canon, provided a wax taper of 1 lb.^b to burn before the high altar from the beginning of the service to the end. Canons, vicars, and boys, all received payment for attendance. The Liber Y contains numerous charters for anniversaries.

^a The chaplain of the fraternity who served at St. George's altar received 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (in the Valor 9*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*), and retired on a pension of 5*l.* "The mayor's stipendiary or chaplain had yearly 4*l.* for his living of the said mayor, and besides 6*l.* allowed to the said mayor and citizens for meat and drink of the said incumbent at the mayor's table by agreement of the dinner (*sic.*)" (Certif. of Chant. 50, n. 2.) The prebendary of Bursalis paid 1*d.* a-piece yearly to the four servants of the mayor. Sherborne gave 40*l.* to the mayor and citizens, in order to relieve the dean and chapter of charges.

^b "Before Relyques of Saints upon some goodly and costly pillow, two or four wax tapers are lyghted . . . whereas aboute the Sacrament there doeth scarcely one poore candell brynne." (Of the olde

OBITS AND ANNIVERSARIES.^a

Michaelmas or First Quarter, Oct. 1–Dec. 31. Galfridus (Aguillon), archidiaconus, 1192, 1214. His family founded the prebend of Marden.

William Earl of Arundel. William de Albini, husband of Adeliza of Lorraine, Countess of Arundel (widow of Henry I.), founder of Pinham Priory and Buckenham. He gave the prebend of East and West Dene, all his possessions in the fourth part of the city, and the site of his castle of Chichester to the cathedral. He died at Waverley, Oct. 13, 1176, and was buried at Wymondham Abbey.^b His chantry was at the altar of St. John Baptist.

Bishop John Arundel, died 18th October, 1477. He erected the Arundel screen or roodloft which formerly stood between the western pillars of the crossing. It had a central door, set between two recesses for altars, and a lierne vault. It is now kept in store, and it is to be hoped will be re-erected in front of the arch in the north wing of the transept. The bishop had a chantry for a service said twice in the week at St. Mary's altar.^c His tomb as that of a founder is set between two pillars in the southern arcade of the nave.

Oct. 19. Bishop Sherborne. His anniversary was to be held on St. Frideswide's day, Oct. 19, with exequies "in nocte iii^a horâ" of the eve, and mass on the feast, followed by largess to the poor then in Chichester at 10 a.m. By order of the prebendary of Bursalis, the city-bedel, who received 12*d.* was to proclaim the coming services; and in chapter that prebendary said "anima dom. Roberti requiescat in pace per misericordiam Dei." Within four days after, all the ordinances of Sherborne were to be read publicly by one of the Wiccamical prebendaries; Bursalis was to give to the dean a gallon of wine and bread at a cost of 12*d.*, and fruit. The great bells were to be rung at intervals from 1 p.m. until one hour after the exequies, in order to stir the people to pray, and each ringer received 4*d.*; 20 tapers, of 20 lbs. weight, were offered in the cathedral church for the solemnities; 3*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* (including 6*s.* 8*d.* for baking) were allowed to maintain the distribution of bread. The recipients were first to come to church and then to the palace to pray; any residue was to be bestowed as marriage portions for four poor and decent young maids of Chichester. The dean or residentiary "eminentioris dignitatis" received for singing high mass 5*s.*; each canon to the number of twelve had 2*s.*; each vicar choral to the number of sixteen, 6*d.*; every chorister to the number of eight, 4*d.*; the four ministers of the church, each 6*d.*;

god. 1534.] Bale also mentions "the continued light of lamps before the high altar, the burning cressets at triumphs in the night, the torches at burials and solemn processions, tapers at high mass, and the candles at offerings." (Image, etc. ch. xviii. p. 537.)

^a Clarke's MSS. and Addit. MS. 6262, fo. 89, al. 77. A list of Anniversaries of 35 Henry VIII. is in an old act book. I shall give a catalogue of the bishops elsewhere, and have printed a complete Fasti Cicestrenses in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxii. 154; xxiii. 2; and a Kalendar of the Registers in Proc. R. S. L. vol. ix.

^b Dugd. Baron. i. 120. The anniversary seems, however, to have been kept in the second quarter.

^c Bis celebrans ad altare B. Mariæ ad hostium chori, orabit pro anima Joh. Arundel, nuper episcopi. (See p. 170.)

five ringers, each 8*d.*; every city priest celebrating a mass 4*d.*; and the two royal chaplains 6*d.* each, but a small offering was required at the hands of the recipients. The dean was to invite all the canons to dinner, saying "Animæ famuli tui Roberti IVth. Tho. Chaundeler, Jo. Halman clericorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace." The ministers and ringers had money for their separate dinner.

Oct. 19 King John; dedit ecclesiam de Bakchild, in dotem ecclesiæ Cicestr. et xii pedes de vico regio extra muros cemeterii.^a See page 155.

Dean Henry Garland, 1332-42. Founder of the chantry with two chaplains of St. Mary for Bishop Gilbert 1336, and that of Colworth or St. Faith's in the cloisters, 1332. (MS. Harl. 6258, fo. 145.)

Dean Walter of Gloucester, 1262-89. Founder of St. Anne's chantry. (MS. Harl. 6958, fo. 32 b.; 6976, fo. 43 a. b.; Swayne, 252; Prynne, iii. 186.)

Nicholas Mortimer, for whom King Henry V. founded two chantries in the Lady Chapel.^b He had served the King when Prince of Wales in the French wars, and was probably of the same family as the Earl of March, whence he is termed by Edward IV. "consanguineus noster," but does not seem to be recorded in the pedigrees.

The second doorway in the south alley of the cloisters belonged to the royal chantry-priests' house, and has carving above it representing the arms of England and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, with a rose beneath. In the cornice it has the badge of Henry V. the Flaming Beacon, and the collared Antelope and Swan, and a fleur-de-lys and portcullis. The doorway,

^a King John had a second chantry which was held in the Chapter Garden without the walls of the city. Radulphus de Nova Villa dedit Ecclesiæ Cicestr. terras vocatas Greylings Well et terram vocatam Boscus Seman. quam habuit de dono Hugonis de Albiniaco comitis de Arundel. Construxit capellam S. Michaelis extra portam orientalem Cicestr. in qua statuit ij. capellanos celebrantes pro anima regis Johannis quorum uterque reciperet vi. marcas annuatim de ecclesia de Slynfolde per manus decani et capituli. The King, Henry III., gave "gardinum nostrum cum pertinentiis suis quod est extra muros civitatis cum capellâ quæ ibidem constructa est, et cum illo loco in quo mortuorum corpora sepulta sunt. Concessit episcopus quod in prædicta capella ij. constituat capellanos divina celebraturos inperpetuum, unum pro salute animæ regis Johannis, et alterum pro salute animæ nostræ" (1277). (Hayley MS. fo. 3. Var. Obs. 186. Cathal. Epis. Lib. Y.

^b Nos considerantes exilitatem dotationis ecclesiæ dicte, devotionemque ministrorum ejusdem . . . in honorem almi confessoris Episcopi Ricardi, cujus corpus et reliquie in dicta ecclesia Cicestren. continentur, pro animabus Henrici IVth ac matris nostre ac pro anima bone memorie Nicholai Mortymer, quondam dum vixerat fidelis familiaris nostri, prioratum et prebendam de Wilmington decano et capitulo assignamus, ordinamus et stabilimus duas Cantarias in quadam Capellâ sanctissime Dei genitricis ubi corpus Nicholai Mortymer requiescit humatum . . . unus capellanus cotidiè celebret missas . . . alter capellanus celebret in II^a Feriâ de Annunciatione Dominica, Feriâ III^a de S. Spiritu, et sic missas illas usque ad diem dominicam alternando, quo die volumus eorum alterum inperpetuum de Trinitate celebrare. These royal chaplains were to have the first stalls among the vicars in choir "cum almucis de calabria," the dean and chapter were to pay 40*s.* a-year "ad sustentationem Communis Aulæ et utensilium vicariorum," 2 marks to the vicars, and 8 marks to the choristers. (Claus. Ro. Aug. 12, 1414, 1 Hen. V. m. 20. Pat. Rot. 2 Hen. V. p. ii. m. 14.) The chantries are confirmed in Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. m. 20.

now in Canon-lane, also belonged to it; it has a rebus, a portcullis, a fret, a circle, and a shield, on a cross within a bordure of roundels a rose seeded.

Oct. 30. Bishop Stephen de Berghsted or Pagham, consecrated Sept. 24, 1262, at Canterbury. "C. MCCLXXVI. hic celebravit translationem gloriosi confessoris B. Richardi, prædecessoris sui, circa quam expendit plus quam M. libras." He was excommunicated by Pope Clement IV. for his part in the war of the Barons; he was afterwards reconciled to Henry III.^a He died blind Oct. 30, 1287. His tomb remains as a founder in the south wall of the Galilee which he built, and wherein he humbly made his grave as if inviting the thoughts and prayers of those who passed by into the House of the Lord, as Bishop Barrow desired when he was by his own desire laid to rest outside the west door of St. Asaph. Dean Milton was buried "in australi porticu."^b

Sir John Arundel, probably a relation of Bishop Arundel.

Bishop Radulphus, Ralph I. de Luffa,^c consecrated 1091, rebuilt the cathedral. He died Dec. 4, 1125.^d In his quarrel with the King he blocked all the church doors in the diocese with thorns. "At the entrance into the Lady Chapel, under a plain marble, lies Ralph, the third bishop of the see" (on the north).^e The slab has his name, a mitre, and staff. Canon Northburgh, who died in 1382, desired to be buried at the Lady Chapel door, near the three bishops and the tomb inscribed "Radulphus Episcopus."^f Two other slabs lying under the arch of Bishop Gilbert's tomb are mentioned in this position in Mr. Clarke's notes about 1730. One of them is assigned by tradition to Seffrid or Siegfried II. 1180-1204;^g the other is a half-effigy in low relief, with the right hand grasping the crutch.^h Above the tomb of Bishop Ralph there is a recessed arch in the wall, probably for the exhibition of relics. (Comp. W. Malm. liv. v. § 265.)

Second or Hilary Quarter, Jan. 1-March 31. Dean Thomas de Lichfield, 1232.

^a *Catalogus Episc. Lib. Y. fo. cxxvj.* Rishanger, 47, 55. *Ann. Mon. passim.* *Lansd. MS. 431, fo. 8.*

^b *Reg. Chichele, 374 b.*

^c Lauffen, near Heilbronn, Wurtemberg, as identified by Mr. R. H. Major, F.S.A.

^d *Lib. Y. fo. clxxvi.*

^e Browne Willis's *Mitred Abbeys*, ii. 349.

^f *Reg. Courtenay, fo. 208 b:* ante ostium Capellæ B. M. Virginis, citra illos tres episcopos ibidem sepultos, et inter dom. et confratrem Mag. Thomam Yonge et episcopum inibi in medio sepultum, nuncupatum et in tumbâ ejus sculptatum "Radulphus Episcopus," et quod fiat ibidem circa funus meum petreæ consolidatio, et quædam petra de marmore honesto, ad instar dom. Jo. Ambersle ibidem sepultum.

^g These coffins were opened in 1829 and various articles removed, which are now kept in the library. The stone coffin of Bishop Goisfrid (1089) which was found in the Paradise was removed to the south transept in 1830. (*Gent. Mag. c. 447; Dally's Guide, 65.*) There are four other slabs, each bearing a pastoral staff laid diagonally on the lid, in front of each of the eastern chapels; one on the south has a mitre; they probably commemorate Stigand, Hilary of Pevensey, John I. and Simon I. (*Gent. Mag. xcix. i. 545. Journ. Arch. Inst. xx. 235.*)

^h *Segrave's Guide, p. 13.* The slab, engraved by King, represents the bishop's hand holding a staff surmounted by a mitre, with veil and fillets, and belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century. It was probably the memorial of Bishop Ranulphus de Warham, who died Sept. 15, 1222; he left an endowment for a dole of bread, which is still given weekly to the poor: twelve quarters of wheat were baked in the seventeenth century.

Bishop Beckington of Bath and Wells, Prebendary of Henfield 1438, died Jan. 1464-5.

Bishop Storey, transl. March 27, 1478; died Jan. 29, 1503.

Bishop Ralph II. de Neville, consecrated April 21, 1224; died Feb. 1, 1243-4.

Bishop Gilbert de S^o Leofardo^a (Leeuwarden in Friesland), consecrated Sept. 5, 1288, at Canterbury; died Feb. 12, 1305; refounder of the Lady Chapel. "In the Lady Chapel, about the middle of the south wall, is a tomb for Bishop de S. Leofardo, who built the said chapel."^b This is the beautiful cinquefoiled arch still remaining. The whole chapel has been lately restored in loving memory of the late Bishop A. T. Gilbert.

Bishop Seffrid II. consecrated Nov. 16, 1180, at Canterbury. He died March 17, 1204.^c

Third Quarter, April 1-June 30. Dean Galfridus, 1247-62.^d Dean William de Bracklesham, 1280.

Archdeacon Simon Russell, 1388.

Bishop John II. Biscop or Clympyng, consecrated Jan. 11, 1253-4, at Canterbury; died May 18, 1262. Dedit. ecclesiæ Cicestr. xv marcas annui redditus percipiendas de prioratu de Michelham et xx s. de Prebenda de Erlington et j s. de ecclesia de Rustyngton (Cathalogus).^e

Bishop John Barnett successively held the sees of Worcester, Bath and Wells, and Ely. He died June 13, 1373.

April 16. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, consecrated March 15, 1245, at Lyons;^f died 1253. He was buried between two pillars on the north side of the nave near the chapel of St. Edmund,

^a Ann. Mon. ii. 402, iv. 312. Cepit anno domini mclxxxix. Item dedit Præcentori Ecclesiæ Cicestr. terras in Ovyng quas emit pro cc. libris, ad celebrandum anniversarium suum singulis annis, et ad distribuendum pro eodem per manus communarii lvj s. viii d. Item dedit ecclesiæ capellam [the furniture in] suam cum aliis pluribus jocalibus et ornamentis. (Cathalogus Episc. Cicest. Lib. Y. fo. clxii.)

^b Browne Willis's Mitred Abbeys, ii. 349.

^c Lib. Y. fo. xl. Bened. Petrib. i. 280, ii. 78. Hoveden ii. 254, iv. 90, iii. pass. Item dedit Ecclesiæ Cicestrensi ecclesiam de Sefford, salvâ prebendâ c. solidorum. (Cathal. Episc. Cic.)

^d MS. Harl. 6973, fo. 23 b, 6976, fo. 44. Prynne iii. 224. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxix.

^e Matt. Par. ii. 139, 327. Fifteen marks were distributed. (Lib. Y. fo. cl.)

^f Cepit a^o dom. mcc[xlv] acquisivit collationem Vicarie de Stoghton, Conoghton, Clympyng, Collefield, Westfield, et Icklesham. Item ad opus ecclesie Cyc. dedit ecclesias de Stoghton et Alciston, et jus patronatus ecclesiæ de Mendlesham, obiit autem iij^o die mensis Aprilis a.d. mclliii. et cathologo sanctorum ascriptus à dom. Papa die mens. Feb. 12 a.d. mclxlii. Translatus vero fuit in Eccles. Cath. Cicestr. xvj^o die Junii a.d. mclxxvi. (Cathalogus Episcoporum, Lib. Y.) He died in the chapel of his patron saint, St. Edmund, which he had consecrated at Dover. He used the Ciphus S. Edmundi to cure a boy at Chichester. (Vita, c. vii. Acta Sanctorum ix. 302 E.) Corpus ejus in ipsa ecclesia coram Altare B. Edmundi Confessoris quod ipsemet ibidem ad aquilonarem ecclesiæ partem dedicaverat, in hujusmodi loco sepultum est. (Bocking, MS. Sloane, 1772, fo. 59.) "In humili loco," according to Capgrave and the Vita. (Acta Sanct. ix. pp. 282, 307 D.) Bocking, narrating a miracle "ad tumbam," says it occurred to a paralytic sleeping, "circa horam diei tertiam dum Missa Major celebraretur, super Sancti sepulchrum," and mentions the Custos Tumbæ. (Sloane MS. fo. 61 b. Act. Sanct. p. 310 B.) There was therefore no effigy in existence then. The saint's cope and boots cured diseases. (Capgrave, c. iii. Acta Sanct. ix.

which he built.^a His body was afterwards translated into a shrine eastward of the altar like those of St. Edmund at Bury, St. Cuthbert at Durham, St. Thomas at Canterbury, St. Edward at Westminster, and St. Alban. The Cathedral itself was popularly known as "St. Richard's."

In no case could the figure hitherto erroneously called by his name be the effigy of St. Richard, for the Act 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. x. § 6, spared only recumbent "images set upon a tomb only for a monument of any dead person who hath not been commonly reputed and taken as a saint;" and the Injunctions, 1547, § 3, absolutely required all standing images, such as that mentioned under St. Theobald's Chapel, and described in the Homily of Peril of Idolatry, P. iii. p. 235, to be taken down and destroyed which had been "so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto." Wharton says that in his time pilgrims used to visit the tomb of Bishop Giffard at Worcester, mistaking it for the shrine of St. Wolstan.^b

It would seem that the so-called tomb of St. Richard, which has been "restored," except on the north side, consists of two portions. The basement, like the tester and canopied screen of wood, now removed, and the aumbry for offerings which once stood near it of Perpendicular date, probably belonged to Bishop Moleyns (1449-1450); whilst the effigy of Bishop Langton, who died in 1337, was removed from its sepulchral recess and placed upon it, and the effigy of Bishop Stratford,^c who died in 1362, has been set over the grave of Langton. The architectural features favour this supposition; the same kind of stone as the basement was used for the tomb of Rickingale in the fifteenth century; the tall mitre and close-shaven face of the effigy are at variance with both the low mitre and short crisp beard and moustache of the middle of the thirteenth century. The shrines of St. Dunstan at Canterbury and St. William at Rochester have no effigies, for saints were never represented as recumbent, but standing. Bishop Moleyns was murdered^d on Jan. 9, 1449-50, having been beheaded by shipmen outside the Domus Dei of Portsmouth, and evident signs of hasty interment were found in the grave. Tradition has called a tomb in the north presbytery aisle by his name; but, it is that of Rickingale, who died in 1429; although not completed, as its architectural features show, for some time after his death.

He desired to be buried in *ecclesiâ vel choro*; and in his will says, *Volo quod lapis marmoreus cum ymagine Episcopali ac nomine meo insculptis, ponetur super corpus meum tam cito post mortem meam quam honeste parari potest.*^e

Bishop Robert Rede in 1415 desired to be buried "in choro, ad pedes tumuli dom. Willelmi de Rede prædecessoris mei coram summo altare."^f The other prelates who died during the fifteenth

282 A, 305 c.) 1253, "*Miracula ad Tumbam Ricardi Cic. Epi.*" such is the simple remark of Matthew Paris, iii. 139, 327.

^a St. Richard says in his will, "*Lego Corpus meum sepeliendum in majori ecclesia* [the Cathedral as in Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 139] *in navi ejusdem ecclesie prope altare B. Edmundi juxta columpnam.*" (Lib. Y. fo. xliii.) The local term "the High Church" is not yet extinct.

^b Ang. Sacra, note 1, 497. Comp. Council Register, ii. 240, 251.

^c Reg. Islip. fo. 185 a.

^d Leland, de Script. Brit. 454. He was paymaster of the forces. W. Wyrcestre Ann. 477. He died intestate. Reg. Kemp. 180a.

^e Chichele, i. 423. Carter's Sketch, Add. MS. 29,925, fo. 26.

^f Reg. Chichele, fo. 277 a.

century were Sydenham in 1438, who directs his tomb to be "coram summo altari;" Praty in 1445, who desired to be buried "in ecclesia sive in choro;"^a Arundel, who was buried in the nave 1477; and Storey, whose tomb remains.^b

April 26. Bishop John I. (de Greneford), consecrated Oct. 6, 1174, at Canterbury. He died in 1180.

Bishop Henry Ware, consecrated July 17, 1418, at Pont de l'Arche; died June 1420.^c

Fourth Quarter. July 1—Sept. 30. Dean Matthew,^d 1180-93, and the Sub-dean Peter.

13 July. Bishop Hilary, consecrated Aug. 3, 1148, at Canterbury; died July 13, 1169.^e

19 July. Bishop John de Langton, consecrated Sept. 19, 1305, at Canterbury; died July 19, 1337.^f "His tomb is under the great window in the Kings' transept, so called from Bernardi's painting of the heads of all the Sovereigns of England upon panels.^g The high tomb supports an effigy with a horse at the feet, and he was buried in lead, with a paten laid upon his breast. His great work was the glorious window of flowing Decorated in the south wing of the transept, which retains a single fragment of stained glass, St. Wilfrid's arms. His other work was the chapter-house, the present muniment room over the sacristy. The earlier building, possibly in its normal position on the east side of the cloister where the large arch opens, is mentioned on April 18, 1249, when an endowment was made, *totam aream capituli eccles. Cyc. scopis mundare quolibet feriâ sextâ, nisi aliquid festum solempne impediet; et tunc fiet in ejus vigiliâ vel in crastino.*^h In 1397 and 1402 there is a distinct notice of Langton's *Domus Capitularis*, and in 1500 Dean Cloos was buried before its door (*ostium*). During the occupation of the church by the rebels, Sir Arthur Hazelrigge "demanded the keys of the chapter-house, where the remainder of the church plate was. He commanded his servants to break down the wainscot round about the room, which was quickly done, they having brought crows of iron for that purpose. Sir Arthur's tongue was not enough to express his joys, for, dancing and skipping, he cried out, 'There, boys, hark! hark! it rattles, it rattles,' and, being much importuned by some

^a Reg. Stafford, i. 28 b. Chicheley 463, a. b.

^b A MS. book in the library contains drawings by J. C. B. (probably Buckler), of all the bishop's slabs and similar memorials on the floor of the church, of which Mr. Valentine at the beginning of this century says: "About sixty years since the sepulchral stones, some of them of immense size, formerly adorned with brasses under stately canopies, were removed from the choir into their present situations in the nave and side-aisles on the paving of the choir with black and white marble." Guide, p. 34. These are probably memorials of the Bishops John Clympyng, Gilbert de S. Leofardo, Rede, Ware, Sydenham, and Praty. One is semée with mullets and crescents.

^c Reg. Chichele, p. 335.

^d MS. Harl. 6973, fo. 28, 6976, fo. 42 b, 153 b. Cart. Seacc. Nero E. vi. fo. 157. Reg. Waltham, fo. 110. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxix.

^e Lib. Y. fo. lxxxv.

^f Capgrave 187. *Legavit ad fabricam ipsius ecclesie c. li. et totam capellam suam (the ornaments of his chapel) cum multis aliis reliquiis, jocalibus, et ornamentis. .Edificavit magnam fenestram sumptuosam australem ecclesie. (Cathalogus episcoporum.)* See also page 152.

^g Hayley MS. 342. These portraits were destroyed by the fall of the spire on Feb. 21, 1861.

^h Lib. Y. fo. cliii.

members of that church to leave but a cup for the administration of the Blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman standing by that they should 'take a wooden dish.'^a

In the computus of 1637 it is designated as the upper chapter-house. In 1729 there was ^a payment of 24*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* for paving the great chapter-house. Its destination accounts for the magnificent staircase which leads to it, and the grand chair its chief ornament. It could be easily restored for its proper use by the transfer of the muniments to their original chamber adjoining the north transept. It stood over the Treasury.

Aug. 18, Bishop William Rede,^b consecrated at Avignon; died in 1385. He desired to be buried in the church of the Holy Trinity, Selsea,^c as the registrar wrote in his will by an error for Chichester, where the bishop was buried in the choir.

Aug. 21, Bishop Simon de Welles, consecrated July 12, 1204, at Westminster; died in 1207.^d Præcentor Ernisius de Tywa, 1219 and 1251.

Aug. 31, King Henry V. founder of the Royal Chantries.

Sept. 15, Bishop Ranulph [de Warham], consecrated 7th Jan. 1218, died 1222.^e

A very interesting, but unhappily too brief, a list of obits and special services occurs in Ashmolean MS. 1146:—^f

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Jan. ix. | Obitus Ade Cicestrensis episcopi, cujus anime propicietur deus. [1449-50.] |
| Feb. iv. | Obitus Radulphi secundi episcopi Cicestrensis. ^g [1243-4.] |
| „ xi. | Dies Consecrationis domini Simonis episcopi Cicestrensis. [1430-1.] |
| „ xii. | Obitus Gilberti de Sancto Leophardo episcopi Cicestrensis. [1304-5.] |
| Mar. xvii. | Obitus Seffridi II ^{di} episcopi Cicestrensis. [1204.] |
| April iii. | Deposicio Sancti Ricardi. [1253]. |
| „ viii. | Obitus domini Roberti de Stratford, episcopi Cicestrensis. [1362]. |
| „ x. | Consecratio venerabilis patris domini Ricardi iij ^{ti} episcopi Cicestrensis anno domini, etc. 90 ^{mo} . [1390.] |
| „ xvi. | Obitus Ricardi i. episcopi Cicestrensis. [1237]. |
| „ xxvi. | Obitus Johannis episcopi Cicestrensis primi. [1180]. |
| Mai. xviii. | Obitus Johannis ij ^{di} episcopi Cicestrensis. [1262]. |

^a Merc. Rust. 143.

^b Walsyngham, Hist. Angl. i. 307.

^c Reg. Courtenay, 213-216. Reg. Chichele, p. 277 a.

^d Simul acquisivit ecclesiæ ecclesiam de Bakchild quam rex Johannes dedit, et acquisivit de eodem rege episcopatu Cicestr. xij. pedes de vico regio extra muros cæmeterii Cicestr. (Lib. Y. fo. clxxvii. Matt. Par. ii. 102, 113; iii. 222-224.) The houses built on this site along West Street were removed 1848-52.

^e Blomefield says 28 May, on which day his obit was celebrated at Norwich, where he had been chancellor.

^f "Dedit cxxx marcas ad fabricam ecclesiæ, et capellam suam integram cum multis ornamentis." He also gave "Chichester Rents," houses in Chancery (Chancellor's) Lane, so called after him when he held the great seal, and fixed the implementum or staurum, the permanent store or stock of the bishops. (Lansd. MS. 431, fo. viii. Cathal. Episc. Cyc. Lib. Y. fo. xliiii. xlv. li.)

^g Comp. Lansd. MS. 431, fo. 8, and Addit. MS. 6262, fo. 89.

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Jun. xvii. | Obitus Edwardi tercii Regis Anglie [1337] a quo Willelmus tercius episcopus Cicestrensis recepit temporalia. [1369.] |
| Jul. xiii. | Obitus Hillarii episcopi Cicestrensis. [1169]. |
| „ xix. | Obitus Johannis iij. episcopi Cicestrensis. [1337.] |
| Aug. xviii. | Obitus Willielmi Reed episcopi Cicestrensis A ^o 1385. |
| „ xxi. | Obitus Simonis episcopi Cicestrensis. [1207.] |
| Sept. ii. | Consecratio Willielmi tercii. [1369]. |
| „ iii. | Missa de Trinitate. |
| „ xii. | Dedicacio ecclesie Cicestrensis. |
| „ xv. | Obitus Ranulphi episcopi Cicestrensis. [1222.] |
| Oct. xxx. | Obitus Stephani episcopi Cicestrensis. [1287.] |
| Dec. xi. | Willelmus tercius oritur mundo et Christo. ^a Missa de S. Spiritu. |
| „ xix. | Obitus Urbani pape v ^{ti} qui providit Willelmo tercio de episcopatu Cicestrie. [1368.] |

DE CAPELLANIS ALTARIS SANCTE MARIE ET SANCTI AUGUSTINI.

Cum jam vacante capellania Sancte Marie constituta a bone memorie Thome^b decano Cicestr. ad nos de capellano substituendo pertineat ordinatio, considerantes quod capellano capellanie Sancti Augustini ab eodem institute hoc onus impositum est, ut celebrata missa sua mane intersit misse beate Marie et processionibus et magnis missis ix.^c lectionum, ordinamus ut capellanus alterius capellanie predicte cui uberius est provisum, ad idem decetero teneatur.

Et si forte contigerit quod unus eorum quandoque hiis interesse nequiverit, hoc alteri denuntiet ut diligentius intersit, ne utroque absente nascatur deformitas, uterque vero ut officii sibi prescripti debitum fideliter impleat, et ut cum honestis personis sua sit conversatio, ne honeste vite caveat testimonio, per subtractionem beneficii compellatur.

“At the outside of the western end of the north transept were the remains of buildings which

^a No doubt his birth or baptismal day. Founders' "Ob." and "Nat." are kept at Winchester. Comp. Num. xxxii. 14: Surrexistis pro patribus; and Ep. ad Coloss. ii. 12: "In Christo surrexistis;" "spiritualis generatio" (Lyndw. p. 244). Comp. prima tabula nos ad portum salutis adducens Baptismus est. (Const. Othob., MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 156.)

^b Thomas Lichfield.

^c Dies sanctorum qui celebrantur autoritate diocesana necnon duplex officium habentes, cum ix. lectionibus debent observari. (Radulphi de Can. Observ. ap. Hittorpium, 457 e.) For feasts of Nine Lectons, see Johnson's Canons, ii. 440.

appear to have been the residence of some chantry priests. The door by which they used to descend into the church to perform their office still remains."^a

The numbers and duties of chantry-priests are thus defined:

Beneficiatus seu habens cantariam de cætero in vicarium ecclesiæ non admittatur, nec alicujus vices gerere permittatur, cum diu et hoc in generali congregatione fratrum statutum dinoscitur extitisse.

Habentes cantarias in predicta ecclesia perpetuas in altaribus et locis ejusdem intitulas, Divinis officiis vacent et intendant, nisi alibi celebrent vel parochialibus ecclesiis deserviant, sub pœna stipendii sui subtractationis.^b

DE FESTO S. WLSTANI.

Festum depositionis beati Wlstani pontificis^c decetero fore concedimus tertie dignitatis quod ut solempnius celebretur redditum quinque solidorum statuit G. decanus in choro distribuendorum in forma que in carta exinde [confecta]^d plenius continetur.

DE DOMIBUS CANONICORUM IN CIVITATE ET EXTRA.

Domus canonicorum in civitate vel diocesi prebendales necessarias de bonis prebendarum canonicorum, qui eas per annum ut proprias retinuerint reparari et conservari, censemus, quod, nisi per canonicos vel eorum procuratores infra tempus à decano et capitulo statuendum factum fuerit, ad id per prebendarum sequestrationem compellantur.

A letter of admonition in 1300 was issued with a citation, "Mag. canonico W^o. de Irtone propter defectum et reparationem domorum spectantium thesaurario Cic. tam in clauso quàm in parochia de Estbourne;" and in 1402 the præcentor was presented "quod non facit debitam reparationem in domum sui infra clausum canonicorum." The dean, or a residentiary deputed by the dean and chapter, was to visit yearly, or in every second year, the church property.^e

A deed of Dean Matthew, 1125-40, exists touching the houses "in termino claustrî."^f

Omnes canonici residentiarii, (decano, præcentore, thesaurario et cancellario tantummodò exceptis, quorum dignitatibus certæ sunt domus et mansiones pertinentes et spectantes,) habitent et moram suam trahant et larem foveant in domibus et mansionibus, canonicis et residentiariis, vel in

^a Valintine's Guide, 36.

^b Stat. 1314, lib. E. 186. The chantries are enumerated under the altars, page 168-173.

^c In the Chichester copy "episcopi et confessoris." St. Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, died Jan. 18, 1095. (Ang. Sac. ii. 267-269. W. de Malm. Gest. Pont. 288) Geoffrey was dean 1247-1262. MS. Harl. 6973, fo. 23 b, 6976, fo. 44. Prynné iii. 224. Lib. Y. fo. lxxxxix^o. See Stat. de Communario. Deposito is laying down the burden of this earthly tabernacle. The St. Alban's Kalendar makes it a feast of three lections.

^d Interlined.

^e Lib. Y. fo. clxiiij. Reg. Storey, 1480, r. 4, fo. 7 b.

^f Lib. Y. fo. lxxxj.

proximo residentiam facturis, per episcopum conferri solitis et consuetis,"^a the residentiary houses being in his collation; two of these remain. In 1431 the bishop gave a ruinous house, except the kitchen, to the fabric, and the site of another house covering an acre to the next residentiary as building ground.^b

1368, April 12. *Litera Willelmi Cicestr. episcopi quod canonici ecclesiæ possint celebrare in oratoriis hospitiorum^c suorum, modo infra clausum ecclesiæ, et extra horas in quibus in ecclesia attenditur.* They could only say of course low masses. *Confirmatio ejusdem per Willelmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.*^d

There was a canons' hostel, between which and the cathedral St. Faith's chapel in later times was used as a thoroughfare, 1385. "In clauso Canonorum Cicestrens. juxta hospitium canonicale, (so runs the Register of Archbishop Courtenay,) *est quedam alia domus canonicalis contigua, cum gardino, ab olim per diversos ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicos solita habitari.*" The former was "adeo angustum quod propter ejusdem strictitudines seu foricturam^e necessaria victus tui ad magnum incommodum in domibus aliorum non absque domigio ponere coarctaris." This house probably adjoined the south alley of the cloister, and is marked out by the doorway retaining a Perpendicular label, and opening into the house of the Wiccamical prebendaries, which had an upper gallery and nall, and below the latter a plain cellarage of the thirteenth century, 28 by 18 feet, and 7 feet high, which remains. Bishop Sherborne thus describes the residence, Jan. 24, 1523.

"Quod dicti prebendarii nostri et successores sui pro habitatione suâ habeant imperpetuum domum illam, cujus ostium est in sinistro muro claustris versus venellam que ducit ad mansionem decanalem, cum omnibus ortulis, ceterisque commoditatibus eidem annexis, sicut modo includuntur ac per Mag. Edw. More nuper occupabantur. Domum predictam in *iiij^{or}* mansiones, secundum prebendariorum numerum, dimidiamus, ita quod spaciosa illa et ampla Camera, que est super aulam ibidem, ac camera eidem contigua, ex australi parte, unâ cum latrinis adjunctis cedant in usum et comodum unius prebendariorum [Bursalis]. Alius enim habeat superius illud Deambulatorium, quod ex parte occidentali ipsi Aule adheret, et orientaliter edibus Capellanorum Rectorum, unâ cum loco subtus deambulatorium predictum, ubi sibi adaptet cameras suas.

"Tertius quidem cum parlura ex parte australi ipsius aule, una cum *ij^{bus}* cameris proximè conjunctis sit omnino contentus.

"Quarto enim omnes illæ superiores camere, que sunt inter aulam et coquinam, unâ cum parvâ camerâ versus venellam, pro suâ habitatione assignentur.

"Bursalis habeat partitionem illam que est de magna camera super aulam."^g

Beyond the doorway into St. Richard's Wyne or Lane (venella) the Decorated label marks the entrance to the treasury or treasurer's house. Part of the side wall on the east retains a late small window. Like the deanery, the house is modern; it was rebuilt in 1832: a view of it, as it existed in 1820, is in the hall of the deanery.

^a Storey's Reg. fo. 71. See Stat. de Domib. Canon. Deced.

^b Lib. Y. fo. 1.

^c Hostels or houses.

^d Leiger 24. Lib. Y. fo. xlv. Swayne 270.

^e I have printed the document in Gent. Mag. xvi. 286.

^f Strait entrance and wicket.

^g Reg. fo. 22 b.

The residentiary house next the Bishop's gate has a fine Norman doorway (c. 1160-70), removed from the former dwelling; and the Chantry or Præcentor's house retains an Early-English porch, with quadripartite vaulting in two spans; a couplet under a gable, which is pierced with a quatrefoil; a little cinquefoiled window, a cornice on the bay window in the garden front, and a mantelpiece of the time of Henry VII. A mantelpiece in the study, with the De la Warr arms, came from Halnacre about 1800.

In 1742 it is said that "the chancellor's house is and has been for many years quite dilapidated." It was ruined by the rebels in 1643. It faced the Close opposite the Galilee;^a its site between the Palace Chapel and the houses in West Street is still known as "the Chancellor's garden."

In 1602 the four houses occupied by the residentiaries were that one adjoining the palace gate; a second retaining traces of an archway next to the deanery; the Bursalis prebendal house; and the chancery.^b

Henry II. allowed Dean Seffrid to make "posternam in muro civitatis Cicestr. contra domum suam, per quam eat ad virgultum suum et ad culturam suam et ad grangias suas. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 4.) The second doorway through the walls was made by Geoffrey, a canon, in the early part of the thirteenth century.^c

[DE CONSTITUTIONIBUS INCORPORANDIS.]

Omnes constitutiones antique et approbate in unam cum istis redigantur scripturam, que publice proponatur ut excusacionis ignorantie non observantibus materia subtrahatur.^d

CONSTITUTIONES ANTIQUE DE OFFICIIS VARIIS.

Decanus omnibus canonicis et vicariis preest, quoad regimen animarum et correctionem morum.*

^a Swayne, 791. Visit. Book, p. 214. Lib. Y. fo. 30. ^b Var. Observ. 72. ^c Lib. E. fo. 10.

^d The same process was followed at Lichfield under Bishop Heywood, at York under Wolsey, at Lincoln under Bishop Alnwick, and at St. Paul's. Bishop Mawson in 1742 required that the statutes "shall be submitted by the chapter clerk to the perusal of every new dignitary and prebendary before their installation." (Stat. Book, B. fo. 217.)

* Canonici quoad curam animarum subsunt Decano. The dean by the canon law received the confessions of the canons. (Lyndw. lib. v. tit. xvi. gl. f. k. m. p. 327.) Correctio et reformatio delinquentium must be made in the chapter-house. Capitulum potest corrigere crimen canonici de capitulo; decani ecclesiarum cathedralium excessus subditorum quandoque corrigunt et reformant. (Lyndw. lib. i. t. 3. p. 17.) At Lincoln the two rose windows of the transept represented the care of the bishop and the dean, as "oculi duo," the first inviting the Holy Spirit, the latter guarding against Satan's coming from the sides of the north. (Dimock's Life of S. Hugh, vv. 936-946.) M. de Beaurepaire, l'archiviste de Rouen, in a letter to me, says, "L'on ne connaît pas de Statuts du Chapitre de Rouen antérieurs au 13^e siècle vers 1247." (The year in which the statutes of Chichester were consolidated.) "On y trouve les articles suivants. Omnes canonici subjacent jurisdictioni Decani et capituli plenarie in omnibus hiis que spectant ad officium

Cantor debet chorum regere^a quoad cantum, et potest cantum extollere vel deprimere; lectores et cantores nocturnos et diurnos in tabula notare, inferiores clericos in chorum introducere, in celebratione ordinum clericorum admissorum nomina recitare.

Cancellarius debet scholas regere^b vel dare lectiones ascultare et terminare, sigillum ecclesie, adhibito sibi fratre fideli, custodire, litteras et cartas componere.

Thesaurarius^c debet thesaurum, ornamenta, vasa, utensilia ecclesie conser-

ecclesiasticum, ad honestatem chori, ad emendationem morum, ad correctionem delictorum. Debent in predictis obedire ei et etiam in citationibus et vocationibus ad capitulum et cum decano et capitulo fideliter stare. Debent Decanus et capitulum animadvertere in delinquentes circa predicta et circa omnia alia; et vacante decanatu tota jurisdictio residet penes capitulum." Stat. De Offensâ and the statute on the election of a dean and the *mores* in statutes extend to the points mentioned in the constitution. The dean can give leave of absence to a residentiary, and permit the loan of books. He also installs dignitaries and canons on the bishop's mandate. (Stat. De Institutione Canonicorum.) The correction and admonition of Vicars have been alluded to in pp. 181, 190, and below.

^a Quod hoc importet remitto te ad Ordinale Sarum Ecclesie (Lyndw. lib. ii. tit. 3.) The Regimen Chori may be seen in Stat. De Offensâ and Harl. MS. 1001, fo. 121 b. Solet chorus regi omni die dominico, et omni duplici festo, et omni festo ix. lectionum per totum annum: et à primis vesperis Natalis Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniæ, in ipsis octavis; et per ebdomadam Paschæ et Pentecostes, in festis S. Mariæ, SS. Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, et S. Barnabe Apostoli, et per octavam Ascensionis Domini et in octavâ die Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, etc. At Chichester twenty-nine chief feasts were observed, including commemorations of St. Richard, April 4 and June 16. (Swayne, 454.) A rubric in the Tropar of MS. Univ. Coll. throws a light on the ritual: "Dominica Tertia in adventu; a tribus presbyteris est cantanda in capis sericis choro respondente, 'Qui regis sceptrâ.'" (Fo. 32.) It contains sequences and proses (rhythmical anthems or canticles), "carmina," kyries having sentences interposed between the words Kyrie and Eleison, and "Canticum," the Gloria in Excelsis for festivals of the first to the fifth class or dignity. The music gives a most interesting example of mediæval melody in its simpler and also its complex forms. The days of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Dunstan, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, St. Vincent, St. Laurence, Holy Cross, the Translation of St. Thomas M. and the Assumption and Dedication, are festivals now disused. In 1682 the bishop inquired, Anne Festum Dedicationis ecclesie ad morem festorum majorum ritè celebretur? The tabula, or matricula servicio chori, is mentioned in Stat. de X. Pueris and Stat. de Offensâ.

^b Bishop Storey founded the prebendal school to relieve him from this duty, and the master of choristers taught the choir boys. At Rouen the chancellor promised "quod per me vel alium audiam lectiones que legi debent in choro: et scolis grammaticalibus hujus ville de sufficiente magistro in artibus providebo, qui nullibi preterquam in domo capituli, prout est consuetum, poterit regentare." (Letter of M. de Beaurepaire.) At Lincoln the chancellor's duties have been lately resumed. At Salisbury the chancellor was school-inspector throughout the city. The sub-chancellor became the chapter clerk.

^c The treasury, or treasure-house, contained the "treasure," the exchequer, the vessels, the goods, plate, jewels (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 26, p. 249; tit. 27, p. 252); "utensils" or cimelia; all necessities of divine service, consecrated or not (*Ib.* lib. i. tit. 10, p. 50), and "ornaments" of the church and clergy, precious vestments, and furniture of draperies, and the like. (*Ib.* lib. i. tit. vi. p. 33; tit. x. p. 52.) The sacristy or Treasury was also under the charge of the treasurer. The sub-treasurer at a later period kept the

vare, luminaria universa per totum annum administrare, campanas ad omnes usus ecclesie pulsare, valvas ecclesie serare et reserare.

Archidiaconi^a in sollicitudine parochiarum et in cura presunt animarum.

Nihil potest excusare canonicos quin resideant nisi causa scolarum^b et servitium regis qui unum potest habere in capella sua, archiepiscopus unum et episcopus duos. Potest tamen abesse sine licentia decani per duos dies.

Dignitas decani et omnium canonicorum est quod episcopo in nullo respondeant nisi in capitulo et iudicio pareant capituli.

Communam in ecclesia non percipiat nisi qui presens fuerit in ecclesia.

Item si canonicus dedicationi ecclesie interfuerit, eque percipiet de oblationibus cum capellanis episcopi.^c

The concurrent jurisdiction of the dean and chapter over the capitular peculiars, and the general relation subsisting between the bishop and the dean and chapter, will be best illustrated from a short treatise in the University College MS. of the fourteenth century.

Cum separata sunt jura episcoporum et capitulorum ex longa juris et moris observantia in ecclesia Cycestr', sicut et in aliis ecclesiis episcopalibus, optentum est, quod sicut ad episcopum in rebus episcopalibus, ita ad decanum et capitulum in rebus eorum communibus et prebendalibus cura pertinet et dispositio, et super eisdem causarum cognitio. Unde hujusmodi cause per decanum et capitulum apud Cycestr' examinari consueverunt et decidi, exceptis causis minoribus que, partibus convenientibus, dissimulante capitulo Cycestr', per archidiaconos consueverunt expediri.

Institutio et destitutio prebendarum ad decanum et capitulum spectare dinoscuntur et earum, cum opus fuerit, custodia et sequestratio.

Capitulum Cyc' locorum ubi site sunt res communes vel prebendales iudex est in causis hujusmodi res contingentibus, et ex talibus substitute sunt vicarie ecclesiarum prebendalium.

Si autem causa aliqua ita contingeret decanum et capitulum quod non debeat esse iudex, quasi in re propria, in hoc casu episcopus in capitulo questionem dirimere debet ex optenta consuetudine. Similiter si episcopus causam habet circa canonicum, in capitulo coram decano et fratribus expediri habet negocium.

keys of the library, treasury, and chapter-house. (See the note under the obit of Bishop Langton, and Stat. De Officio Thesaurarii.) Charters, evidences, altar-muniments, and the chapter seal were kept by the chancellor in the muniment room over the chapel in the north transept.

^a The Archdeacon of Chichester was to preach on Ash Wednesday, and provide oil for chrism and holy oil. (Reg. Rede, 1402, fo. xxxii. b.) For the archdeacon's duties, see Lyndw. lib. i. tit. 10. Tenentur archidiaconi presertim cum sint de corpore capituli ejusdem jura tueri sua jurisdictione et conservare. (MS. Univ. Coll. fol. 4.)

^b As a student in the university. (See Lyndw. lib. v. tit. iv. pp. 204, 287; lib. v. tit. v. pp. 300, 301, "Per doctoratum desinit quis esse scholaris.") Comp. De pœna non residencium, in lib. Y. fo. xxi.

^c Si dom. episcopus ecclesias vel capellas prebendarum dedicaverit, nihil ibi percipiunt capellani episcopi, nec alii nisi solus canonicus cujus fuerit prebenda. (Registrum Osmundi, fo. 6.)

Necesse habet in causis specialiter ecclesiam contingentibus decani et capituli, vel majoris et senioris partis consensum requirere, sine quibus non potest etiam statuenda statuere, nec errata corrigere, nec evellenda dissipare aut evellere.

Decani et capituli consilio et consensu episcopi majora ecclesie expediunt negocia. In benefici-
orum collacionibus capituli consensus est requirendus licet aliud consuetudo introduxit. Item
hii in dignitatibus et omnibus beneficiis vacantibus cum episcopi ultra sex menses ea conferre
distulerint, ordinandi potestatem accipiunt.

DE OBSEQUIIS QUE FIUNT PRO CANONICIS DEFUNCTIS.

Hec est institutio canonicorum Cicestren. ecclesie de canonico suo defuncto :
primum quidem corpore ejus cum debitis exequiis sepulture tradito, sequentibus
septem diebus post primam cotidie, processione parata, canonici devote tumultum
defuncti fratris adeant, quindecim psalmos in eundo, in redeundo autem quinque
psalmos decantantes, quibus finitis, statim missa pro fidelibus defunctis inci-
piatur, ad quam prima oratio pro anima fratris, cetera vero pro more consueto
dicantur.

Illud quoque summo opere est servandum quod non tantum his vii diebus,
verum etiam singulis illius anni, nisi major sollempnitas intervenerit, placebo et
dirige cum novem psalmis et tribus lectionibus, atque missa cum propria oratione
pro fratris anima, memoriter dicantur, excepto tricesimo die et anniversario. In
hiis autem duobus terminis placebo et dirige cum novem psalmis et novem
lectionibus, campanis pulsantibus, festive dicantur, et plenum obsequium in
commendacione et processione atque in misse celebratione congruis horis, quem-
admodum in die obitus sui celebriter recolatur.

Preter hoc quidem annale ^a officium quod communiter est omnibus agendum,
quisque canonicorum per se [si] sacerdos fuerit triginta missas, sin vero minoris
ordinis fuerit decem psalteria, infra annum illum, persolvat.

DE DOMIBUS CANONICORUM DECEDENTIUM.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXCII^o auctoritate domini Sefridi Cicestr.
episcopi^b secundi sanctitum est in capitulo ejusdem ecclesie, quod decedentibus

^a Annalia, missæ celebrandæ per anni spatium vel aliàs temporaliter. (Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 23.) Anni-
versarium certum officium non solùm uno die (a year's mind) scilicet, in fine anni, sed etiam omni die per
annum dicendum pro defunctis (year-services). (*Ib.* p. 250.) Exequiæ, solenne officium defunctorum.
(Lyndw. App. 25.) Trentals were said on the month's mind xxx^o die. (*Ib.* lib. ii. tit. 5, p. 111.) For
Placebo and Dirige, see my Sacred Archæology, s. v. The obit was the anniversary of decease.

^b Lib. Y. fo. xiiii. A.D. 1192.

canonicis executores eorum testamentorum suorum cum famulis^a [familiis] suis per viij dies quiete et pacifice manebunt in domibus defunctorum et libere disponent de omnibus possessionibus eorum, secundum extremam voluntatem defunctorum easque sine impedimento asportabunt, preter scamna immobilia et mensas immobiles, scilicet que solo vel parieti adherent; provideatur etiam per Decanum et Capitulum ne infra hos dies edificia vel sepes vel cetera talia deteriorentur. Octava autem die libere ingrediatur domos illas canonicus cui eas præsulis gratia contulerit.

Ejusdem etiam auctoritate sanctitum est quod deinceps domus canonicorum nullis concedentur nisi residentibus, vel in proximo residentiam facturis.

Huic autem constitutioni interfuerunt et communi decreto auctoritatem et assensum et stabile firmamentum indiderunt Matheus decanus, Lodovicus precentor, Galfridus Agullon cancellarius, Petrus archidiaconus, Symon filius decani, Godefridus de Stokton', Garinus, magister Silvester, magister Ricardus, Willelmus capellanus, Malgerus, dominus Guido, Ricardus capellanus,^b Marcellus, magister Robertus, mag' Will' Durandi.

HARSNET'S STAT. 1611, R. VII.

Prebendaries and vicars shall not devise any house, edifice, or buildings within the Close, except it be to a prebendary, lay vicar, or singing-man, or some necessary officer of the church. (Fo. 13.)

DE LIBRIS ECCLESIE.^c

Hec est consuetudo antiqua et approbata, et anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCXXVI^o in presentia Symonis decani, Mag^r Willⁱ de Leukenore cantoris, Thome de Lichefeld cancellarii, Willⁱ Durandi archidⁱ, Magistri Willⁱ de Kaynesham, Ric['] de Maupudre, Rob^u de Amberle, Nicholai Crassi, Johannis de Heketone, Godefridi de Weseham canonicorum innovata, videlicet quod cum aliquis canonicus residens voluerit accipere libros de ecclesia liceat illi quotquot voluerit, excepta multitudine effrenata; et retineat penes se quamdiu fuerit in

^a "Famulis" interlined by the corrector instead of "familiis" erased: the household which he maintained "in hospitio sive domo suo."

^b Bishop Hilary gave the prebend of Ertham "Ricardo capellano Cyc.['] ecclesie canonico." (Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 62 b. Lib. Y. fo. xli.) At Kirkwall three prebendaries were called chaplains, and at Lichfield there were five Canon-chaplains in the thirteenth century. See also Reg. Arundel, 242, and Reg. S. Pauli, 131.

^c Lib. Y. fo. xliii.

civitate. Cùm vero a [al. è] civitate recesserit, restituet libros ecclesie. Si vero penes se retinere voluerit fiat hoc per licentiam Decani. Ita tamen quod pro libris relinquat ecclesie memoriale competens et equivalens.

CURTEYS' STAT. 1573.

6. The books of the church, videlicet wherein the chapter acts and leases be registered, shall remain in the custody of the chapter-clerk, provided always that the dean or any of the residentiaries shall have the same books or any of them at any time or times whensoever they shall reasonably demand the same, so that they restore them again to the said chapter-clerk within four days after, except it seem otherwise good to the dean and the most part of the residentiaries besides the dean (fo. 3).

The library is first mentioned in 1478,^a quod mag. G. Heydocke legeret *Lecturam* in Theologia in domo communiter nuncupatâ *Libraria* ratione prebendæ, viz. E. Wightering. This was probably the large chamber above the chapel of the Four Virgins, and it might now with advantage be adapted to this use; whilst the lower chapel with its fine central pillar and vaulted space would form a convenient chapter-house, if Langton's is to continue as a muniment chamber. Until Bishop Mawson converted the Lady Chapel into a receptacle for the books, the vicars' hall had served in the seventeenth century the same purpose. The Lady Chapel must be distinguished from the Oratory of S. Mary in the rood-loft, where Chancellor Bishopston desired to be buried "in parte coram ymagine S. Marie in oratorio atte Stok [ad la Stocke, Leiger, 127], sub eo loco quo Evangelium diebus festivis majoribus solet pronuntiari." (1374. Wills, Rous, fo. 5.)

DE PANIBUS CANONICORUM.^b

Hylarius^c Dei gratia salutem, etc. Notum sit universitati vestre quod concessi et dedi canonicis Cicestr. ecclesie prebendam de Sangelton^d videlicet ecclesiam de

^a Storey, Reg. fo. 5 b.

^b Book B, fo. 188, following Stat. de Libris. (Lib. Epis. Ant. Evid. 183 b.) The commune of bread was reinforced from several sources; thus, there is *Mandatum dom. regis Ricardi* (a^o regni v^o) *missum Priori de Tortington quod reddat Decano et Capitulo Cic. cc. panes, ponderis cujus liber panis lx. solidorum, et xl. lagenas cervisiæ qui eis a retro sunt de annuo reddito xl. panum et xxiv. lagenarum cervisiæ.* (Lib. Y. fo. lxxxiii.) The commune churches furnishing the common fund were: Bedyngham. (Lib. Y. fo. xlv.) Fristone. (Lib. Y. fo. xlv.) Alcistone given by St. Richard ad opus ecclesiæ. Burgham. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxii.) Stocktone or Stoughton given by St. Richard. Bakechild given by King John. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxii. xxxviii.) Seaford given by Seffrid II. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxi.) Firles. (Lib. Y. fo. xlii.) In the vacancy of the see the dean and chapter presented to Cuckfield, Donington, Alciston, Icklesham, Westham, Bedingham, Friston, Westfield, Cocking, and Clymping. (Lib. Y. fo. clxxii.)

^c Hilary, bishop of Chichester, 1148-1169.

^d C. 1150, confirmatio commutationis inter Dec. et Cap. et Monasterium Sagiense de preb. de Sengleton.

Sangelton et ecclesiam de Westdene et ecclesiam de Estden' cum capellis, terris et decimis et aliis omnibus ad prenominatam prebendam et ecclesias predictas pertinentibus, ut integre et libere eas possideant sicut Willielmus London' archidiaconus unquam melius et liberior eandem et easdem ecclesias tenuit. Hec autem prebenda ad hoc est canonicis collata ut ex ea panes inter ipsos distribuendi conficiantur. Et ut hec nostra ordinatio inconvulsa permaneat anathematis vinculo publice cum sacerdotibus nostris innodavimus omnes qui aliquo ausu temerario eandem prebendam imminuere vel in aliquo demembrare vel ad alios usus quam prediximus convertere presumpserint. Testibus Joh^e. decano, Jordano archid^e, Joh^e cancell^e, etc.

DE ANTIQUA FORMA DISTRIBUTIONIS COMMUNE [CANONICORUM].

Anno incarnationis Dominica M.C.XCVII^o. auctoritate venerabilis patris Seфриdi Cic. ecclesie episcopi secundi et auctoritate domini Seфриdi ejusdem ecclesie decani, convocatis ejusdem ecclesie canonicis et in capitulo congregatis, habitus est inter eos tractatus de melioracione communis ecclesie conditionis, et de distributione commune in meliorem statum reformanda, et tam a decano quam ab aliis personis et canonicis pari voto et communi omnium assensu statutum est et autentico scripto confirmatum, quod tres canonici, scilicet, Ricardus thesaurarius, et Guido de Bissopeston', et mag^r Willielmus Durand' totam ecclesie communam percipient intus et foris undecunque provenientem et eam hoc modo distribuent.

Panis distribucio fiet sicut prius [et licito]^a statutum fuit a felicis memorie Hylario episcopo. De residuo commune, singuli canonici presentes per manum predictorum canonicorum vel aliorum eis in predicto ministerio succedentium singulis ebdomadis percipient xii. denarios in sabbatis earundem septimanarum.

Si autem minorem moram fecerint, pro rata temporis percipient de xii denariis,^b si tamen cum habitu suo interfuerint vel misse vel horis vespertinis.

(Leiger, 88.) Confirmacio Hylarii de præbenda de Sengleton ut ex ea panes inter ipsos distribuendi conficiantur, ut fiat præbenda, in consequence of a dispute between two canons, both claiming it. (Lib. Y. fo. xxxviii. xxxix. xli.) King Edward I. permitted the church of Chichester to have a free tenure of the prebend in the church of Arundel, quæ facta est de Sengleton, de Estdene et Westdene. (Ib. fo. xxix.) East Dean. Carta confirmationis de Westdene et Estdene. West Dean. Compositio inter Abbatem et Conventum de Sagio et Seffridum episcopum de prebenda de Westdene 1150. (Ib. fos. xxxii. and lx.)

^a "Et licito" interlined by the corrector.

^b "Prime is begon, ther must one com forthe armed with a bagge fulle of money to confort such humble and hevye hertes, which same thyng is lykewyse done at Tertia, Sexta, and Nona . . . the canons are of a very high minde . . . yet theyr mynde is moche set upon hym which walketh about with the bagge

Singulis autem vicariis dabuntur in sabbatis singularum ebdomadarum tres denarii de predicta communia, preter denarios quos percipient a dominis suis. Si vicarius tenetur ministrare in sacerdotio marcam percipiet a domino suo, si in diaconatu dimidium marce, si in subdiaconatu xl. denarios.^a

De residuo autem quod post hanc distributionem superfuerit de communia, computatis expensis factis in colligenda communia et retributione laboris eorum qui curam istam sustinebunt, consilium capituli fiet. Statutum est etiam quod nullus vicarius recipiatur in juniore ordine quam in eo quem prebenda, ad quam presentatur, exegerit; vicarii vero hiis stipendiis contenti omnia onera sustinebunt que prioribus stipendiis contenti sustinuerunt.

DE UNIFORMITATE HABITUS IN CHORO.

Statutum est etiam quod uniformis sit habitus [omnium]^b in choro: quod nullus ferat capam cum gorjuris in chorum: quod omnes cape fisse sint ad modum competentem; et habeatur subtùs superpelliceum vel rochetum.

The choral cope^c was black, large and flowing like a cloak; open before downwards from the breast, where it was closed and sewn up to the throat. The prohibited gorjura, or gorge (It. Gorgiera; Fr. Gorgère) was a hood which came round the neck like a collar, whence its name.^d

of money, to whom after they have humbly put forthe theyr hande, then is there no longer any cause of taryenge, for they are exempted but thei do give to these chapeins iiij d. but if masse be begon and the tyme of ofring doeth drawe nere, the chapeins armed every one of them with an ob. [¼] do cast theyr ob. in to the basen kepyng the sudary but the masters doo touche the basen with an empty hand and making curtesy . . . go agayne to theyr place." (Of the olde god, &c. 1534.) Comp. Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 93. The usual offering was a penny. (Becon's Comparison, p. 18.)

^a "Stallwages as until 1840" rubricated in the margin.

^b "Omnium" interlined.

^c See Stat. de Officiis.

^d Media nocte psallunt cum cappis et capuciis nigris toto anni tempore excepta septimanâ Paschæ deinceps cappas nigras cucullatas superimponunt vestimento albo (Ord. Paris. Martene, i. p. 183.) At Lincoln the canonical habit included superpellicea alba de lineo, almicias de griseo, ac capas de nigro panno laneo. (Stat. p. 44.)

Decanus et canonici omnes amictibus cum superpelliceis albis; cæteri clerici et pueri albis tantum superpelliceis induantur. Ad capas nigras induendas neminem arctare volumus. (Marian Stat. Dunelm. c. xxxiv. Cotton. MS. Tit. A. xxvi. fo. 258. Lamb. MS. 866 P. ii. fo. 30.)

In a very rare book belonging to my learned friend the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A. which was published in London, June 15, 1534, the following curious insight into a choir of that time is given by a disaffected chaplain or vicar. "Besydes a whyte linen surples we do on us a calabre amyce So then prime is begun, we are faine to chaung our tune and to take it higher twyes or thries, often tymes even hole iiij partes ad totam quartam. Afterwards do come in our masters and lords of the close covered

The grey amess or furred almuce (the epomis corrupted into aumusse) took its place and was used at Storey's enthronisation—it had stole-like pendants in front.^a

In the pictures by Lambert Bernardi, "qui ecclesiam multo decore magnificè adornavit,"^b the canons are represented wearing red or blue processional albes with brooches, and, as Dr. Rock says, "the amys outside black, but within made of fine grey skins, of a deep silvery hue," which has descended to the present time in the form of the broad scarf, and is perfectly distinct from the liripipium,^c a falling cape or tippet, which may be worn by non-graduates. The almuce may be seen on the effigy of a canon of Chichester at Pulborough [1423]. In 1571 neither the Lower House nor the Queen sanctioned the bishops' proposal for abolishing graium amictum (Cardw. Synod. i. p. 112, 116), though the Council illegally had forbidden its use at St. Paul's in 1549. (Grey Friars' Chron. p. 59.)^d The rochet had either narrow sleeves like an albe or was sleeveless, and the arms were passed through a slit in each side. The following question was propounded at a Visitation in 1675, *Anne defunctorum prebendariorum sive residentianorum ornamentis choralibus fruuntur proprii vicarii?* (§ 34, Stat. fo. 119.) By Canon xxiii. 1603, *superpelliceorum et epomidum usus in ecclesiis cathedralibus indictus*, and by Canon xxiii. *Cœnam administrantibus capparum usus injunctus*. The canonical habit is worn in choir and chapter.

The vicars^e wore almuces of dark calabre; and the singing-men, 35 Henry VIII. had "albes of whyted canvass edged with apparels."

with gray amyces and havynge on a very white surples of moste fyne raynes or sylke. These men beholding theyr amice of furre (which hath in other countryes a great gyrdle of grene colour hangyng downe with many tasselles and wretched sylken shredes very thicke) . . . compasse their head rownd about with a purple tiara, and they have thre or five servauntes waiting upon them, and two chaplayns whiche folow harde at theyr masters heeles. They resorte to the quyer very worshypfully and they doo hyghly honour to the lampe, thei do make greate reverence to the sayntes, and so, after they have once presented and shewed themselves in the chyrche, they go forth of the quyer comyttyng the resydue of the dyvyne servyce to the chapleynes." (Of the Olde God and the Newe: London, 1534.) John Olde may be the writer's pseudonym.

^a Haines's Brasses, i. lxxv.

^b Hayley MS. fo. 5.

^c See note on Canon lviii. 1603, in my edition, p. 82.

^d My friend the Rev. J. F. Russell, LL.B., F.S.A., points out that the following were still in use in Elizabeth's reign:—"The black chimere, or sleeveless coat, upon the fine white rochet; the horned cap; the tippet; the cope in great churches; silken hoods in choirs upon the surplice; the grey amice with cats' tails; the rector chori; the epistler; the gospeller," &c. (A Pleasant Dialogue, 1566.) Comp. Bale 527, and note in my edition of the Canons, p. 82. He also mentions the use of the broad scarf in the frontispiece to Cranmer's Catechismus, 1548. Bale speaks of the "fair white rochets of raines or fine linen cloth."

^e *Vicarii inferiores almucis seu pileis convenientibus et uniformibus in choro et divino officio super capitibus utantur, et non capitiis; et singulis horis et officiis diurnis et nocturnis intersint jugiter et intendant.* (Lib. E. 186, Statuta, A.D. 1314.) The following illustrations of the choral habit occur in a computus dated 35 Hen. VIII.:—"For apparelling of xv men's albes, xiiij d. For eggyng of vi men's albes with sowinge over of the parells unto the same, viij d. For xvij ells of whytted canvass to make albes and aluter clothes for the church, after viij d. the albe, in toto xij s. ix d."

DE MODO INCENSANDI.

Quod singuli clerici in superiori gradu^a bis incensentur: quòd Crux feratur ante Evangelium^b quando Evangelium legetur in pulpito.^c

Huic constitutioni interfuerunt, et assensum suum prebuerunt, Dominus Seffridus decanus Cic. ecclesie, Lodovicus precentor, Galfridus cancellarius, Ricardus thesaurarius, Silvester archidiaconus, Jocelinus archidiaconus, Rogerus capellanus, Petrus de Lewes, Garinus, Guido de Bissopeston', magister Th' capellanus, magister Rob' de Boseham, mag' Rob. de Felkham, Godefridus de Stokton, Willielmus capellanus, Ph' de London', mag' Petrus de Bokeham, Marcellus, mag' Will. Durand', mag' Rad' de ffordr', Joh^{es} de Hampton', Malgerus, Rie' de Kirkl', Adam de Ecclesdon, Robertus de Melkel', mag' Edmund', Nicholaus Tuthounn', Petrus de Colemer', Philippus de S^{co} Edwardo.

The following extracts refer to the use of incense in the church:—

Carta Seffridi II. de quibusdam decimis ad incensum de terris decani quæ Codlandus appellantur, illius tenementi quod Oswaldus tenuit, et illius terræ quæ de Longo Prato decani versa est in culturam frugum, ut exinde per manus fidelis procuratoris ministratur per totum annum singulis diebus incensum in altari ad Majorem Missam post Evangelium; et singulis festis ix Lectionum duo cerei super majus altare per totas Laudes Matutinorum incensi.^d

Consensus Abbatis Laurentii et Conventus de Ponte Roberti super assignatione c s. ad sustentationem duorum clericorum ad thurificandum Corpus Christi in elevatione ejusdem singulis diebus ad magnum altare cum summam missam ibidem celebrare contigerit. 1304.

^a The upper stalls I have described the misericords in the Building News 1875.

^b Nullus clericorum de i^a vel ii^a formâ in choro admittitur nisi auctoritate decani. (Constit. Linc. 1212. Wilkins, i. 535.) Quod vicarius Ecl. Well. anno probacionis durante non stet in superiori gradu vel celebret Magnam Missam. (1321, fo. 187.) Martene, i. 136. Quando vadunt ad Evangelium primo vadunt duo clerici portantes candelabra, et in medio major eorum portans crucem. At Lyons, 1251, twelve chaplains, maintained wholly by the quotidian, were distinct from "minores præbendarii," six of whom as "vicarii" assisted the major canons at high mass on Sunday. (D'Achery, Spicilegium, i. 718-19.) At Wells "juniores canonici" occupied the second form. In 1407 chaplains celebrated mass at the high altar of Chichester, and this privilege probably distinguished them from vicars. The four sub-canonici of Hereford date only from 1631. (Comp. MS. Laudab. Consuet. fo. 28.)

^c The rood-loft; on days when the choir was ruled, not as at other times from the lectern. (Comp. Sarum Processional, B. 5, L. 6.) The pulpitum was at this time in the fourth bay of the nave from the crossing, thus inclosing the ritual choir; in which the architecture is earlier and ruder than in the western bays. In the former the tympanum or the triforium has diagonal masonry, but in the latter a different diaper-pattern in each bay. The Norman nave was thus utilized at Norwich, Winchester, St. Albans's, and other churches. See p. 208.

^d Lib. Y. fo. xli. Carta Seffridi decani de incenso, 1 b. fo. lxxxix.

This was probably a local rite, as the Sarum use^a (which is not noticed at Chichester until the time of Archbishop Chichele), unlike the modern Roman, did not cense at the elevation. Bishop Storey complains of the rectors of choir, "quod non thurificent, prout moris fuit, temporibus Missarum celebrandarum in principiis Missarum (the Introit) nec post Evangelium."^b So that censuring at the offertory was unknown.

"There is borne a banner of sylke and garnyshed with a goodly crosse in token of the victorious and blessed triumphe which Jesu Christe made of subduyng the worlde unto hymselfe besydes that there are borne aboute two brennyng tapers in sygnification and betokening that the gospel is the very heavenly doctryne by the which all men are illuminated then afterwards a preest beareth a sencer of silver makyng a fumigation and savour of ensense . . . There is also borne aboute the gospel book rychley covered with golde and sylver . . . afterwards there thundereth a great bell . . . last of all the gospell is borne aboute to every person in the quyre and offered forth to be kyssed Evenwhiles the gospell is in syngyng we do put off our cappes, we do ryse up on our feet When the masse is in syngyng in great and cathedral churches then is the brente frankensence in the sencer and it makethe a smoke aboute all the altre." (Of the olde god and newe. 1534.) Chorus ministerio pueri more solito, incensetur, subsequente subdiacono textum deosculandum singulis, eo ordine quo incensatur, porrigente. (Reg. S. Osmundi, fo. xv.) De eodem incenso quo thurificatur altare, non deberent thurificari clerici sed de alio incenso non benedicto. (Lyndw. p. 298.) The "great bell in the choir" is mentioned in the Computus of 1544.

A new and important series of statutes enacted 1251 now succeeds.

[CONSTITUTIONES ECCLESIE CICESTR.]

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis anno Domini M.CC.LI°. XIII. kal. Maii, omnibus ecclesie canonicis vocatis qui vocari debuerunt, hiis quidem personaliter comparentibus Galfrido decano, Ernasio precentore, et Magistris Jo. [*Clympyng*] cancellario, Will° thesaurario, Joh° [*de Reigate*] archid° Cicestr. Waltero de Glocestr', Herveo de Cornub', Stephano de Pageham, et dominis Jacobo de Kawrth', Roberto de Beccles, ceteris vices suas committentibus presentibus canonicis, scilicet, dominis Roberto archid° Lewensi, et Waltero filio Petri, Symone de Climping, Adam de Seldeslye, Will° de Rading', magistris Rogero de Cantelup, Petro de Depham, ceterorum non comparentium absentiam divina replente presentia, edite sunt constitutiones subscripte.^c

^a See Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, pp. 92, 94-5. For the Elevation see Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 132, &c. Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.* t. xv. p. 580. The Sarum use was not followed at St. Paul's until the fifteenth century. In 1424 Dean Milton bequeathed a Sarum missal to the use of the high altar. (Reg. Chichele, fo. 374 b.) The sequence of colours in Storey's episcopate resembled that of St. Paul's and Exeter.

^b Reg. fo. 8.

^c Book B. 184.

RECAPITULATIO DE PROVENTIBUS DEFUNCTORUM.^a

Olim auctoritate felicis memorie Simonis Cicestr. episcopi, pro voluntate capituli statutum est in hunc modum. Si canonicus decesserit inter festum S^{ci} Michaelis et mediam quadragesimam, à die obitus ipsius usque ad annum completum, cedat medietas prebende ipsius in jus superstitum fratrum. Reliqua vero medietas usibus ecclesie applicetur, sicut in privilegiis Cicestr. ecclesie statutum est, et in eadem ecclesia hactenus optentum.

Adjicimus etiam ad hec, quod canonicus omnes fructus provenientes de terra prebende sue que in agricultura consistit, quantum inter festum S^{ci} Michaelis et diem obitus sui excoluerit in sequenti autumpno integre percipiat, exceptis terris ecclesiarum prebendalium que consuetudinem ecclesiarum ipsarum sequuntur.

Concedimus etiam quod si canonicus usque ad mediam quadragesimam superstes fuerit, integre percipiat omnes fructus provenientes de prebenda sua usque ad vigiliam S^{ci} Michaelis proximo sequentem, quocunque die inter mediam quadragesimam et festum S^{ci} Michaelis proximo sequens ipsum mori contigerit. Ita quidem quod a die S^{ci} Michaelis post obitum ipsius canonici proximo sequente usque ad annum completum, medietas prebende ipsius defuncti cedat in usus superstitum fratrum. Reliqua vero medietas, sive idem canonicus ere fuerit alieno obligatus sive non, usibus ecclesie applicetur. Ab hiis etiam concessionibus nostris dignitates ecclesie Cicestr. excipimus, quas decedentibus personis in usus successorum volumus converti.

1411, Bishop Robert Rede ordered "omnes fructus redditus et proventus^b cujuscunque prebendæ ecclesiæ nostræ Cic. per mortem canonici et prebendarii ejusdem de cætero quæcunque et quocunque anni tempore vacaturæ, per annum a die obitus dicti canonici numerandum, inter canonicos actualiter in eadem ecclesiâ nostrâ residentes, et fabricam ejusdem ecclesiæ nostræ Cic. æquis portionibus fideliter dividendos fore et actualiter dividi debere de communi consensu et assensu dictorum decani et capituli nostri."^c Archbishop Islip, who visited the cathedral in 1355 (as Peccham did in 1282,^d and Chichele, on July 9, 1415), made order that the old custom of paying their vicars by the canons should be confirmed and put in force, and also that "primi fructus quarumcunque præbendarum vacantium ipsius ecclesiæ fabricæ pro unâ medietate, ac decano et capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ pro reliquâ medietate, debentur, et toto tempore habitationis debebantur; and again, in 1359, that juxta

^a In the margin: defaced as a heading before "In Nomine," etc. Lib. E. 183. Carta G. Decani et Cap. (Lib. Y. fo. xiii.) See note to Statute De Cotidianis Distributionibus.

^b See Lyndw. pp. 64, 152, 155.

^c Reg. Rede, fo. 45 b.

^d Reg. 197 a.

antiquam consuetudinem ejusdem ecclesiæ legitimè præscriptam, primos fructus prebendarum suarum solvere tenebantur et tenentur.^a

DE EXPENSIS AGRICULTURE.

Hujus igitur excepcionis clausulam, equitate suadente, sic interpretari cogimur, ut post personarum decessum dignitates in usus transeant successorum, refusus^b expensis de bonis defunctorum in agricultura factis a festo S^{ci} Michaelis usque ad diem obitus eorundem, cum iniquum^c [liquidum] esse dinoscatur vivos locupletari cum jactura defunctorum. Alioquin medietas fructuum ex hujusmodi agricultura provenientium, tempore messium sine diminutione, ipsis reservetur, pro sue voluntatis extreme judicio, in pias causas eroganda.

DE DISTRIBUCIONIBUS PRO DEFUNCTIS.

Que vero pro defunctis vel aliis faciente sunt [pauperibus^d] distributiones, ex publico alicujus vel aliquorum voto vel testamento publice fiant per communem capituli ministrum^e secundum quod tempore distributionis faciente decano et fratribus presentibus magis videbitur opportunum.

The amount of these distributions to those present varied, as they did in the mode of bestowal; for instance, W. de Kaynesham, canon, bequeaths to every vicar 2*d.*; to two chaplains 3*d.*; to clerks of choir who are tabled, 6*d.* for bread; and the residue among canons assisting at vespers and mass. Ernisius gave to every canon and vicar celebrating mass 12*d.*; among canons attendant 6*s.*; among vicars 5*s.*; among the chaplains 2*s.* 8*d.*; and to the boys 9*d.*; to the sacrists 3*d.* each. Bishop John II. bequeathed 15 marks for yearly distribution.^f

DE PENA INOBEDIENTIE CANONICORUM.

Ad reprimendam vero quorundam inobedientium insolentiam, qui vocati auctoritate decani et capituli venire, seu procuratorem mittere idoneum, negligunt, et mandatis canonicis obtemperare renuunt, duximus statuendum ut tales cum fuerint presentes beneficio distributionum, que ex variis causis fieri consueverunt, omnino priventur usque ad condignam satisfactionem.

^a Reg. ff. 84 b. 157 b. See also De Cotidianis Distributionibus. Dean Freton in his will, 1383, says, "Solve prope infra paucos annos quid pro me quid pro predecessibus meis pro primis fructibus circa ccc marcas." (Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 206.)

^b Refunded.

^c "iniquum" interlined by the corrector.

^d In the margin.

^e The communal. See Stat. De Communario.

^f Var. Chart. in lib. Y.

Absentes vero divinorum obsequiorum remediis^a careant, que specialiter fiunt pro canonicis vivis seu defunctis.

Eidem vero pene subiaceant qui ab ecclesia recedunt, a Decano vel ejus vicesgerente^b licentia non petita speciali, juxta antiquam ejusdem consuetudinem.

DE PENA ADVERSANCIUM ECCLESIE.

Qui vero juramenti de fidelitate ecclesie prestanda sprete religione, eidem adversantur in capite vel in membris, patrocinium prestando seu quid aliud in dampnum ipsius machinando, non solum pena puniantur memorata, set etiam nisi commoniti destiterint, omni quod in eadem optinent priventur beneficio. De forma enim fidelitatis esse dinoscitur, ut jurans non sit in dampnum ei cui juravit, cui insuper auxilium et consilium prestare debet, si beneficio dignus videri vult, et salvus esse de fidelitate quam juravit,^c secundum quod in canone definitum est.

[DE OFFICIIS ECCLESIE NOCTURNIS.]

In officiis vero ecclesie nocturnis arbitramur sufficere, ut in capis sericis non brodatis ei deserviat, exceptis noctibus Natalis, Pasche, Pentecostes, S^ce Trinitatis, nisi pro presentia domini episcopi vel aliarum venerabilium personarum decanus vel alius major ecclesie aliter ex causa duxerit providendum.

[DE RESIDENTIAM FACTURO.]

Facturus residenciam in ecclesia Cicestr. debet hec observare, et ad hec ex antiqua consuetudine ejusdem ecclesie tenetur, viz. in principio residencie sue solvere decano et capitulo viginti quinque marcas, et ad fabricam ejusdem ecclesie viginti quinque marcas sterlingorum; Et esse presens primo anno integro in choro ipsius ecclesie horis diurnis et nocturnis, Et si contingat ipsum abesse aliqua hora diei vel noctis suam reincipiat residenciam; Et quolibet die habeat in

^a Remedial virtues, as in Lyndw. lib. ii. t. xvi. p. 189. Othob. t. xxix. p. 128, t. ii. p. 82. S. Aug. Serm. clxxxii. § 7. A remedy at Winchester is dies remissionis.

^b See Stat. Qui censentur Residentes.

^c See Stat. De Institutione Canonicorum. Propter inobedientiam possunt subditi eorum beneficiis privari; graviter enim peccat qui obedientiam infringit, præsertim si veniat contra leges sive constitutiones per superiorem ritè et rationabiliter editas et promulgatas, maximè cum constitutiones ipsæ sint præceptorie. (Lyndw. i. tit. ii. p. 11, c. xiv. p. 69.)

prandio ad mensam suam vicarium stalli sui, et duos alios vicarios de choro, janitorem, et duos sacristas, et unum choristam dicto anno durante.

Etiam convivare debet decanum et capitulum et omnes ministros diete ecclesie necnon et alios extraneos de partibus Sussexie illuc venientibus. Ac alia omnia onera subire et facere prout confratres residenciarii fecere et facere teneantur.

The date of the handwriting in this ordinance is placed by Mr. E. A. Bond, Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, late in the fourteenth century. It is not in Lib. E.

In 1574 Bishop Curteys re-enforced the payment of 50 marks, which was continued until the patronage of the residentiaryships passed into the bishop's hands.

CURTEYS' STATUTES, 1574.

St. 2. No prebendary hereafter shall be admitted to be a residentiary but he shall first pay at his admission dimidium c. marcarum, to such uses as is appointed by an old statute in that behalf provided, and now discontinued by negligence. (Statutes, fo. 6.)

The following charges up to the year 1870 were incurred at the admission of a residentiary: to the dean a pottle of wine, a pottle of claret, and sugar 2 lbs.—7*s.*; to each residentiary a quart of sack, a quart of claret, and sugar 1 lb.—3*s.* 6*d.*; prandio (ad fabricam^a) 3*l.*; to the fabric, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and fees to sub-treasurer, vicars, clerks, ringers, etc.—in all 40*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

DE INSTITUCIONE CANONICORUM QUALITER FIERI ET PER DECANUM EXPEDIRI DEBIT.^b

Quando aliquis instituitur canonicus Cicestren. dominus decanus coram fratribus in capitulo querat a presentato, si voluerit promittere et jurare fidelitatem ecclesie? Obedientiam decano et capitulo? Residenciam secundum consuetudinem ecclesie? Quod non revelabit secreta capituli? Quod antiquas et approbatas consuetudines ecclesie observabit? Si hoc se facturum promiserit,

^a Fabrica structura ecclesie sive constructio, quæ consistit in parietibus fenestris et tecto. (Lyndw. Provine.) Fabrica appellatur per quod Ecclesia habet percipiendi redditus tam pro ædificio quam pro ornamentis et aliis necessariis pro cultu divino. (Frances de Urutigoyti, cap. xx. p. 336. Reg. Islip, fo. 157 b.)

^b MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 205-18. Institutio quæ collationem sequi debet est idem quod investitura seu admissio ad beneficium ecclesiasticum. (Lyndw. lib. iii. t. 6, p. 137.)

tunc decanus tradat ei librum cum regula et panem commune suppositum, dicens, Recipio te in canonicum et investio te hâc prebenda per librum de spiritualibus, per panem de temporalibus. Postea dicatur, Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum, etc. (Ps. cxxxiii.) Deinde accipiat dom. decanus et fratres illum in osculum pacis. Postea constitutus coram decano et fratribus juret solempniter se propositos articulos observaturum.

Hec est forma sacramenti:^a Ego promitto et super sancta [*Dei*] Evangelia juro quòd propositos articulos [*ac ordinationem Decani et Capituli precipue capitula super pecunia ad anniversarium distributionem per Robertum Elsted deposita in quantum ad me pertinet et pertinebit*]^b inviolabiliter observabo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta evangelia. Facto sacramento assignetur ei stallum in choro et locus in capitulo.

The date of this form Mr. E. A. Bond places about the year 1300. To every canon is assigned formally his own proper stall, and two stalls ought not to be held by a single canon, as it entails the loss of a voice in chapter and deformity in choir by the vacancy of a stall. No canon ought to occupy the stall of a dignitary if absent, Non canonicis quidem permittitur subingredi stalla vacantia dignitatum, &c. (Scarfontoni, P. iii. 58, p. 142.) Regula est quòd sedes dignitatum sunt situate in loco eminentiori ac nobiliori, distincto à sedibus canonicorum, tunc, dignitatibus absentibus, non licet canonicis illas occupare.^c (Ceccoperi, lib i. tit. ix. 1.)

Possession is now given by the seisin or delivery of a small willow wand or staff, as if regula, but the form of Paris and St. Paul's was "regularis observantie forma in hoc volumine contenta." It was probably the Statute Book, Regula Canonicorum, Liber Canonum. At Rouen and Lincoln possession was given per textum Evangelii.^d The ancient form of oath made by a residentiary was as follows:

Juramentum Residentiarii Ecclesie Cath. Cicestr. in allocatione sibi facienda.

1. Primo jurabit tactis Sacrosanctis quòd erit fidelis ecclesie in quocumque officio sibi contingente, ac etiam in omnibus bonis ecclesie tractandis et dispensandis sine aliqua fraude et lucro privato.

2. Quòd divinum officium in choro absque dissolutione et inani confabulatione devotè observabit, et cæteros ministros quantum ad ipsum pertinet ad idem faciendum procurabit.

^a The words sacramentum and juramentum solemne as an oath of fealty are regarded as synonyms. (Lyndw. iii. t. 23, p. 233.) Juramentum obliget ipsum jurantem sive fiat. . . . per librum sacrorum evangeliorum . . . juraturus præstet juramentum ad S. Dei Evangelia per eum corporaliter tacta. (Ibid. pp. 110, 111.)

^b See Lib. E. 178. Stat. Book, fo. 29, and note on De Communario, p. 214.

^c Invasor est qui rem alienam alienat. (Lyndw. p. 257.)

^d See Lyndw. lib. iii. tit. 7, p. 141. Martene, de Eccles. Rit. i. 152, 154, 159, 183. Wilkins, Conc. i. 535. Dugdale's St. Paul's, 350.

3. Quòd acta capitularia et quæcunque ibidem pro utilitate ecclesiæ sive personæ singularis tractari contigerint secreta servabit, nec illa alicui nisi de capitulo aut de ejus consensu revelabit.

4. Quòd sanum consilium et auxilium pro posse suo ecclesiæ præstabit, nec alicui personæ de capitulo dampnum aut detrimentum in aliquo procurabit.

5. Quòd rixas et discordias inter fratres non movebit, sed charitatem et pacem cum debitâ obedientiâ ad decanum et capitulum observabit.

6. Quòd non movebit litem contra aliquem de capitulo, sed hujusmodi materiam quam contingat coram decano et capitulo terminabit.

7. Quòd se honeste in gestu et habitu secundum statum suum habebit, et, quantum sinit humana fragilitas, seipsum absque omni carnali scandalo præservabit.

8. Quòd non inducet aliquas novitates in ecclesiâ sine expresso consensu decani et fratrum. Sicut ipsum Dominus adjuvet et Sancta Dei Evangelia.^a

The prebendary protested by a formal instrument his voluntary intention to reside; and the acts of ratification were followed by consent, admission, and signing of the office of residentiary. He actually came into residence and was admitted to commons, until the number was fixed in 1574. (Bishop Curteys' Stat. c. 3.) "Whereas the revenues of the cathedral are very small, and by reason of multitude of residentiaries, the profits being divided and dispersed into many hands, the old laudable hospitality is not nor can be kept of any, whereby at this day is grown a contempt of that state: Therefore it is agreed and ordered that there shall be no more residentiaries after this time but four besides the dean."^b

None shall be admitted to be a residentiary hereafter except he do first severally ask the good will of the dean and every one of the residentiaries for the time being, and also have the consent of the dean and most part of the residentiaries besides the dean."^c

The residentiaries are now appointed by the bishop. The terms of quarterly residence, "per se aut per alium," and nine months' absence were established at the same time.

This statute was entirely abrogated in the year 1687 [Act Book, ii.]. In everything the major part of the body overrid the less numerous.

QUID ET QUALITER CIRCA DECANUM, TAM PRIUS ELECCIONEM SUAM QUAM POST CONFIRMATIONEM AGI DEBET IN ECCLESIA CIC.^d

Cum fuerit decanus a confratribus suis electus ducatur ad altare *cum sollempnitate, campanis pulsantibus, cantore incipiente Te Deum laudamus, quo facto dicat senior hanc orationem, Concede quæsumus

^a Book of Extracts, fo. 14 b; Stat. Book, p. 32.

^b Stat. fo. 6, 1574; Stat. 2.

^c Stat. Book, fo. 1.

^d Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 205, 219. Mr. E. A. Bond dates this from about the year 1300. The additions are made from Liber B, 178, and occur in Bishop W. Rede's copy of the Statutes, that is, before 1335.

^e As at Dean Caurden's installation in 1546.

Omnipotens Deus ut famulum tuum quem ad regimen nostrum elegimus gratiæ Tuæ dono prosequaris et Te largiente tum ipsa tibi nostra electione placeamus per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Approbata vero electione a superiore, Inprimis jurabit inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliis se facturum in ecclesia continuam et debitam residentiam. Et quod observabit omnia jura ecclesie sue antiquas et approbatas et assuetas consuetudines et libertates pro posse suo. Et quod sibi subjectos ut idipsum faciant diligenter instruct. Et quod possessiones ecclesie injustè dispersas et facultates prave alienatas congregabit. Et quod humilitatem et patientiam in semet ipso pro omni posse suo cum Dei adjutorio custodiet et ad hec custodienda subjectos suos excitabit. Quo facto prosternet se ante crucem in capitulo, fratribus suis canentibus hos iij. Psalmos. Deus misereatur. (Ps. lxvii.) etc. [*Ad Te levavi.* (Ps. cxliii.) *Ecce quàm bonum.* (Ps. cxxxiii.)] Seniore dicente hanc orationem Cunctorum bonorum institutor Deus, etc. [*Qui per Moysen famulum Tuum ad gubernandam ecclesiam præpositos instituisti, Tibi supplices preces fundimus Teque devotis mentibus exoramus, ut famulum Tuum quem convenientia et electio famulorum Tuorum decanum hodie instituit, protectionis Tuæ gratiâ munire dignere sicque regere subditos concedas, ut cum omnibus illis regna cælorum adipiscatur, per Dom. nostrum Jhesum Christum. Amen.*]

Hoc autem dicto solemniter ducatur a majoribus^a ad stallum suum et eo installato dicat senior Pater noster, etc. [*Et ne nos, etc. Saltum fac sercum Tuum. Dominus custodiat introitum tuum exitum tuum et auferat a te elationem. Dominus custodiat te ab omni malo. Mittat tibi auxilium de sancto. Exurge, Domine adjuva nos. Dominus vobiscum. Deus, cui omnis potestas et dignitas famulatur, da famulo Tuo prosperum suæ dignitatis officium, in quo semper timeat, et Tibi jugiter placere contendat, per Christum Dominum. Omnium domine fons bonorum et cunctorum dator, profectum tribue famulo Tuo adeptam benè regere dignitatem, et a Te sibi præstitum bonis operibus corroborare gloriam, per Christum Dominum. Actiones nostras quæsumus Domine, et aspirando præceni et adjucando proseguere, ut, interveniente beata et gloriosa semperque V. Dei genitrice Maria^b cum omnibus sanctis, cuncta nostra operatio a Te semper incipiat et per Te incepta finiatur per Christum. Mox aquâ benedicta aspergatur a seniore cum In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Postea debet*

^a Majores are the dignitaries, see note, p. 145, and Stat. De Distributione Panis. Comp. Sar. Par. D. I. II. I.

^b "et Beati Ricardi." Book vi. 178.

ei assignari locus in capitulo a majoribus, deinde ducitur ab eisdem in mansum decanatus, auctoritate literarum capitulo in ea parte directarum.]

Item* jurabit quod implementum stauri vivi et mortui, per beatæ memoriæ magistrum Rogerum de Freton decanum noviter et pie introductum, juxta vim formam et effectum cartæ donacionis hujusmodi implementi in hac parte confectæ, licet ipsum cedere vel decedere contingat, successoribus suis decanis Cicestr. dimittet integrè et restituet modo debito.

The manner in which their right of electing the dean was wrested from the chapter was this. Serope had been nominated by papal provision (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 108) in 1383, and Prichard was amicorum potentium præsidio suffultus multipliciter. (Reg. fo. 194.) In 1540 Bishop Sampson informed the crown that "the buyshop geveth the deanrie, the chauntor, chauncellorship, tresorership, two archdeaconries, item xxx prebendes" (Augm. Off. Books, xxiv. fo. 35); but in 1546 the chapter certainly exercised the right of election. (Day's Register, fo. 12.) In 1551, on Sept. 19, Traheron wrote to Secretary Cecil, "Two men of Chichester came unto me yesterdaie, of whom I learned that the prebendaries there have fre election, howbeit they doubte not but that a letter from the Kinge wolde prevent." (Dom. Papers, vol. xiii. n. 46.) And on Oct. 2, 1551, the Council, including the "L. treasurer, the L. great Mr., the L. Admirall, the L. Chamberlayne, Mr. of horse, Mr. Vice Chamberlayne, Mr. Secretary Cecill, and Mr. Bowes," adopted his hint in that evil time for the Church of England, and sent "a lettre to the prebendaries of Chichestre, allowing theyr conformities in the election of Mr. Traheron to theyr dean, requiring theym to goo through with placing of hym accordingly." (Reg. of Council, iii. fo. 403.) The Act Book of the Chapter (A. 1. fo. 15 b.) contains this entry, "xxiiij die mensis Novembris, presidens et capitulum apposuerunt sigillum regie majestatis ad causas ecclesiasticas pro decano et capitulo ecclesie Cathedralis Cicestr. in fidem et testimonium cujusdam electionis decreto^b de ven. viro B. Traherne S.T.P. et decano dicte ecclesie nuper facto." Again, on this man's recommendation of Sampson as a State nominee (Dom. Papers, xv. n. 74), the Crown, on Feb. 7, 1553, usurped the patronage as its right. "Dedimus et concessimus et per presentes damus et concedimus T. Sampson S.T.P. decanatum ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Cicestr., modo per liberam resignationem B. Traheron S.T.P. ultimi decani ibidem vacantem, et ad nostram donationem aut collationem et liberam dispositionem pleno jure spectantem." (Rot. Pat. 7 Edw. VI. P. ii. m. i.) Queen Mary restored freedom of election.

To our trustie and well-beloved Robert Peterson, Treasurer of our Cathedral Church of Chichester, and to the rest of the Canons there. Mary the Queen. By the Queen. Trustie and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where we are credibly informed that by the ancient Statutes and ordinances of your Church you have used to have and enjoy free voice and liberty in

* Added late in the fourteenth century.

^b Decanus ex officio suo tenetur capituli negocia procurare, unde in decreto cujuslibet electionis decanus pater nuncupatur. (Univ. Coll. MS. fo. 4.) Decretum technically means statutum de consilio suorum ad nullius consultationem.

the election of your Dean at every avoidance until the same of late days hath been interrupted, We, minding the preservation of your ancient liberties and understanding further your good inclination and desire that you have to choose our well-beloved William Pie, clerk, unto the same dignity, will and require you to proceed to the election of him according to your own desire and your said ancient statutes and liberties, and we shall accept the same and take it in good part. Given under our Signet, at our tower of London, the eighth day of August, in the first year of our Reign. (*Literæ licentiales Regine concessæ capitulo Cic. de libere eligendo decanum interruptione prehabita non obstante.*) Act Book, A. (1) fol. 19 b.

Queen Elizabeth, however, in true Tudor fashion, issued a mandate for election, and gave the grant (*concessio*) of the deanery, in which Archbishop Parker found satisfaction. (*Dom. Pap. xli. n. 33. Pat. Rot. 44 Eliz. p. 22, m. 14.*) Charles I. pursued the precedent. (*Pat. Rot. 6 Car. I. p. 17. and 10 Car. I. p. 33, m. 48*), and in 1660 the Crown definitely usurped the patronage. (*Lib. Inst. i. fo. 61. ii. fo. 53.*)

DE COMMUNARIO.^a

A.D. MCCLXXI. in festo Natalis Domini viz. in die S. Johannis Evangeliste per dominos Will. de Glovernia decanum, W. de Bracklesham cancellar. N[icolaum] thesaur. G[alfridum de Gates] arch. Cic. S[imonem de Clympyngham] archi. Lew. et magistros W. de Kylkermyn, J. de Coruleto, N. de Blachysden, et quam plures alios canonicos tunc temporis in civitate manentes provida deliberatione concorditer ordinatum est et statutum, quod canonicus vel alter qui communia negotia gerit ecclesie qui communarius appellatur in crastino S. Wilfridi episcopi viz. iii^o Id. Oct. administrationis sue compotum reddat de anno preterito coram canonicis in capitulo Cicestr. tunc temporis convenientibus ut quod omnes tangit.

The communar is mentioned in Stat. De Distributione pro Defunctis, and in the Statutes of Curteys and Harznet.^b In Rede's Register he appears as surveyor of dilapidations and collector of perditions or mulcts paid by offending vicars and lay clerks. In the same register is mentioned Johannes Mason, "magister operis fabricæ ecclesiæ Cic. et custos omnium pertinentium ad idem opus, liberæ conditionis." In 1402 John Masdoun was magister expensarum fabricæ, an interesting fact as bearing on the gradual progress towards the employment of an architect by profession. The funds were low, for a few years later Dean Maydenhithe bequeathed 40*l.* as a standing fund to be kept in a chest with triple locks, and recommended the residentiaries to lay by an annual sum "quia Communia Ecclesiæ Cic. tam modica et exilis existit."^c In 1441 Robert Elstede's box in the vestry was replenished with the sum of 50 marks to afford loans for the payment

^a Lib. B. 189. Stat. Book, fo. 57. Not in the Univ. Coll. MS.

^b Reg. fo. clxiv. 6. Reg. fo. 346.

^c Reg. Rede, 35, 172. Dean Cloos left a fabric fund of 25*l.* [Wills, Moone, 14.]

of the church ministers in case of want of funds to pay them. Sherborne gave a legacy to the chest,^a (*ordinamus quod in cista per nos ad hoc ordinata et in secreta thesauraria ecclesie nostre reposita ponantur xx li.*); and lands in mortmain to augment the maintenance of the vicars and clerks were permitted by the crown to be held.^b

ORDO AD RECIPIENDUM EPISCOPUM CICESTRENSEM PRIMO ADVENTU SUO AD
ECCLESIAM CICESTRENSEM.^c

Imprimis decanus et fratres sui, et totus chorus, capis sericis induti, precedentibus eos ministris consuetis, viz. puero cum aquâ benedictâ, duobus cerofariis, cum accolito crucem deferente, albis cum amictis indutis, procedant ad portam occidentalem cæmiterii ecclesiæ cathedralis versus forum et crucem, pulsatis solemniter campanis in adventu suo, non exeundo portam sed stando subtus portam et infra, expectando adventum episcopi. *Intrat quandam domum sive bassam cameram ex latere occidentale seque ibi discalciat.*^d Ibiq̃ue in portâ adornetur scabellum coopertum pannis sericis et pulvinaribus, super quibus idem episcopus, post aspercionem aquæ benedictæ, genuflectare debet, et tunc decanus et præcentor (si præsentēs fuerint, alioquin ipsis absentibus duo majores et seniores personæ de canonicis residentibus) incensent ipsum sic genuflectentem, et sibi tradant crucem osculandam. Postea tradant ei librum cum schedula continentem juramentum suum in primo adventu suo præstari consuetum, cujus forma est hæc “In Dei nomine.” [Nos N. permissione Divinâ Cicestr. episcopus, juramus quòd jura, statuta et privilegia; antiquas etiam approbatas et assuetas consuetudines istius ecclesiæ nostræ Cicestr. observabimus; quòdque possessiones ejusdem ecclesiæ congregatas conservabimus; dispersasque et injustè et pravè alienatas pro posse nostro congregabimus, sicut nos Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.]

Quo juramento publicè a decano præstito in præsentia cleri et populi, suscipiant eum honorificè decanus à dextris et præcentor (vel major persona post eum) è sinistris, ducentes eum cum processione per claustrum ad ostium occidentale ecclesiæ, canente choro responsorium “Honor, Virtus,” et ibidem iterùm ut priùs, incensetur; tunc intret ecclesiam et ascendat pulpitu[m] si voluerit exponere

^a Stat. 1573, fo. 9, 1611, § 38, fo. 12.

^b Rot. Pat. 26 Hen. VI. p. 2, m. 4. See Statute De Officio Thesaurarii.

^c Lib. E. fo. 14.

^d Reg. Story, fo. 2. Praty, fo. 84. Words in brackets are supplied from Storey's and Praty's Registers.

^e Reg. Storey, fo. 2.

verbum Dei. Alias, rectè ducatur ad summum altare, cum hoc responsorio "Triuna Trinitas." Ibiq̃ue ordinetur scabellum decenter coopertum, ut superius factum fuerit, ipsoq̃ue ibi prostrato, et finito responsorio, cum "Kyrieleison" et "Pater noster," sub silentio; decanus vel major persona ecclesiæ stans ad australe cornu altaris ait, "Ne nos . . . sed libera nos à malo."

Salvum fac servum Tuum, domine, episcopum nostrum.

Deus meus, sperantem in te.

Mitte ei auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon tuere eum.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam,

Et clamor meus ad Te perveniat.

Oremus. Concede quæsumus, Domine, huic famulo Tuo, episcopo nostro, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplum bonorum operum animos suorum instruat subditorum; et æternæ remunerationis mercedem à Te piissimo Pastore percipiat, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Dictisque devotionibus suis, surgat, osculetur summum altare, et conversus ad populum dat benedictionem episcopalem consuetam; quâ dictâ recipiat fratres suos ad osculum pacis.

Deindè ducetur et intronizetur in sede suâ episcopali per archidiaconum Cantuariensem, seu istius locum tenentem [ubi permanet quousque ministri chori Te Deum plenarie cantaverint], quibus adimpletis adeat in palatium suum cum decano et fratribus suis assistentibus.

A few variations occur, thus: Bishop Storey having put on his boots again after the Te Deum,^a preached in the chapter-house on the text, "I will build My Church;" after which he celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost at the high altar. He afterwards gave a banquet to fifteen hundred people. "Extra portam quæ communiter vocata est . . . [Middlegate in Praty's register], suo palafrido descendens intravit quandam domum [bassam cameram in Praty's register], ex latere occidentali ejusdem portæ situatam, seque ibi discalceavit. Illicò post hæc, portam predictam eundem rev. patrem intrantem pater noster abbas de Bello^b cum mitrà et baculo apparatus, ac mag. Joh. Waynflete decanus, mag. Joh. Wyne præcentor, mag. Joh. Plentyth arch. Lewensis, et decem canonici ac totus chorus in capis sericis more processionali decenter ornati, ad portam prædictam ipsum patrem reverentiâ condignâ receperunt; ubi thurificatione et crucis deosculatione

^a Reg. fo. 2.

^b Abbates exempti ex eodem motivo exemptionis præcedere debent post episcopos. (Frances, de Urrutigoyti, De Cath. cap. xxxiii. n. 106, p. 608.) Abbatibus pontificalibus indutis et invitatis pro assistentia in processione et missa alicujus festivitatis debetur locus immediate post episcopum. (Scarfan-toni, iii. 26.)

peractis iuramentum in huiusmodi actu præstari consuetum præstitit, cuius iuramenti tenor talis est [as already given].

"Dehinc processionaliter ex parte australi ecclesiæ cathedralis omnes una processionaliter procedentes responsorium 'Honor, Virtus' psallentes, per hostium occidentale ecclesiæ sunt ingressi. Dictus pater, ex tunc genuflectione paulisper per eum ad summum altare factâ, precibusque per decanum predictum dictis cum thurificatione, et collecta actu illo die consuetâ, unum nobile auri obtulit, decanumque ac alios canonicos et ministros ecclesiæ ad osculum pacis recepit, et continue populum benedixit. Et post hæc mag. Jo. Cloos legum doctor vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, officialis principalis consistoriique episcopalis Cic. ac prebendarius ecclesiæ Cic. publicè perlegit literas commissionales ei directas. Eundem rev. patrem Jo. Cloos in sedem suam episcopalem honorificè induxit, installavit et intronisavit, juris juxta exigentiam, ubi permansit quousque ministri chori Te Deum plenarie cantaverint."

At the installation of Bishop Rede the choir sang "Summæ Trinitati" in the procession. He preached on the text, "The Lord visited His people." Bishop Praty^a alighted "ad mediam portam que ducit ad vicos civitatis." He was received by the abbot of Battle, the dean, præcentor, treasurer, the two archdeacons, and four canons.

The Bishop's Gatehouse is of the Decorated period, with a large archway, postern, and porter's lodge, above which is the chamber once used as the prison of heretics and criminous clerks. The palace retains a kitchen 33 by 36 feet, with a ceiling supported by trusses of oak-beams at the four angles, of the fourteenth century; a noble hall with a painted heraldic ceiling erected by Bishop Sherborne; and a chapel c. 1200, having a Transitional Norman portal, two consecration crosses, a painting of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child in distemper, within a quatrefoil, a crowstepped gable (Jocobean), and a bell dated 1696. The vault is quadripartite, the north windows have Decorated tracery, and at the east end there are traces of a fine triplet. Bishop Latimer was "in ward" with Bishop Sampson.^b

In 1675 the ceremonial of visitation was as follows:—

FORMA VISITATIONIS PER EPISCOPUM.

Quùm dies ad visitandam Eccles. Cathed. statutus aderat, campanæ primo mane ictu numeroso pulsabantur; lapsis deinde paucis horis, decanus, dignitarii, canonici residentiarii, prebendarii, vicarii chorales, cæterique ecclesiæ ministri solemnî processionis apparatu ad ostium occidentale ecclesiæ dom. Episcopum exceperunt; deinceps media ecclesiæ nave "Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum" cantantes procedunt ad chorum, dominumque venerabilem patrem ad thronum comitantur, quo ad sedem episcopalem ascenso pergunt ad sacra, quibus peractis consimili processionis modo ad domum capitularem progrediuntur [without singing, 1727]. Quam primum in otio omnes consederunt, facta prius proclamatione, accietur mandatarius episcopi et jubetur exhibere mandatum decano et capitulo traditum. Deinde exigitur executio istius mandati per decanum.

^a Reg. fo. 84.

^b State Papers, i. 627; Strype, Memor. I. i. 502, App. n. xcii.

Qua de re prestat juramentum virgifer sive mandatarius decani, legitur mandatum, deinceps decanus, dignitarii, canonici residientarii, prebendarii, vicarii chorales, vicarii laici sive clerici omnesque ecclesiæ ministri et servientes præcognizantur et acciuntur, comparentes per se vel per legitimum procuratorem notantur, non omnino comparentes contumaces puniantur reservata pœna. His peractis Dominus Episcopus Latino sermone visitationis propositum luculenter exposuit deinde articuli Latino idiomate decano et capitulo traduntur quibus die responderi mandatum est. (Reg. fo. 117.)

1727. Articles were delivered and inquisitors sworn:—

For the Church—2 Residentiaries, 2 Prebendaries.

For the Vicars—2 Vicars Choral, 2 Lay Vicars.

The bishop gives his charge, and admonishes the inquisitors to make their return on a certain day. The bishop adjourns the court to such a day, and continues all certificates. They return from the chapter-house to the west door in the same manner as they came to the chapter-house.

The Crown-Soleil is given in accordance with the desire of Bishop Sherborne. Ordinamus quod quotiens dominus Cic. Episcopus in visitatione triennali ac ordinaria visitatione ad ecclesiam suam, eam visitaturus, descenderit, Decanus ad ipsum in tribunali judicario sedentem reverenter accedat, et nominibus omnium habentium dignitates, prebendas, ministeria, aut officia in dicta ecclesia præconisatis, literas nostras porrigat, et dicat "Dñs Robertus, predecessor vester, has literas misit ad vos, quibus includit sub suo et capituli sigillo coronam auream de sole, non meriti vel laboris præmium, sed sperate recordationis lene intersignum."

The letters expressed the obligation of the dean and chapter to observe Sherborne's Statutes, and contained an earnest request that the bishop would read and enforce them. So late as 1727 the dean presented the letter and Aurea Corona (Visit. Book, fo. 174); and in 1731–2 the entry occurs, Pro Corona aurea de sole, 6s. 9d. The Crown of the Sun or Golden Crown was coined by Henry VIII., and of the value of 4s. 8d.; it derived its name from the mint-mark.

This present was not the only one which came from a bounteous hand: he had another for the "Joyous Coming."

Ordinamus quòd tres ministri Ecclesie per dom. decanum vel ejus locum tenentem deputati veniant ad dom. Episcopum statim post ejus introitum ad Ecclesiam, palatium, vel ad aliquem alium locum infra precinctum Clausi, vel si possint occurrant ei exeunti ab ecclesia, quoties cum honore pontificali precedente campanulâ suâ ad ecclesiam accesserit, defferentes ei munera panem [quartæ partis modii frumenti purissimi] et vinum [ij. lagenas melioris vini]; et si presentantes videre et audire velit, dicat ei primus portantium, "D'ne, Robertus IV. predecessor misit ad vos panem et vinum pro jocundo adventu vestro ad ecclesiam vestram, et appellatur in vulgari 'Saynt Rychard Wyne.'"

"Idem fiat in adventu archiepiscopi Cantuar., regis, vel regine, et providebit j. medietatem de vino Ypocratico^a cum selectis fructibus ultra panem et vinum. Archbishop Peccham in 1282, Robert in 1299, and Chichele July 9, 1415, held visitations.

In 1388 (22 Richard II.) William of Wykeham had a dispute with the prior Thomas Neville

^a Hypocras, spiced and sugared wine strained through a flannel bag called Hippocrates' sleeve.

and the convent of Winchester, in the presence of Roger the primate, when the following order was made: "Whereas from time immemorial the prior and convent had been bound to send daily to the bishop, when residing in his palace of Wolvesey, or in the cathedral of Winchester, or the priory, or any other place within the city or suburbs of Winchester, eight loaves of wassail bread, each of a certain weight, and four bottles of good wine, by the hands of the junior monk, who was to present them with due respect to the bishop, and say in French 'Monsieur SS. Pere et Paule vous envoient,' the said custom should be observed in full." (MSS. St. Mary Winton. College.^a) This excellent Wykehamist, bishop Sherborne, thus imitated his great founder's example.

In 1397 the ancient use was of a more elaborate order.

Reg. Rede. Circa horam primam diei ad ecclesiam suam cathedralem accessit, ac iidem decanus predictus canonici et omnes alii ministri ecclesie predictae cum solempni processionis apparatu cantantes solempniter responsorium "Honor, virtus," etc. ad hostium occidentale ejusdem ecclesie dictum ven. patrem honorifice receperunt, et facta eidem patri per dictum decanum et quemdam rev. virum mag. Ph. Galeys, thesaur. dictae ecclesie Cicestr. solempni incensatione, idem ven. pater praecedente ipsum processione predicta ad summum altare ejusdem ecclesie honorifice deductus est, et dicta super eundem patrem ante dictum altare prostratum per decanum predictum collecta in hujusmodi actu consuetâ, idem ven. pater episcopus decanum et canonicos dictae ecclesie tunc praesentes ad osculum pacis recepit. Quo facto mag. Petrus vicarius perpetuus de Estborne assumpto themate, "Pastor visitat gregem," collationem fecit. Qua finita idem ad domum capitularem accessit. ^b

One form of an archiepiscopal visitation is preserved.

Memorandum quod secundo Idus Decembris anno domini MCCXCIX. venerabilis pater Robertus Cantuar. archiepiscopus venit ad civitatem Cicestr. ad visitationis officium exercendum. Cui primo extra civitatem in equis decanus et canonici qui presentes fuerant occurrerunt, eoque salutato celeriter ad ecclesiam redeuntes una cum ipsius loci episcopo ac toto choro, ipso, videlicet, episcopo pontificalibus induto et decano cum capa chori, aliis omnibus in habitu consueto praeter sacerdotes diaconum et subdiaconum duos libros evangeliorum deferentes et unum clericum crucem deferentem, alium cum aqua benedicta et duos cum thuribulis, alios vero duos cum cereis qui more processionali fuerunt induti. Hii omnes processionaliter ordinati in porta orientali cimiterii dominum. Archiepiscopum receperunt. Episcopus vero et decanus acceptis thuribulis eum incensarunt; deinde duos libros evangeliorum ei ad osculum porrexerunt, et recepta de manu ejus aqua benedicta eum in ecclesiam duxerunt processione cum cantico preeunte, quo ducto coram magno altari prostravit se in oratione aliquamdiu. Deinde episcopus orationem quandam dixit super eum; mox eo erecto, magno altari deosculato vertit se ad populum benedictionem fundendo, quo facto ingressus est ad capitulum et sedens premissis themate proposuit verbum Dei. Thema autem fuit tale, Missus es ut visites Judeam et Jerusalem, Esdre vii. c.; finito vero sermone omnibus aliis exclusis a capitulo, exceptis suis clericis et episcopo decano canonicis et vicariis familiaribus, precepit legi certificato-

^a De Jocundo Adventu, fo. vi.

^b Reg. fo. 25 b.

rium super mandato visitationis, deinde fecit recitari constitutionem quandam novam Bonifacii VIII. que incepit Quia plerique, in titulo de Officio Ordinar. lib. vi.^a Qua perlecta fecit legi cedula[m] quandam continentem que monuit omnes et singulos ut super defectibus quos noverint in personis vel in officiis seu in rebus quibuscunque ad dictam ecclesiam pertinentibus meram et liberam patefacere[n]t veritatem sub pena excommunicationis quam in scriptis promulgavit. Deinde cum solo episcopo secessit in thesaurariam et eum singillatim et secreto super multis et variis articulis examinavit. (MS. Univ. Coll. fo. 95.)

DE JURAMENTO VICARII.^b

In Dei nomine die x. Martii mcccxcī. ordinatum est per reverendum in Christo patrem et dom. dom. Ricardum Dei gratia Cic. episcopum de expresso consensu et assensu reverendorum virorum, domini W. Lollyngton decani, mag. Mich. Cranstoun preb. de Wystryng, dom. W. Petteworth preb. de Fferles, et dom. Joh. Yermouth preb. de Hampstede, canonicorum residentium, ac dom. N. Stone archd. Lew. et preb. de Hanfelde, et mag. Mich. Cergeaux preb. de Selsey, canonicorum dictæ ecclesiæ in ipsa ecclesia Cicestr. congregatorum, quod quilibet vicarius chori ejusdem ecclesiæ in admissione sua jurabit fidelitatem ecclesiæ obedientiam decano reverentiam capitulo et quod non stabit in stallo contra voluntatem domini sui rationabilem coram decano et capitulo allegatam et probatam.

The establishment of vicars was complete in the time of Bishop Seffrid II. who allotted the amount of stall-wages to be paid to them by their "domini," the several dignitaries and canons. A prebendary of Ferles had the fruits of his prebend sequestered because he did not pay the vicar who served in his stall.^c In 1355 Archbishop Islip found many stall-wages in arrear at his visitation.^d Their first charter was given Dec. 30, 1277, by Edward I. "pro stabilienda communitate vicariorum choralium in ecclesia Cyc."^e

They were to be appointed by the dean and canons. Each prebendary nominated within a month after a vacancy for probation in singing and reading.^f On June 15, 1334, they were incorporated (Add. MS. 5706, f. 333) by Edward III. who empowered them to elect a principal and be incorporated "ut de cætero principalis et communitas vicariorum ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis fiant et nominentur; habeant unum commune sigillum pro negotiis agendis; et sint capaces ad acquirendum terras et tenementa, possessiones, et emolumenta spiritualia et temporalia;" confirmed Dec. 30, 1465, 5 Edw. IV.^g

In 1411 Elizabeth Countess of Kent bequeathed "vicar' Coll' Sancti Ricardi Cicestr' xls. Item anachorit' in dicto collegio vis. viiīd." In 1415 "presbyter reclusus in ecc. Cic." is mentioned.^h

^a Lyndw. Prov. p. 16.

^b Lib. B. fo. 189, E. 185.

^c Lib. Y. fo. clxiii.

^d Reg. Islip, fo. 84 b.

^e Hayley 167.

^f Storey's Inj. 1478, fo. 6.

^g Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. IV. P. 1, m. 24.

^h Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 213, Reg. Chichele, 275.

In order to secure musical efficiency a vicar before admission was required to prick his own part.^a The vicars often held chantries in the cathedral. They all wore calabre amyces of deep brown Calabrian fur; and caps, but not hoods.^b "*Secundarius Capellæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis ex statutis ecclesiæ tenetur cotidie celebrare Missam de Requiem pro animabus fundatorum, proventus officii extendit se ad v marcas et ultra.*"^c The secondary was a vicar in *secunda forma*. Bishop Storey in 1480 required the vicars choral to be back in their chambers, or *infra septa canonicorum*, at the tolling of the curfew.

By a decree Aug. 1, 1583, the vicars choral were to meet on the first Thursday in every month at dinner and supper in the common hall.^d

Their hall and kitchen were required to be repaired by Archbishop Laud at his visitation in 1635, but in 1675 the common hall was out of repair, and "the ancient customs there used wholly neglected."

The vicars' college contains a hall of the fourteenth century, c. 1370, measuring 35 by 21 ft. It has a canopied lavatory with masks to the labels on the north side; an open timbered ceiling; two windows, square-headed, and of two lights, in each wall; a pulpit on the south side, and a small chamber, which originally held the statute-chest, the plate and table furniture, with a cross above a water-drain; it once formed the landing from a porch of the fifteenth century, communicating with an external staircase, both of which are now removed. The vicars' Statutes were to be placed in a chest chained to the pulpit. At the east side is the parlour, c. 1200, which retains a skew window, deeply splayed, in the north wall. In 1396 the vicars built a common manse, between the chapel of St. Faith and the Gylden Hall, facing South Street; the dean and three residentiaries laid the foundation stones at the four corners of the parlour or common room. In 1385 the Gylden Hall was given to the vicars.^e The undercroft of the end of the twelfth century, (Transitional Norman) is of two bays, and in three spans, with quadripartite vaulting, containing rings for lamps and supported on low circular pillars. It has three narrow Norman windows, deeply splayed, on the north side, and a doorcase in the south wall. Eleven dwelling-houses were erected for the vicars, but four only remain. The houses towards the south street were at one time occupied by some of the body. They were not to be let to any but "Churchmen." A view of the Close by Grimm, in its complete state, is given in the Burrell Collection in the British Museum, and also in Rouse's *Beauties of Sussex*. The "Dark Cloisters," which Essex the architect described as "a very old cloister mostly built with wood," extended round the four sides

^a Rawlinson MS. 45, fo. x. b. Var. Obs. See also Harsnet's Stat. 1611, r. 9. Pricked-song was music full of flourishes and ornaments as opposed to plain-song. Shakespeare, *Rom. and Jul.* ii. 4. Middleton, *Women Beware*, iii. 2. Hawkins, iii. 3. To prick was to note down music.

^b Var. Obs. 62. Stat. 1314, lib. E. 187. Reg. Storey, fo. 72. At Exeter in 1343 the caps were black.

^c Reg. Praty, fo. 78.

^d Book of Extracts, fo. 10 b.

^e In 1396 we have "*Memoriam consensus vicariorum et processus Decani et Capituli ad constructionem Mansionis Communis*," called *Commune Mansum* by Rede, 1402, when it comprised several chambers and a common hall. (Reg. fo. xxxiii. xxxiii. b.) *Charta donationis de Gyldenhall nunc vicariorum episcopo Cicestr.* Ricardo Metford occurs in 1385. (Comp. 35 Hen. VIII. Lib. E. fo. 165, 168.) He gave it to the vicars, when it is described as "*inter cimiterium Eccles. Cath. Cicestr. ex parte boreali et tenementum R. Sexteyn ex parte australi.*"

of the Vicars' Close, and were taken down in 1736, when "the houses were new faced and windows put in." (Jaques' MS. fo. 63.) Some of the corbels remain on the north side. The south gateway was removed in 1831.

STATUTES OF VICARS CHORAL.^a

1. A principal to be elected on the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, or within six days ensuing, for the year following. His duties were—
2. To superintend the vicars and delate the incorrigible to the dean and chapter.
3. To appoint in his absence a deputy (fo. 60).
4. To receive an oath of obedience from the vicars.
5. The oath of the newly appointed vicar.
6. Quod vicarii et alii commensales aulæ communis quicunque post nocturnas collationes (quas Bevers vulgariter vocant) moram in aulâ non protrahant (fo. 61.) The word *bever* was used at Winchester College for bread, cheese, and beer in the long or summer half in cloister time.
7. Vicars to keep silence within the precinct and in their chambers from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m.
8. No vicar to pass the night without the precinct except by leave.
9. Nor to receive guests without licence.
10. To keep an inventory of plate (fo. 62).
11. To have a common seal.
12. To keep their chambers in repair.
13. To transact common business in the common hall (fo. 63).
14. To be fined for non-appearance if summoned.
15. The choice of servants.
16. Vicars to delate but not correct the common servants (fo. 64).
17. The steward to keep the daily bread and buttry key.
18. Punishment of revelation of secrets.
19. A vicar to be steward.
20. Statutes to be read at least once every quarter or term.
21. The Bible or other lection to be read at times of refection in hall (fo. 65).
22. Punishment of offenders against charity.
23. Vicars not to carry swords in the city or keep dogs in their rooms.
24. All vicars and commoners to dine after nones sung after the High Mass, and to sup after the last anthem sung in the nave daily, and to *bever* at 7 o'clock.
25. Rules for hall. An anthem sang after meals.
26. Punishment for brawling.
27. Punishment for immorality (fo. 67).
28. An overseer of lands to be appointed at Michaelmas.
29. Defaulters in payment for commons to be mulcted (fo. 68).
30. The quadrangle and cloister to be kept clean (fo. 69).
31. Distribution of fines.
32. Interpretation of the Statutes reserved to the dean and chapter.—Sept. 24, 1534.

^a Statute Book, fo. 59.

Dean Freton, who in 1381 bequeathed a cope to the fabric "*prout moris est*," and two parts of his residue "*ad opus fabrice et maxime in adjutorium librerie per episcopum faciendum*," left "*cuilibet de iiij^{or} parvis canonicis j nobilem et cuilibet alteri presbytero vicario xl d.*" (Reg. Courtenay, 203), and archdeacon Blythe gave "*cuilibet vicario qui capellanus est, vj s. viii d.*" (Wittlesey, 129 b.) The duties of Sherborne's four lay clerks were defined (Sept. 2, 1526) to attend the dean going or coming on feasts principal from his own house, and to assist the priests; of these "*unus ad minus semper sit basse naturalis et audibilis vocis, aliorum verò iij. voces sint suaves et canore, ita quòd à communi vocum succentu possint naturaliter et libere ascendere ad xv. vel xvi. notas*,"^a to be chosen by the sub-chanter, and three other clerks of his foundation and the informant of the boys. They were to attend the nocturns on the feast of Dedication, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, Translation of St. Richard, and the Assumption of B. M. V.; to attend the hours; and before the mass of St. Mary to go with the boys to the tomb; afterwards to sing mass and go in procession to high mass; to have surplices, which were to be "*munde et honeste, plane sine plicis* (not gathered), *non nimis breves vel nimis longe, sed ad decentiam, cum inscriptione primarum literarum nominis sui R. S. in pectore et in dorso, de sericis filis nigris et aureis mixtis*." In 1689 their number was reduced to three.^b Sherborne's bread was discontinued in 1713.

ORGANIST.

The first notice of an organ occurs in the reign of Henry VIII., when William Campyon (35 Henry VIII.) received 6s. 8d. for playing on the organs in the choir, and 3s. 4d. for playing on the organs in the Lady Chapel. In 1685 the organist received the wages of one of Sherborne's clerks, those of another being divided among the remaining two. Early in Queen Elizabeth's reign a payment of 4d. was made to three men for removing the organs of the Lady Chapel "*in summas partes ecclesie*."

^a A satirical vicar of a cathedral church in 1524 thus describes the singing at this period. "How goodly shryll tonges do sounde daili, here y^e musicians do synge songes of fyve partes. Otherwhiles they do so strayne theyr voyce a over theyr reache as thoughe they wolde be strangled, with in a litle while after they do let their voice fall so lowe that thai woldeste were y^t they dyd wepe; one man singeth on this part, an other singethe on another parte, and by and by afterward they waxe dumbe; anon after one begyneth to crowe, and then foloweth a sounde of a fule voyce, in somoche that often tymes in so great a stryfe and dyversytyes of manyfold voices it doeth seme necessary to cry peace peace." (Of the olde gode and the newe.) So Bale speaks of the "*fresh descant, pricksong, counterpoint and faburden*." (Image, p. 535.) At S. David's some of the vicars gossipped with idlers behind the pillars or went wandering about the nave, whilst in choir they sang carelessly, "*in matutinis et horis canonicis versus psallendo ante alios, per se incipiendo, et post alios, in finibus nimis protrahentes, in medio versus cum sociis difformiter et immodice simul non finiunt, sed unusquisque ad votum suum inordinate procedit; verba in missa anticipant, incongrue et sine punctuatione et orthographia debita*." (MS. Stat. Menev. 1368. 1432.) The Statutes of Lincoln contain some beautiful and devout rules for the choir, bidding them sing like angels, as if with one voice and one mouth glorifying God. (Nov. Reg. 63.) Medieval music must have sorely tried the ear and voice, by its unmelodious character and the multiplication of wearisome and unmeaning notes.

^b Hutton's Visit. 1742, p. 8.

In 1670 the following payments were made: Quatuor vicariis choralibus presbyteris pro stipendiis suis juxta stylum antiquum, £14. 13. 4. Quatuor clericis laicis pro eorum stipendiis £16. 0. 0; septem choristis pro duobus quarteriis et octo pro quarteriis alternis, £18. 3. 6; organistæ, £0. 13. 4; informatori choristarum in musicâ, £2. 2. 0; tonsori choristarum, £0. 5. 0. Allocatio Sherburni: pistori pro pinsatione panum, £0. 6. 8; quatuor clericis laicis, £43. 6. 8. Regardi ex benevolentia organistæ, £8. 10. 0; informatori choristarum, £5. 0. 0. Stipendia ad festum S. Jacobi, quatuor vicariis, quatuor clericis, quatuor Sherbornis, magistro scholarium, subdiacono [subdean] et virgifero, unicuique, 1s. 4d; tribus sacristis, 2s.; sex pueris, 3s.; in toto £1. 5. 0.^a

The organist shall remain in the choir until the last psalm be sung and then go up to the organs, and, there having done his duty, return into the choir again to bear his part all along, under the amercement of iij^d toties quoties. This is thought a meet matter in all double choirs, much more is it necessary in all half-choirs, as ours is. Decrees of Dean and Chapter, 1616, r. 18. (Statutes, fo. 19.)

CURTEYS' STATUTES, 1573.

That none of the vicars choral, lay vicars, singing men, or Sherborne's clerks shall be a fighter, common brawler, quarreler, or drunkard either within the close of the same church or within the city or precincts of the city of Chichester; and if any of these at any time hereafter offend in any point aforesaid, the first and second times of so offending shall be had and taken for admonitions ipso facto, and after the third offence so committed shall be expelled from such room and commodities as he hath within the said church. Harsnet's Statutes, 1611, fo. 13, extend this penalty to the offence of common frequenting of taverns, inns, and tippling-houses, gaming, and any other crime whereby scandal doth or is likely to arise to the Church. (Fo. 13.)

BISHOP HARSNET'S STATUTES, 1611.

R. 3. Vicars, lay vicars, or Bishop Sherborne's clerks that shall be absent from divine service on the Sabbath day or any high feast day without leave asked and obtained of the Dean, or, in his absence, of his president of chapter, with signification under either of their hands touching his leave unto the residentiary of the quarter, shall be defaulted out of their wages by the cominer: if absent after three such several mulcts, then to be deprived ipso facto by the dean, or, in his absence, by the president and chapter. (Fo. 14.) This was reinforced by decree of the dean and chapter, 1616, r. 28. (Statutes, fo. 21.)

STATUTE OF BISHOP MAWSON, 1742.

Vicars choral and lay vicars absenting themselves without leave of the dean or president of the chapter from Morning or Evening Service to be fined 6d. to be deducted from their wages (Statutes, 109); and in case of disobedience, and after three admonitions from the dean or president of chapter, to be immediately deprived of their places. (*Ib.* 110.)

^a Sloane MS. 1677, fo. 8.

In a Statute of Bishop W. Ashburnham, 1767, it is mentioned that the number of lay clerks was reduced to four, owing to inefficient funds. (*Ib.* fo. 113.) In the time of Queen Mary the number was reduced from twelve to five, and since that time to four only. Of Sherborne's clerks the stipend of one in 1685 was added to the organist's office, and the profits of other divided between the remaining two.

THE CLOISTERS.

It may be well to add a few words about the cloisters, although they are not specially mentioned in the Statutes. At one time the principal of vicars choral kept the keys of their cloister gates, which were locked at 9 p.m.

The cloister is mentioned by Dean Matthew (1180-93) "*claustrum canonicorum*," in Rede's Register, 1402 (fo. xxxii.), and St. Faith's Chapel, "*infra claustrum ecclesie cathedralis*" in 1441 (Reg. Praty. fo. 79). Many abuses were committed in it. In 1616 the prebendary was ordered to "scourge out of the cloisters all ungracious boys with their tops, or at least present them to the old man of the vestry;" and, moreover, "to purge the churchyard of dogs and hogs and lewd persons who play or do worse therein." Essex the architect discovered evidences of the time of Henry III. and an external lancet window-case remains in the south wall. The ceiling and tracery of the panes, strikingly like Winchester Cloisters, are Perpendicular, after 1400. The Prebendary of Wightring "*in clauso lecturus*," according to a Papal Bull of 1373 (Add. MSS. 15,377, fo. 328), read his lectures in the cloister; and at Winchester College the name of "cloister time" still lingers, being the only relic of the practice of studying in the cool alleys in the summer half.

Immediately abutting upon the south alley was St. Faith's Chapel, mentioned in 1325; the case and fragments of tracery of the east window, the gable, and two buttresses remain. The south-east angle of the cloister is formed under the west end of the chapel, which is carried upon buttressing arches. In 1332 Dean Garland founded a chantry in it; about a century later, in 1441, Bishop Praty complained concerning "*cantaria in capella S. Fidis V. dicta Cantaria de Colworth, cujus capellanus non celebrat, nec celebrari procurat pro fundatoribus, ut deberet; et tunc arbores nuper crescentes in eadem cantaria succiduntur et venditioni exponuntur, et domus unita deformatur*." (Reg. fo. lxx b.) In 1402 it was claimed as a thoroughfare by the canons from their hospitium to the cathedral, "*quod canonici residentiarii, inhabitantes hospitium suum, ex antiqua consuetudine pacifice a tempore cujus contrarii non habebant, et semper habere consueverunt jus eundi per capellam antedictam ad ecclesiam cathedralem*."^a At that time Master John Paxton promised to restore to John Mason, master of the works, "*meremium ad opus summi altaris in ecclesia Cicestrensi in capella S. Fidis depositum*."^b So that the building was desecrated into a store-room.

The care of the cloisters was entrusted by Bishop Sherborne to a distinct official. *De Preculario*^c

^a Reg. Rede, fo. xxxiii. Leiger 120.

^b Reg. Rede, fo. xxxiv. b. *Meremium* means beams and timber.

^c The *precula* was the paternoster or ave beads, the modern rosary (Polyd. Vergil de rer. inv. lib. v. c. ix. p. 337), whence his name, the bishop's Bedeman. There was a *precarius* at St. George's Priory, Dunster.

s. oratore [the Bishop's Beadman of the Valor Ecclesiasticus, i. 293]. "Ordinamus quòd ad honorem S. Trinitatis, SS. Wilfridi et Ricardi, preficiatur idoneus et gravis vir, qui prebendariis nostris successive celebraturis ad iiij altaria infra chorum Eccl. Cath. Cic. ministret, altaria præparando, per campanulam futuram missam prænunciando, ornamenta aptando, et necessariis ad hanc rem expletis, in choro superpelliceo indutus, tempore divinorum, pro nobis, etc. orando, et tam altaria quàm imaginem alabastri a pulveribus telis araneorum et aliis sordibus bene purgata custodiat . . . ut ecclesiam claustrum et cæmiterium diligenter supervideat, et de ecclesiæ ruinis aut aliis puerorum vel pecorum accidentibus malis custodiat. Annuatim percipiat togam de nigro; ij camisias; ij pilios; ij paria sotularium; et ij paria caligarum." His duties are now those of the cloister-keeper.

Dean Maidenhithe says in his will, 1407, that he had had to repair and rebuild "de novo construxi ruinosas et quodammodo collapsas domos mansi;" and he left half his residue ad fabricam domorum pro communitate vicariorum infra clausum construendam. (Reg. Arundel, 242.)

THE CLOSE.

The Canon Gate built in the time of Richard III. bears the arms of Winchester College and of the warden, Dr. More, a fess dancettée between three estoiles. In the last century the Pye Poudre Court during Sloe Fair was held in the upper room. This fair for traders derived its name from a sloe-tree in a field near the north gate, where it was originally held during ten days after Michaelmas. The Pavilion or Fair Court of the bishop lasted from the vigil of St. Faith to the eve of St. Edward Confessor, ever since the memory of man till the present century. The bishop claimed the keys and tolls of the city. Proclamation of it, and of Pye Poudre Court for travellers, was made at Canon Gate, and on the south side of the cross.

Another, called East or Paradise Gate, on the north-east facing the cross, was destroyed with its tower in 1829. (See *Gent. Mag.* vol. c. pt. 2, p. 219.) It formed an important feature in the ceremonial of the reception of a bishop after his arrival under escort from St. Roche's Hill.

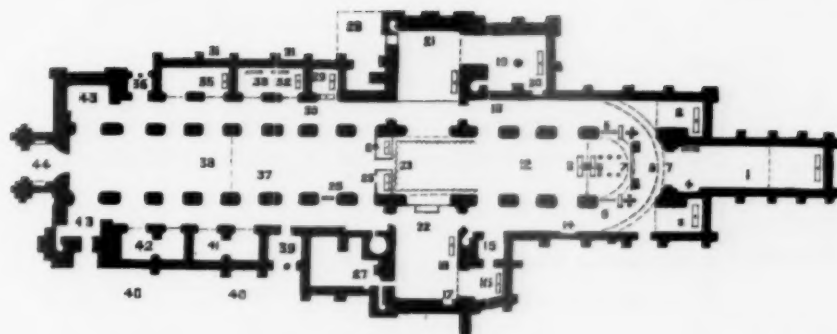
The following extract shows that the term Paradise was not restricted to the Garth. John Hardham, of Chichester, May 28, 1550, bequeathed his body to be buried "in the churchyard or Lighten called Paradise nigh unto the crosse."^a

Within the precinct, when the Duke of Monmouth visited the city on Feb. 1, 1680, we are told by the bishop of the time, that "the great men of our cathedral welcomed him with bells and bonfires made by wood had from their houses to flare before his lodgings . . . Dr. Edes conducted him to the church from the cloister into the quire; he was ushered into the dean's seat with a voluntary upon the organ," and special anthems were sung on the occasion.^b

The accompanying plans may be useful as explaining the views which I have set forth in this memoir as to the various arrangements of the Cathedral and Close.

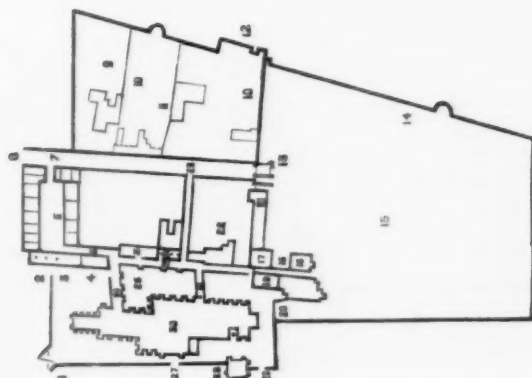
^a Wills, Coode, 18.

^b Tanner MS. 38, fo. 126.



ANCIENT ICHNOGRAPHY OF THE CATHEDRAL.

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| 1. Lady Chapel. | 16. S. Pantaleon's Chapel with relic-chamber over. | 28. Chantry Priests' lodging. |
| 2. S. John Baptist's Chapel. | 17. Bp. Langton's tomb with Bp. Stratford's effigy. | 29. S. Edmund's Chapel. |
| 3. S. Mary Magdalen's Chapel. | 18. Bp. Sherborne's altar. | 30. S. Richard's first grave. |
| 4. Bp. Gilbert's tomb with slabs of Bps. Seffrid II. and Warham, with Bp. Ralph's fronting them. | 19. Chapel of Four Virgins with Library over. | 31. 31. Aumbries. |
| 5. Bp. Storey's altar. | 20. Ablution drain. | 32. S. Theobald's Chapel. |
| 6. Bp. Neville's altar. | 21. Aisle and Altar of Benefactors. | 33. Effigy of a Lady. |
| 7. Norman Apse. | 22. Bp. Moleyns' tomb with Bp. Langton's effigy. | 34. Effigies of a Knight and Lady. |
| 8. Procession path. | 23. Choir, with Rood-loft or Arundel Screen. | 35. S. Anne's Chapel. |
| 9. Feretory of S. Richard with altar and shrine. | 24. Altar of S. Augustine and Holy Cross. | 36. North porch. |
| 10. Watching-loft. | 25. Chantry of S. Mary at the Stock or the Choir Door. | 37. Norman ritual choir. |
| 11. High altar. | 26. Tomb of Bp. Arundell. | 38. Parish Church of S. Peter the Great. |
| 12. Presbytery. | 27. Sacristy or Treasury with Langton's Chapter House over. | 39. S. Richard's Porch with secret treasury over. |
| 13. Bp. Rickingale's tomb and effigy. | | 40. 40. Drains and aumbries. |
| 14. Bp. Sherborne's tomb and effigy between sculptures of the 12th century. | | 41. S. Clement's Chapel. |
| 15. Norman Sacristy with Recluse-chamber above. | | 42. S. George's Chapel. |
| | | 43. Western towers. |
| | | 44. Galilee Porch. Bp. Stephen's tomb on south side. |



THE CLOSE.

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| 1. Paradise Tower Gate. | 23. S. Richard's Wyne or Lane. |
| 2. Vicars' Parlour over Undercroft. | 24. Wicemical Prebendaries' Hall over cellarge |
| 3. Vicars' Hall. | 25. Royal or Mortimer Chantry Priests' lodging |
| 4. S. Faith's Chapel. | 26. Paradise. |
| 5. Vicars' Close. | 27. Middle Gate. |
| 6. Dark Cloister. | 28. Bell Tower. |
| 7. Vicars' Gate House. | 29. Sun Gate. |
| 8. Canongate. | 30. Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity. |
| 9. Chantry, or Praecentor's House. | 31. The Cloisters. |
| 10. 10. Residential Houses. | |
| 11. Deanery. | |
| | |
| 12. Postern. | |
| 13. Bishop's Gatehouse. | |
| 14. City Wall of the 14th Century. | |
| 15. Palace Garden. | |
| 16. Palace. | |
| 17. Sherborne's Kitchen. | |
| 18. Sherborne's Hall. | |
| 19. Chapel. | |
| 20. Chancery, or Chancellor's House. | |
| 21. Palace Offices. | |
| 22. Treasury, or Treasurer's House. | |

VIII.—*A Criticism of the Life of Rollo, as told by Dudo de St. Quentin.* By
HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 29th, 1874.

The survival of types is a recognised feature in the philosophy of geology. Long after their contemporaries have disappeared we find stray shells outliving catastrophe and change, and recalling the features of times which have passed away. Similarly we encounter in our historical inquiries, even if we choose for our guides the most patient and scrupulous of writers, errors that have survived a crushing exposure of many years' date. They linger about the sentences of fastidiously critical historians, the relics of an uncritical age, to the great delight of some simple-minded scholars, who for the first time in their lives discover the fallibility of their master.

Destructive criticism is not an amiable occupation. The methodical examination of an idol endeared to our recollection by much poetical tradition, and the calm application of the critic's scalpel to its surroundings, are not always easy to bear. It was undoubtedly a rude shock to many when Achilles and Brutus (the British Brutus I mean), Romulus, and William Tell, were severally tilted at by criticism, and reduced to very mythical characters. Many have suffered in the same way, others still survive. Among them perhaps Rollo, the founder of the ducal house of Normandy.

The story of Rollo depends mainly upon the testimony of the biographer and panegyrist of his grandson Richard the First, Dudo of St. Quentin. Dudo's narrative of the reign of Rollo was examined with great ingenuity and skill in the earlier half of the present century by M. Le Prevost, the annotator of Wace, and by M. Licquet, the historian of Normandy, and by each of these writers it was shown to be very unreliable and false. Notwithstanding this exposure, Sir Francis Palgrave, perhaps of all historians the one most thoroughly conversant with the details of European history from the ninth to the twelfth century, in his account of Rollo, follows the narrative of Dudo with little hesitation, and, *apropos*

of this very criticism, naively asserts that "unless we accept Dudon, such as he is, we must abandon the history of the first three Norman sovereigns." He accordingly does so accept him, and transfers the crooked details of the old canon of St. Quentin, in great profusion, to his own pages. Mr. Freeman, with much greater caution and sounder judgment, has not committed himself so far. Lastly, we have the able and recent editor of Dudo's history, M. Jules Lair, whose edition and commentary were published by the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy in 1865, after having been crowned by that valuable Society in 1858. In this last quoted work, which is very worthy of the Society, an attempt has been made to resuscitate Dudo's account of Rollo. Taking up the defence which had already been essayed by Depping, the author of "*Les Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*," this attempt, like preceding ones, is a failure, and the position of Le Prevost and Licquet still remains, in the main, intact. The question is an interesting one, and I propose to re-examine it, more especially as my results differ in some important particulars from those of previous critics.

Primâ facie we may allow with M. Lair that it does seem extraordinary that a writer who was specially commissioned by Rollo's grandson to write the history of the three first Dukes of Normandy, who had access to the sons of those who were Rollo's actual contemporaries and companions, should have failed so utterly in one portion of his narrative, and should have given us such a false and unsubstantial account. But a little consideration will partially explain this anomaly. In the first place he was a stranger to Normandy. "*Sed quod colonus non fui quondam tuus*" are his words in apostrophising Rouen and Normandy in general. The place of his birth is not known. It was, says M. Lair, in the county of Vermandois, and possibly at St. Quentin itself. We first meet with him in the service of Albert Count of Vermandois, performing the delicate functions of an envoy. Hugh Capet had made a raid upon Vermandois, and its count sent Dudo to ask assistance from Richard, the first duke of Normandy. He was well received, visited the several monasteries there, and was presented by Richard with two livings in the district of Caux. He himself tells us he was at the Norman Court "more frequentativo" during the two years preceding the death of Richard in 994-996. It was on this occasion Richard prevailed upon him, after some coy resistance, to write the history of the Norman dukes. He seems then to have revisited Vermandois, but returned to Normandy. In 1015 Richard the Second confirmed and altered the donation of his father. The advowson of his two livings was made over to the canons of St. Quentin, while he retained the income for life, and shortly after, when he published his work, he became

dean of the chapter. The date of his death is altogether uncertain. All we can say is that he was dead in 1043, when his successor in the deanery is mentioned. For these facts I am indebted to M. Lair's introduction, pages 18, 19, and 21. From them it is clear that Dudo was more of a guest than aught else at the Norman Court, a guest who was well treated, and returned his host's consideration with fulsome flattery, but after all only a guest. His history was published in Vermandois and dedicated to Adalbaron, archbishop of Laon. Again, Dudo was a priest, and, more than that, a Carlovingian priest, to whom Norsemen and Norse ways of looking at things were utterly alien. He was as conscious inwardly of the inferiority of this sea vermin as the Greeks ever were of the Barbarians. It was his method, if not actually his aim, to make Rollo a preux chevalier from the point of view of a Carlovingian annalist. He would have been at a loss, even if it had been his intention, how to describe the rough and briny manners of his hero as he was in the flesh, nor would such manners have sounded well when described in the measured turgidity which he affected. Again, it may well be that the Christian dukes, who we know had the zeal of converts, were anything but proud of their heathen ancestry, that their intercourse with the chivalry of France made them fastidious in such matters, and that they willingly drew a veil across them. It is equally probable that the sons of the old invaders, who chiefly dwelt in the Bessin and the Cotentin, still preserved much of their old faith and their old language; that they were not partial to monks and priests, and reserved their Sagas for their firesides, and were reticent about them; or it may further be that Dudo did not deem it worth while to make such inquiries. In the fashion of his age, he preferred to turn to the annals of the monasteries and copy them out rather than make a venture of his own among the traditions still living around him. Whatever the cause, the result is very certain. He does not seem to have picked up any independent evidence about Rollo, but to have copied and altered the statements in the greater monastic annals, those of St. Bertin and St. Vedast, of Fulda and of Rheims, in the last of which were the chronicles of Frodoard and Richer. But, if so, how comes it that his story is pronounced to be false? Here it is that I differ from other critics. I believe that the old canon invented very little; that he tells us little that is actually false; only that he has transferred the doings of other men to Rollo. Where the annals say Godfred or Sigfred, he retains the exploit, but assigns it boldly to his hero. M. Licquet and others have partially seen this, but I believe it to be a general failing of his. This is more satisfactory, for, although we curtail thereby the deeds and prowess of Rollo, ours is not absolutely

destructive criticism, and we reassign to others what we take from him. The person whose doings have been chiefly thus pirated is Godfred or Guthred, a renowned Danish chieftain, and a much more important individual in his own lifetime than our historians seem to be aware. But this is another matter, and we must proceed to our criticism. The biography of Rollo is contained in the second book of Dudo's work, the first being occupied with an account of the pirate Hasting, &c. He commences his account by deriving Rollo from Dacia. M. Lair would make out that Dudo here employs Dacia as a generic term for Scandinavia, and that it is not, as some critics have urged, a synonym for Denmark (*vide* introduction op. cit. 50, note). But he overlooks the fact that Dudo uses Dacia in opposition to Scanzia, *i.e.* Scania, and makes his hero when he leaves his house in Dacia go across the sea to Scanzia (book 2, pars. 4 and 5). He also has the words "Igitur Daci nuncupantur a suis Danai, vel Dani" (book 1, par. 3). This shows that the old writers were not mistaken in understanding by Dacia the peninsula of Denmark. Now, if one fact about Rollo is more clear than another, it is that he had nothing to do with Denmark and that he was a Norwegian. Not only is this the Norse account as preserved by Snorro in the *Heimskringla*, but it was, according to the best evidence we have, the tradition among the Norman dukes themselves. In the Laws of King Edward the Confessor, which it is well known were put together in their present shape after the Conquest, occurs the following paragraph:—"Proferebat quod antecessores ejus et omnium baronum fere Normannorum, Norvegienses exstitissent, et quod de Norveia olim venissent. Et hac auctoritate leges eorum, cum profundiores et honestiores omnibus aliis essent, præ cæteris regni sui legibus asserebat se debere sequi et observare."*

Dudo goes on to say that Rollo was the son of a distinguished man in Dacia, whose name he does not give, and says he had a younger brother called Gurim. Most people, even sceptical people, now allow, that, however the Sagas may fail in accuracy when describing foreign countries, or when exaggerating the exploits of some hero, their genealogy is generally trustworthy. They make Rollo, or Rolf as they call him, a son of Ragnvald earl of Møre, in Norway. They tell us he had two own brothers and three half-brothers, whom they name; but Gurim is not one of these. Gurim is a corruption, in fact, of the Danish name Gurm, Guthrum, or Vurm. Now the Guthred whom we have already mentioned, curiously enough, had a brother Gorm or Vurm (*vide* Hincmar), and he was, of course, a Dane. Dudo proceeds to tell us that Rollo and his brother Gurim quarrelled and fought with the king of Dacia, that Gurim was killed, upon which

* Houard, *Traité sur les Coutumes Anglo-Normandes*, vol. i. cited by Depping, page 514.

Rollo set sail for Scanzia with six ships. From Scanzia he proceeded to England, partially impelled by a dream which was interpreted to him by a Christian (*cuidam sapienti viro et Christicolæ*). I will not stop to criticise this queer estimate of a Norse pirate's modes of thought. "At this time," says Dudo, "there lived in England the most Christian King Alstelmus," and with him Rollo is made to have friendly relations. We need not say that no English king was called Alstelmus; for a long time it was thought that Alstelmus was a corruption of Athelstane, and that the great Athelstane was here meant. A closer criticism showed that for chronological reasons this could not be; it was then ingeniously suggested that the name stands for Guthrum Athelstane, the Danish rival and protégé of Alfred. This seems to me a very forced and improbable explanation, and, besides, Dudo assigns this intercourse to the period preceding Rollo's alleged landing in France in 876, while Guthrum was only converted and christened Athelstane in 880. This seems to dispose effectually of the theory. I believe, with the author of the *Histoire Ecclesiastique de Normandie*, Trigan (*M. Lair's Introduction*, 53, note), that Alstelmus is a corruption of Alfred, and not of Athelstane, and this is considerably confirmed by the fact that in Brompton, who wrote in the thirteenth century, and who borrowed the story probably from Dudo, the name is Alfred, and not Alstelmus. The story, then, resolves itself into this: that Rollo landed in England, and had relations with Alfred the Great; yet it is strange that we search the contemporary annals in vain for any mention of such intercourse, strange also, as Trigan says, that a Christian prince like Alfred should have given aid to pagans in ravaging a Christian land. The only English writers who mention this intercourse, says M. Licquet, are John Wallingford and Walsingham, and they doubtless took their account either from Dudo or from one of his Norman copyists. But is the story entirely false? By no means. England was then tormented and harassed by the northern pirates, but these were Danes, and among them the most prominent were a Guthred or Godfred, who shortly after became Earl of Northumberland, and Guthrum, the great opponent of Alfred. Here, then, is the explanation. Once more we have the exploits of a Guthred, or of a Guthrum, assigned to Rollo. On leaving England Rollo, according to Dudo, sailed to the country of the Walgri, *i. e.*, Walcheren. Here he is made to enter into a sustained struggle with Ragner Longi Collis, count of Hainault, and Radbod, Duke of the Frisians. The name of Ragner Longi Collis, which is well known in the annals of this period, has been found in a document dated as early as 877, and a Radbod "comes in Lake et Ysella," occurs in the year 875 (*M. Lair's Introduction*, 55). This, *pro tanto*, supports Dudo's account; yet it is strange that the chroniclers of the

period, Hincmar, Reginon, and Frodoard, who describe in some detail the ravages of the pirates on the Frisian coast, should not have a word about Rollo's exploits there. To judge from Dudo's narrative, they were very important—he ravaged the country far and wide, defeated the two chiefs, taking him with the long neck prisoner, and, forsooth, refusing to release him unless he accepted Christianity. Not a bad example for a Norse chief fresh from the worship of Odin. When we say that Hincmar, Reginon, and the rest do not name Rollo in Frisia, we do not mean that they do not mention the ravages of the pirates there. They mention them frequently, and in detail, but they were Danes, and their leaders were the two companions, Godfred and Sigfred, the same Godfred or Guthred, as we believe, that has already been mentioned, and who again has been robbed of his laurels, such as they are, to enrich the fame of Rollo. From Frisia Dudo takes his hero to the Seine, where an incident occurs which I cannot describe better than in the ingenuous phrases of Sir Francis Palgrave (i. 517), "When he landed hard by the chapel of St. Vedast, and entered the deserted sanctuary, he reverently deposited before the altar the relics of St. Himeltruda, removed from a Belgian shrine." *Pace* Sir Francis, whom all lovers of our old history must reverence, and whom we reverence deeply, but this is too much for us. This was no pirate, this no Norseman. Hincmar must have overlooked one of the saints when he overlooked this event.

Dudo here ventures upon a date—a memorable date in most of the old histories—namely 876, when Rollo is said to have first occupied Rouen. "If Archbishop Hincmar," says Palgrave, "whose annals furnish the basis of French history during the period, had heard of Rollo—he hated the odious name—and to the last, among the Carolingians, the Normans were only known as pirates." The name of Rollo was surely not more hateful to Hincmar than that of Hasting, or Godfred, or Wurm, all of whom he specially names. His annals close in 885, so that we are here on ground quite familiar to him, yet he breathes not the name of Rollo. Nor is he mentioned in any contemporary annals of this period so far as I know, the well-known passages in "Asser's Life of Alfred" having been shown to be interpolations. (*Vide* Mon. Hist. Britt. 479 note, and M. le Prevost "Notes pour servir a l'Histoire de Normandie," 1st part, in the *Annuaire de Normandie*, i. 40, note 2, cited by M. Lair.) Dudo makes Rollo advance upon Rouen and there have an interview with its bishop, Franco; but, as has long been pointed out, Franco was not made bishop until the year 909, and it is clear, as M. Lair fully allows, that, if the incidents of the story are reliable, the date 876 is utterly inadmissible. I am disposed to question the whole account. Having concluded a truce with Franco the bishop, Dudo next

makes his hero encounter a French army commanded by Ragnold, Prince of all France, with whom was allied the pirate chief Alstignus or Hasting. M. Licquet has too hastily denied the existence of this Ragnold, and would treat the whole account as fabulous, but this is a mistake. Dudo's account is in fact an enlargement of that in the annals of St. Vedast, only that the date has been altered, some incidents added, and the name of Rollo introduced. The date in the annals of St. Vedast is 885, 886. Ragnold is called dux Cenomannius, or duke of Maine, and the campaign was a portion of that which was carried on to Paris; for the Danes, according to the annals already cited, having defeated their French opponents, advanced to besiege the capital on the Seine. There Dudo takes his *protégés* under the leadership of Rollo. The expedition against Paris in 885 is one of which the details are perfectly well known. Hincmar describes it, and so does Abbo, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, an actual witness of the siege. The leaders of it were Sigfred, the companion of Guthred, who had been recently murdered, and Hasting. None of the annalists of the time say a word about Rollo. If he had taken a merely subordinate part in the expedition such an oversight might have been pardonable; but according to Dudo he was the hero of it all. He defeated Ragnold, he took Rouen, he led the Danes to Paris. Dudo knows nothing of Sigfred; and Hasting only appears as an *ally* of the French,—Hasting, the terrible ravager of the Loire, who we know took an active part in the attack on Paris in alliance with the French against his own people,—immediately after the murder of Guthred, too! The whole account is distorted, and is another instance of the way in which Dudo has converted to the honour of Rollo deeds with which he had nothing to do. The credit of the Paris campaign has, in fact, been transferred from its real heroes and leaders, Sigfred and the rest, to Rollo, who had as yet not set foot in France. With Rollo's absence from the siege of Paris follows his absence from the minor glories of the campaign assigned to him by Dudo, the capture of Bayeux and Evreux, &c. &c. We know from the Annals of St. Vedast that in the autumn of 890 the Danes, apparently despairing of capturing Paris, marched into and pillaged the Cotentin and sacked St. Lo. This campaign would bring them near Bayeux, which probably suffered at the same time; but the leader of the Danish armies was Sigfred and not Rollo. If he was not at Bayeux, he did not there marry Popa, the daughter of Count Berenger; but the whole story of Popa bristles with contradictions. There was a Berenger, count of Rennes, who might have been at Bayeux; but, as we are expressly told that William Longsword was the nephew of Bernard of Senlis, this could only be by Popa being a daughter of a Berenger

count of Senlis. How did he come to be at Bayeux? How did he come to surrender his daughter to the then unconverted Norse chief to be married *danico more*? The name Popa is suspicious. Palgrave suggests that it is a playful nickname, meaning "the puppet"; but this is merely a very forced explanation. I believe the name and its owner are entirely mythical, invented probably to pair off with Sprota, the wife of William Longsword, who was an historical personage and a Breton. The Landmannabok of Iceland mentions a daughter of Rollo married to a Scotch chief in the Hebrides. This marriage doubtless took place during Rollo's stay in the Hebrides, which is mentioned in the Heimskringla Saga. Rollo was therefore probably married before he reached Normandy. If, as I shall show presently, he did not set his foot there certainly before 911, and most probably before 921, and he was succeeded by William in 927, as we know from the contemporary annals, we may be sure that he was married *long before* he visited the Seine country, for it is not to be supposed that so turbulent a province as Normandy would in the tenth century be resigned by a skilled old warrior (Dudo contends it was *resigned*) to a boy of sixteen or a child of six. And we may be sure that both William and his sisters (for it may be that he had two) were born before the expedition to Normandy. So that from internal as well as external evidence the whole story of Popa falls to the ground, and we are left to the conclusion that the mother of William Longsword was a Norse woman and no victim of the sack of Bayeux.

In regard to the capture of Evreux, such a capture is indeed mentioned in the Chronica S. Stephani Cadomensis and in the Chronicle of Rouen (*vide* M. Lair's Introduction, page 60, note), but this is dated in 892, seven years after the campaign to Paris. The next exploit that Dudo assigns to Rollo, still during the siege of Paris, is an expedition to England, the incidents of which are told in detail: how he fought many battles there against the English under their king, Alstelmus, and, having repeatedly vanquished them, how the English king surrendered one-half his kingdom to him. These absurd exploits across the channel are evidently too much for the defenders of Dudo. Depping observes a judicious silence, M. Lair barely names the fact, while the more faithful advocate Palgrave contents himself with the judicious summary, "and Rollo cruised to England." I need not say that no English chronicler, save the interpolated Asser, knows of a campaign of Rollo's there, and yet the thing is not an invention. The whole is perfectly consistent with Dudo's method. He has simply transferred to Rollo the exploits of the Dane, Guthrum, who did fight many battles in England, and who did succeed

in securing the grant of half the kingdom. This confirms, and almost makes certain, our previous conjecture, that the Alstelmus of Dudo is no other than our Alfred the Great, and has nothing to do with any Athelstane.

Dudo next takes Rollo once more to the besieger's camp at Paris, and makes him enter into negotiations with the King Karl for a truce, transferring to him, as before, the account of transactions that really occurred, but of which the heroes were Karl the Fat and Sigfred. Here again we come upon chronological impossibilities, for Franco the bishop is made to negotiate the treaty, while Franco was not bishop till 909. The suggestion of Palgrave, that Franco was the bishop of Tongres mentioned in the reign of Charles le Chauve, is of no weight, for our author distinctly styles him, both now and on a previous occasion, "*Rotomagensis episcopus*." By the treaty made with Sigfred, Charles the Fat gave up Burgundy, which had refused to acknowledge his feudal superiority, to be ravaged by the Danes, and they thereupon overran a large part of the country. These ravages, which are told by the contemporary chroniclers, are transferred bodily to Rollo by Dudo, and, just as the expedition after ravaging Burgundy is brought back to Paris (*Annals of St. Vedast ad ann. 886*), so Rollo is also brought there by Dudo.

Rollo's next feat, according to Dudo, was his attack on Chartres, which was miraculously protected by a relic of the Virgin preserved in the cathedral. M. Licquet is disposed to accept this feat of Rollo as historical, save the date. I can see no good reasons for this view. The chronicles vary in the date from 891 to 911 (*see* Depping, 345, note). Chartres is out of the way of the Seine pirates. It belongs to the country of the Loire, which was the special patrimony of another set of invaders, the peculiar country of Hasting, and we find accordingly that in one authority, perhaps the only independent authority (*Aganon Vetus* in the *Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Pierre*, vol. i. of the *Cartularies of France*, Paris, 1842), the capture of Chartres is assigned to the band of Hasting (*see* Depping, 344, note).

Here, again, there is probably no actual invention, and we can almost see how the story has been built up, and how the crooked details have been dovetailed in: *e. g.* the campaign which Rollo is made to fight in Burgundy, to which I have already referred, is undoubtedly, as we can test by the various details, a mere transference of the account of the war as told in the Vedastine annals to Dudo's hero. In this transfer we get a curious insight into the process of fabrication. This war was actually fought in 886. Now, Ebles only became Count of Poictou in 902, yet Dudo makes him take part in it as Count of Poictou. This seems a hopeless tangle, but the fact is, that in the great campaign against Paris, of

which this Burgundian excursion is only an incident, one of the chief heroes was Ebulus or Ebles, the abbot of St. Germain, who has been shown to be the brother of Rainulph, count of Poictou, and uncle to the younger Ebles (*Annales Vedastianæ* in Pertz, i. 528, note 1), so that the mention of an Ebles of Poictou as a hero of the Burgundian war is explained. This also explains the presence of an Ebles of Poictou at the siege of Chartres.

I have mentioned how one authority assigns the celebrated capture of Chartres to Hasting. I may add that at a somewhat later date Chartres, we know, was a fief held by the leader of the Loire pirates. Rollo has again appropriated the doings of other folk—of Hasting and the Loire pirates.

We have now arrived at the end of the ninth century. The history of France during the ten years from 900 to 910 is hid in almost impenetrable mists. There is a huge gap in the Annals—they all fail us here—the reason being no doubt the terribly disturbed state of Gaul and Germany and the ravages of the Danes. As these Annals fail, so does Dudo most consistently. Having no material to transform, he creates none. He has not handed us even a tradition, but makes a clean jump over the chaotic interval; and when we emerge from the blank it is generally supposed that we come upon undoubted, independent evidence of the existence of Rollo; that the Frodoard Annals mention the treaty he made with Charles the Simple at St. Clair-sur-Epte in 911; and that this date is the first one at which we have independent evidence of the presence of Rollo in France. I differ entirely from this view; but let us first examine Dudo's account of the treaty, in which he has again dragged in circumstances that properly attach to Guthred, and has otherwise distorted the evidence. That Rollo married Gisela, daughter of Charles the Simple, as one of the terms of the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte, has been accepted by English writers with, I believe, almost unvarying credulity. Yet the fact has been virtually disproved by Dom Lobineau, by M. le Prevost, and M. Licquet. Let me collect the evidence. Charles the Simple was born in the year 879, and on the feast of St. Lambert (*i.e.* the 17th of September), as he tells us in one of his charters (*Recueil des Historiens de France*, ix. 531, quoted by Licquet 82). The treaty of St. Clair sur Epte was made, according to Dudo and his copyists, at the end of the year 911, and put in force at the beginning of 912, so that Charles must then have been 32 or at most 33 years of age. It is barely possible, but surely very improbable, that he should then have had a daughter old enough to be married. At 15 or 16 few men have daughters, nor can those daughters at 15 or 16 be described as Dudo describes Gisela:—"She joined elegance of form

to fineness of stature, prudence she joined to chastity, eloquence to affability of language. She was very ready with her needle, excelling all other maidens in this respect, and lastly, she was skilled in political matters." Again, every other authority of any weight tells us that Charles the Simple was married twice only. Dudo suggests a third wife;¹ but, as M. Licquet says, we know neither her name nor her origin, where nor when she was married, nor anything else about her. She is, as I have said, ignored by other authorities of any value, and we may be certain that this third marriage is a myth, created to meet the difficulty. Nor do either Depping or Lair assent to it. The two wives of whom we know something were, Frederune, the sister of Boso, Bishop of Chalons, whom he married in 907 (Mabillon, *de Re Diplomatica*, 558). She died about ten years after, and was buried in the church of St. Remi. His second wife was Edgiva, or, as the French write it, Ogiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of Athelstane. It is clearly impossible that he could have had a marriageable daughter by either of these wives at the date of the treaty. The Abbé des Thuilleries, Depping, and M. Lair have suggested a concubine, and that Gisela was a natural daughter of Charles. Of this there is not the slightest evidence; it is merely an advocate's hint to save the credit of his client; and, as if to meet this very suggestion, is she not described in Dudo's own pages in the words addressed to Rollo by the Danes?—"Filia quam tibi spondet, utriusque progeniei semine regulariter exorta." (Dudo, ed Lair, 166.)

These facts make it very nearly certain that Charles the Simple could not have had a daughter of marriageable age in 911; and is the story then wholly false? By no means. Here, again, and this only makes the contention the stronger, he has merely robbed Guthred of another incident in his life. Reginon, Abbot of Prune, whose chronicle closes in the year 906, has sub ann. 882 the following notice: "Novissime rex Godfridus Normannorum ea conditione christianum se fieri pollicetur, si ei, munere regis, Frisia provincia concederetur, et Gisela filia Lotharii in uxorem daretur." As M. Licquet says: Here we have a Charles (the emperor Charles the Fat) giving away a province (Frisia) with a Gisle or Gisela to a Norman chief, on condition of his being baptized. We have in fact the very circumstances assigned to Rollo in one of the clauses of the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte. The parallelism of the stories is so complete that we are driven to the conclusion that one has been borrowed. Now, Reginon, who was a contemporary of the events he relates, and who with his own hands cut off the hair of Hugh, the brother of Gisela, when he entered a monastery a few years later, and knew the family intimately, is not likely to have been mistaken, nor could he very well

have copied Dudo, seeing he was dead long before our canon was born. We are forced to one conclusion only, namely, that, as before, Dudo has transferred from the annals an adventure of Guthred and assigned it to Rollo. With this transfer were probably also transferred from various sources the tales of which Gisela forms the subject contained in the thirty-second and thirty-third paragraphs of Dudo's second book. So much for the marriage with Gisela. There is another portion of the treaty as told by Dudo that has given rise to a great deal of furious controversy between Norman and Breton patriots. This is the alleged cession of Brittany to the step-father of the Norman dukes. This cession rests upon the faithless testimony of Dudo, which we have found wanting at every turn. In Frodoard's history of Rheims, written by one who was a contemporary, no mention of Brittany occurs. These are his words: "*Post bellum quod Robertus comes contra eos Carnotenus gessit fidem Christi suscipere receperunt, concessis sibi maritimis quibusdam pagis cum Rotomagensi quam pene deleverant urbe et aliis eidem subjectis.*" (Frodoard's "*History of Rheims.*" *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Pat.* x. 466—575.) Not only so, but we find that even the Bessin and Maine, the intervening country between the Seine and Brittany, were only granted to Rollo in 924. (Frod. Chrn. anno 924. Pertz, vol. iii.) While as to Brittany itself, a large portion of it was actually granted, together with the country about Nantes, to Ragnold and the Danes of the Loire, a possession which was confirmed to them in 927. In 930 the Bretons of Cornouailles rose in rebellion against their masters of the Loire, and made a general massacre of many of them; and the year following Jucon, a Danish leader of the Loire horde, ravaged Brittany and made himself master of the country of the Bretons; while in 933 we have the following remarkable passage in the Frodoard Annals, from which the above extracts are chiefly taken: "*Wilhelmus, princeps Nordmannorum eidem regi (i.e. Rodulpho) recommittit, cui etiam rex dat terram Brittonum in ora maritima situm.*" Why should Rodulph give William Longsword the maritime districts of Brittany if his father had already been granted the whole province? These facts will suffice to show that Dudo's statement about the cession of Brittany to Rollo is untrustworthy. In fact, that hero had but a comparatively small heritage; it consisted only of the lands on either side of the Seine within the four dioceses of Evreux, Lisieux, Rouen, and Seez. He ought to be styled Iarl of Rouen, as the Sagas call him, rather than Duke of Normandy.

Whether the story of his upsetting the King when doing homage is true of Rollo or not, it seems too circumstantial, especially as told in a chronicle of Tours (quoted by M. Lair, p. 169, note), to be altogether an invention. It has a

vraisemblance about it that makes it exceedingly true in colouring even if not true in fact, and one is loth to part with it from one's creed, nor have we any means of disproving it beyond the very suspicious fact of finding it imbedded in Dudo's utterly unreliable narrative. So much for the details of the celebrated treaty; a few words now about its date. Dudo dates the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte in 911 and 912, and this date has been, I believe, universally accepted, and made the basis of Norman chronology, even by such sceptics as Licquet. I believe it to be utterly wrong. The treaty is referred to by a contemporary, an authority of great value, Frodoard. In the passage from his History of Rheims already cited he says that Rouen, with certain other districts attached to it, were made over to the Norsemen *after* the war which Robert fought against the Carnutenses. This clearly refers to the treaty with Rollo. Now, this extract is a portion of the chapter in which Frodoard describes the good acts of Heriveus, the archbishop of Rheims, how he laboured to relieve the awful ravages of the Normans, &c. Heriveus did not become archbishop until 920. On turning to Richer's Annals as edited by Pertz—and Richer, next to Frodoard, is the most reliable authority for this period of any of the chroniclers—we find under the year 921 the following sentence—"Dum haec gerebantur Rotbertus Celticae Galliae dux piratas acriter impetebat. Irruperant enim duce Rollone filio Catilli intra Neustria repentini jamque Ligerim classe transmiserat ac finibus illius indemnes potiebantur." The account then goes on to describe how this Danish horde was converted to Christianity by the assistance of Wido of Rouen, &c., &c. This is absolutely the first mention of Rollo in any chronicle, so far as I know. He is here called the son of Catill or Ketil, a curious fact for which I cannot account. We are further told that he made an invasion of Neustria or Normandy. Surely an entry into his own country would not be thus described. He went to the Loire, that is, past Chartres, which is referred to in the passage from Frodoard's History of Rheims just cited. His folk were then converted, and settled at Rouen, as we are told in the same history. This is all sub ann. 921, and I believe most firmly that this is the year in which Rollo really settled on the Seine. To me it seems incredible that the annals should bristle with the names of Norse leaders, Sigfred, Gurm, Ingo, Hunedeus, Hasting, Ragnald, Godfred, &c., &c., and yet that they should keep a rigid silence in regard to one of the most famous of them, Rollo, the grantee of the Seine valley,—so near to St. Vedast and to Rheims; so near too to Paris. The only explanation of their not mentioning him that satisfies a reasonable criticism is, that he was not there. A faithful reading of the passages I have quoted makes it almost certain that he had

only lately arrived in 921; and, when to this is added that this date clashes with no authority save that of the utterly untrustworthy Dudo and his followers, we shall have no hesitation in accepting it.

I have now reached the last chapter of Dudo's second book. In this he collects some of the notable events of Rollo's reign. These seem, like the rest of his statements, to be altogether unreliable.

He begins with an account of the various benefactions the converted pirate made to the several churches of the diocese. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in a new convert who had lately been granted a wide stretch of lands making a liberal grant of portions of them to the Church, and, as means of disproving Dudo's statement on this head are not very accessible, they might perhaps pass. Yet one cannot help suspecting the whole account when one or two details are found to be wanting in probability. Thus he is made to grant lands to the church of Bayeux on the second day after his baptism, that is, according to Dudo, in 911, according to my argument in 921; but the Bessin, the country of the Baiocenses, was only granted to Rollo, as I have shown, in 924. On the fourth day he is made to give lands to the church of St. Michael the Archangel. This surely was far away from any territory ruled by Rollo. The celebrated mount may then have harboured a college of Celtic anchorites, but I believe its church was only built in the reign of Rollo's grandson Richard. So that here again we have great improbability. On the seventh day he is made to grant lands to the church of St. Denis. In this case alone the lands are specified. He tells us he gave the district of Brenneval to the old abbey. Some parade has been made of a charter of Richard the First, the earliest charter of the Norman dukes, in which this grant is referred to and confirmed, but the genuineness and value as evidence of the deed are very much in question when we find that these very lands belonged to the abbey of St. Denis as early as 750 (*see* M. Lair's note, page 171).

After referring to the marriage with Gisela, Dudo goes on to tell us of Rollo's administrative efforts. His short, well-rounded sentences have given rise to a huge waste of rhetorical commentary. He tells us Rollo divided the land among his followers by the rope. This was undoubtedly the method in vogue among the Norsemen, and was known among them by the technical term of *reebning* (*see* Palgrave, i. 692); but it is very probable that long before Rollo's arrival the Seine valley was well tenanted by Norsemen and Danes, and if so their portions were measured out long before by Hunnideus, or some other leader, who had been, like Rollo, a grantee of lands in Neustria. He is credited with being a law-maker. This is intrinsically very improbable. The Norse folk had elaborate laws long

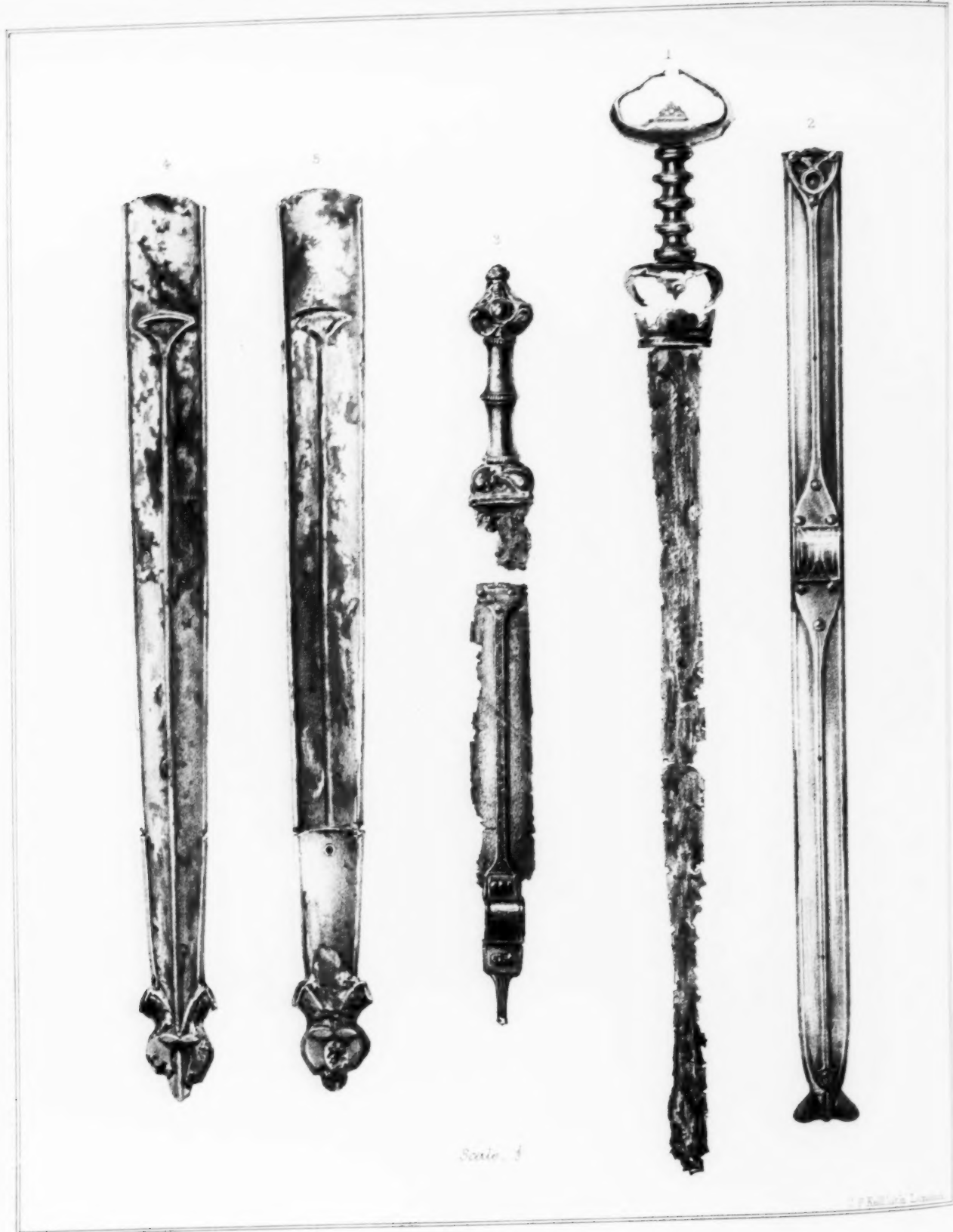
before Rollo's day, whose uniformity is remarkable in their various settlements from Iceland to Kief, and we may be sure that when they settled in Neustria the *Thing* and the old code of the North settled too, and that Rollo was not the founder of the great customary code of Normandy. He is credited with rebuilding churches and walls, but he lived too short a time after his arrival to do much in building, nor, judging from what we know of Norman buildings, was much done in this way till the time of the second Richard. These phrases of Dudo are mere rhetorical flourishes, they have been mistaken for solid history, and it is very curious to turn to the pages of Palgrave and see how conjecture and credulity have woven out of them a most elaborate picture.

We have still left for criticism the concluding paragraph of Dudo's story, in which he makes his hero, overwhelmed by age and infirmity, lay down his power and resign it to his son William. And here again Dudo stands alone, and is virtually contradicted by the Annals; but in this case the Annals are not quite consistent. Richer tells us that Rollo was killed at the capture and sack of Eu in 925. In his edition of Richer, Pertz adds a note that a line has been drawn through the sentence, but this erasure is probably that of a subsequent hand, for I find two years later the following sentence unerased: "*ibique filius Rollonis pyratae de cujus interfectione jam relatum est, regis manibus sese militaturum committit, &c.*" (Richer sub ann. 927.) I am disposed to think that Richer was mistaken. The Frodoard Annals do not mention Rollo's being there. They expressly state that he sent a contingent of 1000 men to the assistance of Eu; and, if the catastrophe had been anything like so bad as his account makes out, it seems incredible that in 927 the Normans should be in a position still to hold Odo, the son of Herbert, as a hostage. Rollo and the main bulk of the Norman forces were probably uninjured at Rouen, and it was only the frontier fortress of Eu that succumbed. Two years later, that is in 927, we find according to all authorities that William son of Rollo did homage to the French king for his possessions. In Frodoard's History of Rheims it is thus described: "*Herebertus Karolum de custodia in qua eum detinebat ejecit et ad Sanctum Quintinum deduxit indeque cum eodem Karolo Nordmannorum colloquium expetiit. Ubi se Willelmus filius Rollonis principis Nordmannorum Karolo commendavit et amicitiam cum Hereberto confirmavit.*"

There is no mention here or elsewhere in the Annals of any resignation by Rollo and of his surviving for five years. The name of Rollo disappears entirely from their pages. It was not by resignation that the fierce old sea-rovers gave up their power. It was a fashion with some of the Mervings and Karlings, but the

tale, as applied to Rollo, is highly improbable. The notion that old age brought on his resignation is bound up with the absurd chronology by which the first landing of Rollo in Neustria is antedated at least thirty and probably forty years. Ragnald, earl of Möre, was the bosom friend and companion of Harold Haarfager; the latter was about 83 in 939. It is hardly probable that one of the younger sons of Ragnald, who, we are told expressly, were still infants when their half-brothers, the Mamzers, Turf Eimar, and the rest, were grown up, should have been a feeble old man in 932. Like the rest of the story, this concluding paragraph is untrustworthy.

I have now examined Dudo's account of Rollo from beginning to end, and have shown reason for believing it to be a mere farrago of distorted and altered fragments from the old annalists; that we have nothing in it of any value or reliability; and that the whole history of his reign must be re-written from other materials. Considering how important a figure Rollo is in the history both of France and England, I hope this criticism of his chief biographer may be accepted by the Society of Antiquaries, and that the presumption of its author may be excused.



IRON SWORDS AND BRONZE SHEATHS, FOUND IN ENGLAND.

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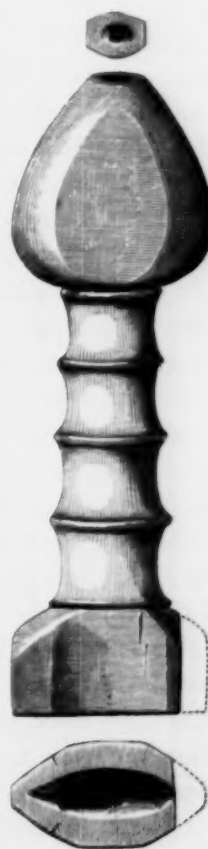
IX.—*Notes on a Sword found in Catterdale, Yorkshire, exhibited by Lord Wharnccliffe, and on other Examples of the same kind.* By AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., Vice-President.

Read November 24, 1870.^a

THE sword which Lord Wharnccliffe has been good enough to exhibit to the Society was found on the moors of Catterdale, at the head of Wensleydale, Yorkshire, on the borders of Westmoreland, but I am not aware whether any circumstances connected with its discovery have been recorded beyond that it lay about one foot under ground.

It is a remarkable specimen on account of its having retained considerable portions of the handle, a part generally wanting, and which enables us, to a certain extent, to judge of its form. These remains of the handle are of thin bronze, probably once attached to horn or hard wood, now perished; in general outline it somewhat resembles a Roman sword-handle of ivory now preserved in the British Museum, and engraved in the *Proceedings*, 2nd S. iii. p. 322, and here reproduced.^b The form of the handle now exhibited is, however, more florid, and it would almost appear to be a copy of Roman work rather than to have been made by the Romans. The lower portion of the handle is somewhat similar to the same part of the sword found in the British entrenchment at Hod Hill, Dorsetshire, now in the collection of Mr. Durden of Blandford, and engraved in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. pl. i.

The iron blade (Plate XVI. fig. 1) is somewhat injured, especially towards the lower end; the sheath (fig. 2), which is well preserved, is of bronze: the front is comparatively plain, but the back is strengthened by a band of bronze, of which the upper part spreads out into a pierced triangular plate; at about two-fifths of its length it widens into a very prominent loop, through



ROMAN SWORD-HANDLE OF
IVORY, LENGTH 5½ IN.

^a This communication has since been amplified and brought down to our present state of knowledge.

^b A sword-handle of the same material and shape, found at Weisenau, near Mayence, is engraved in

which no doubt a belt or rather cord or chain was passed; the end is protected by a solid bifurcate ornament. The length of the sheath is 23 inches.

The whole of this sheath closely resembles one found on the Morton Hall Estate, at the foot of the Pentland Hills, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh. It is preserved in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, and is figured in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, ii. p. 129, and in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 5. Its length is nearly two feet, and it differs from the specimen from Catterdale only in the ornamental plate at the top being square instead of triangular, and in the lower termination being more richly ornamented.

Swords of the peculiar workmanship exhibited in the Catterdale specimen have been found from time to time in England, though by no means common; as a rule, like other objects of the same age, they show great variety in their details, though having the same general character. In this respect they differ from the well-known bronze swords, in which variation is less frequent and less marked.

I have given some account of these swords in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, p. 174, enumerating the specimens then known to me, but as some additional examples have been discovered, and Kemble's work has become scarce owing to the limited impression, it may be desirable to return to the subject more fully than would otherwise be necessary.

The most remarkable sword of the class found in England was discovered at Embleton, near Cockermouth, in Cumberland. It is engraved in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. pl. xxxiii. xxxiv., and in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 3. It was formerly in the museum at Keswick, but was acquired at the sale of that collection by the British Museum in 1870. A considerable portion of the bronze handle remains, and is decorated with enamel, as are also some portions of the front of the sheath of the same metal. The iron blade is well preserved and terminates in a sharp point; the sheath is divided by cross bands into four portions, two ornamented with chequer work engraved, the other two once filled with open-work, of which some details were enamelled. It has a loop half way down the back, and a bifurcate termination. The original length of the sword seems to have been about 2 ft. 3 in.

The only specimen hitherto found in England with a perfect handle* was

Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band ii. Heft iv. Taf. 3. Portions of similar handles, made of bone, and found in London, are preserved in the British Museum, chiefly from the Roach Smith Collection; there are also in the museum two fragments of the same kind from Cologne.

* Only one other sword of this date with a perfect handle is known to me, a Hungarian specimen, noticed further on.

discovered, according to a label attached to it, "under a heap of stones at Worton, near Lancaster." The handle is of solid bronze; of the blade little remains, and of the sheath only the upper part of the back with its band and large loop towards the centre. It is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 1, and on a larger scale in our Plate, XVI. fig. 3. In many respects it resembles the Catterdale sword. It is preserved in the British Museum.

Among the remarkable objects discovered in the entrenchments at Stanwick, Yorkshire, was a sword of iron rusted into its bronze sheath, but of which the handle is lost. Present length, 1 ft. 11½ in. It was presented, with the rest of the find, to the British Museum, by Algernon, Duke of Northumberland, and is engraved in *Kemble's Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 2. This exhibits the bifurcate end and the central band forming a loop near the middle of the sheath, the upper end of which is slightly arched.

A very similar sword-blade of iron, likewise rusted into its sheath, to which is attached a small portion of its handle, was found near Flasby, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is engraved in the York volume of the *Archæological Institute*, and the illustration is here reproduced. It is in the possession of Captain Preston, of Flasby Hall.

To the sheath of a sword of the same description, but of a larger size, may belong a bronze loop, found at Icklingham, Suffolk, now preserved in the British Museum, and engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 8.

The sword found at Hod Hill has already been alluded to. It consists of large portions of the bronze handle and the upper part of the iron blade. The similarity of its handle to the Catterdale sword renders it probable that, like the latter, it had a bronze sheath with a bifurcate termination, and a large loop at the back.^a



SWORD WITH BRONZE SCABBARD
FOUND AT FLASBY, YORKSHIRE.

^a In the same collection (that of Mr. Durden, of Blandford) is the

The next class of swords to be mentioned differs somewhat from those which have been described, the large loop at the back being made less prominent and removed to a higher part of the sheath. They are of a larger size, with less ornamented sheaths, and with plain rounded ends; but as to the form of the handles we are left uncertain, as none of them have been preserved.

One of these, probably the finest, was found in the Thames, near London, and is in the collection of Lord Londesborough.^a It is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xv. fig. 2. The iron blade is rusted into the scabbard and the handle is lost; but notwithstanding this it measures no less than three feet in length. The sheath is formed of two thin plates of bronze with an edging of the same metal, from which proceed at intervals cross bands to strengthen it. The loop for suspension is towards the upper part of the back; the end of the scabbard is somewhat heart-shaped, so as to resemble in some measure the next class to be described, which it also resembles in the arched form of the upper end.

Another sword of which the handle is lost was found in the river Witham, near Lincoln. The sheath is of similar workmanship to the last, and the loop is high up, but the only cross bands are at the upper end. It belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and is engraved in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1796, pl. xi., and in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xiv. fig. 2.^b

A portion of a similar sword was found near Boxmoor, Herts, and is preserved in the British Museum. It consists of part of an iron blade in its bronze sheath.

An entire sheath of the same character as those last described, 2 ft. 5 in. long, was found in the Thames at Battersea, 1858, and is in the British Museum. It is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 4. Its end is rounded.

The foreign examples which come nearest to this class of swords are:

1. In the museum at Amiens. It was discovered in the Somme, near Camon. A slight sketch of one side of it appeared in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. pl. xii. fig. 1. The handle is wanting; its length 2 feet 10 in.

2. An iron sword in a bronze sheath, handle lost, found in the Danube near Ulm, and in the possession of Dr. Hölder, of Stuttgart. It is engraved in

end of a sword-sheath found at Spettisbury, Dorset, a fragment of another sword-handle from Hod Hill, and other remains of the same period.

^a Exhibited to the Society, Jan. 21, 1858. See *Proceedings*, iv. 145. It is also engraved in *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. pl. xvi.

^b Exhibited to the Society February 25, 1858. See *Proceedings*, iv. 166. Two other swords with bronze sheaths, found in the Witham at Washingborough, were exhibited at the Lincoln Meeting of the *Archæological Institute* by S. M. Peto, Esq. and James Peto, Esq. These I have never had an opportunity of examining.

Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band ii. Heft vii. Taf. 6, No. 1. Its length is 3 feet without the tang, which is wanting.

3. An iron sword with part of its bronze sheath, length 2 feet 11 in. found in a grave in Rhenish Hesse. (Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Band ii. Heft vii. Taf. 6, No. 2.)

4. A sword-sheath of bronze with a rounded end and cross bands; about 2 ft. 6 in. in length; found in the works of the Nidau-Büren canal, and preserved in the museum at Berne.

A third series differs again in some points. The sheaths are more tapering, and the whole weapon resembles an enlarged dagger rather than a sword. The upper end of the sheath is generally arched, fitting into an ogee-shaped bar forming the lower part of the handle.

One of the finest of these was found at Buckthorpe, near Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire, and is now in the possession of Lord Halifax. The sheath is covered with engraved scroll patterns, and with it were brought to light some discs of bronze covered with balls of opaque red glass, no doubt intended to imitate coral. It was exhibited to the Society 6th December, 1860.*

Another somewhat similar (present length 2 ft. 5 in. and with a bronze sheath and portions of the framework of the handle) was found with a skeleton at Grimthorpe, near Pocklington, East Riding of Yorkshire, with portions of a shield, bone skewers, &c. all of which are now in the British Museum. The find took place in 1868, and an account of it has been published by Mr. Mortimer in *Jewitt's Reliquary* (ix. p. 180), where the objects are engraved. The writer seems to consider the remains British, but the article is erroneously entitled Anglo-Saxon. They were exhibited to our Society by Dr. Barnard Davis, F.S.A. on March 18, 1869, and have been noticed in the *Proceedings*, 2nd S. iv. 273.

To this class may belong a second sword found in the river Witham, near Lincoln, in 1826, and now preserved in the Duke of Northumberland's museum at Alnwick Castle. It was exhibited to our Society January 15, 1852, by its



IRON SWORD FOUND IN THE WITHAM.

then owner, E. J. Willson, Esq., F.S.A., and engraved in *Proceedings*, ii. 199, (the woodcut is here reproduced,) and also exhibited by the Duke of Northumber-

* *Proceedings*, 2nd S. i. 263.

land in January 1858;^a it is likewise engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 10. The blade, which is 2 ft. 1 in. long, is sharply pointed. Only a fragment of the bronze scabbard has been preserved, with a curled pattern in bold relief, with engraved scrolls, closely resembling the work on the Thames and Witham shields. The rest of the scabbard may have been of some other other material.

A bronze sheath of a sword of the same period is in the collection of the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. and is represented in Pl. XVI. fig. 4, 5. It consists of the front of the sheath with a raised line in the centre, terminating in a triangle, and with a solid end; of the back only the lower part remains, the rest having been probably made of leather. This specimen was found by fishermen in the bed of the river Tweed, on the Scotch bank, just above the village of Carham. No other objects were discovered with it. Length 1 ft. 9 in.

In the same collection is a remarkable bronze sheath of the same period, found in Ireland, and ornamented with engraved scrolls of Late Celtic design.^b Its length is 1 ft. 8 in.

The ends of two similar sheaths have also been found in Ireland; one of them from Athenry, co. Galway, is in the British Museum, and is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xvii. fig. 4. The other is in the collection of Miss Margaret Stokes.

An extraordinary sword of this type has been discovered at Halstatt, in the Salzkammergut of Austria, though not of the same early date as the greater part of the objects from that remarkable cemetery. On the bronze plate which forms the front of the sheath is faintly engraved a series of designs; on a long panel which occupies the middle are three warriors on foot, with spears and large oval shields: following them are four warriors on horseback without shields, one of them transfixing a prostrate enemy with his long spear; only one of these horsemen wears a sword, which is similar to the one in question, and is attached to his left side; at each end is a smaller panel with two men holding between them a circular shield or wheel. The details of the horses exhibit the usual Celtic tendency to run off into scroll patterns. The lower end has on it a monster with a human head overcoming a prostrate man. The entire length of the sword, which is preserved in the Museum at Vienna, is 2 ft. 7 in. An engraving of it, full size, has been published by Baron von Sacken in the *Transactions of the Academy of Vienna*.

^a Proceedings, iv. 145.

^b Engravings of the two sheaths in the Rev. W. Greenwell's collection have appeared in *Lindenschmit, Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band iii. Heft iii. Taf. 3, but the localities are wrongly stated.

Another specimen is recorded as having been found at Remmesweiler, near Trèves, in 1837. The bronze sheath was here quite plain, but had an end bearing a close analogy to those above noticed as found in Ireland. The length of the sheath was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.^a

A sword, unfortunately imperfect, was found bent up at Szendro, county Borfod, Hungary, and is preserved in the National Museum at Buda-Pesth. It is remarkable for its handle being entire; this is of an elongated X form with a kind of knob between the two upper branches with scrolls upon it. The length of this handle is $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.^b It resembles somewhat the handle of a dagger found in the Witham, engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xvii. fig. 2.

The swords which we have hitherto described have sheaths or handles of bronze. There is a still larger number of such weapons, which from their form, the ornaments upon them, or the nature of the objects found with them, must be referred to the same period and origin. In these the sheaths, as well as the blades, are of iron, a material which from its liability to decay does not generally retain any ornamental details in a condition so easily to be recognised as bronze. These swords belong chiefly to the third class described above, and the handles are almost entirely wanting.

Most of these swords have been found on the Continent. There are, however, six of them in the British Museum found in the Thames near London.^c On one of the blades are punctured ornaments similar to those that occur on the Swiss examples. Their average length is about 2 ft. 3 in.

Another sword in the same collection, with scanty remains of its sheath, was found at Spettisbury, Dorset, with other remains of a Late Celtic character.^d Its length is 2 ft. 7 in., but the point is wanting.

An Irish specimen, found in a bog at Lisnacragher, co. Antrim, is in the collection of the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A. It is well preserved, measures 1 ft. 8 in. in length, and has retained two circular plates and two curved bars of bronze which have formed the framework of its handle.

^a Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern, No. iv. p. 8. Mainz, 1852.

^b Engraved in Guide to National Museum, Buda-Pesth; and in Transactions of the Prehistoric Congress at Paris, p. 334.

^c Two of these are from the Roach Smith collection. See his Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities, p. 100, Nos. 531, 532, where one of them is engraved. They are erroneously classed as Anglo-Saxon.

^d Exhibited to the Society April 15, 1858. See Proceedings, iv. 188.

In France the discoveries of this nature have been numerous, especially among the great Gaulish cemeteries ^a of the Marne, and several examples from them are deposited in the Museum at St. Germain.

One of the most interesting of these discoveries, for the associated relics, was made in a tomb at La Gorge-Meillet, Somme-Tourbe (Marne). The tomb contained the remains of two skeletons with swords of this kind. The lower skeleton had been buried in or under a chariot, of which the wheels and some of the fittings remained; with them were also horse-trappings, a singular bronze helmet, similar in form to the remarkable specimen found at Berru (Marne), a bronze cenochoe of Etruscan form, a gold armlet, ^b &c. Most of these objects belonged to the lower interment, and pits had been sunk on each side of the body to receive the wheels, which thus remained in their natural position. ^c

In another tomb of the same kind, at Somme-Bionne (Marne), M. Morel ^d discovered similar remains, including a bronze cenochoe of Etruscan form, accompanied by a sword without handle, length 3 feet. The sheath had a plate of bronze in front and of iron behind, united by edgings of iron; the termination and a cross bar near the top of bronze. One of the most interesting facts connected with this tomb was the discovery of a shallow painted Greek patera with a figure in red of an ephebe holding a ball, probably made about B.C. 300.

At Montfercaut, commune of Marson (Marne), M. Morel discovered a skeleton with an iron sword in its sheath on the right side, a spear-head, shield-boss, vase, &c. The sword was 2 ft. 7½ in. long. ^e In other tombs of the same cemetery he discovered five other iron swords of various lengths, from 3 feet to 21 inches. The smallest had attached to the upper end of the sheath a shield-shaped plate of bronze with three rude human faces in relief. ^f

The same antiquary communicated in 1866 to the *Revue Archéologique* ^g an account of a Gaulish cemetery at Somsois (Marne), where in one of the tombs he found an iron sword and sheath, bent nearly double. With it were discovered a fibula, a twisted chain, and a spear-head, all of iron.

^a A list of these Gaulish cemeteries is given by M. Bertrand, *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise*, p. 373.

^b This solid ornament was penannular, with two expanding terminations, and closely resembled some of the Irish gold ornaments.

^c Mazard, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1877, pp. 154, 217. Fourdrignier, *Double Sépulture Gauloise de la Gorge-Meillet*. Paris, 1878.

^d Mazard, *loc. cit.* Morel, *Album des Cimetières de la Marne*, 2^e liv. pl. 7-12. Châlons sur Marne, 1876.

^e *Album*, pl. i. fig. 2.

^f *Ibid.* pl. ii. figs. 9-13.

^g *Rev. Arch.* xiv. p. 26.

Abbé Cochet has described a sword and sheath found in a cemetery at Le Hallais, commune of Bouelles. Its length was 2 ft. 6 in., not including the tang of the handle, which was imperfect. The edges of the sheath appear to have been of bronze; the end was rounded.^a He has also published an account of a similar sword found folded either once or twice, and discovered in a tomb at Eslettes. Its whole length was nearly 3 ft.^b

Other discoveries of a like kind are noticed by Abbé Cochet as having occurred at Côte des Caillettes, near Saint Wandrille-Rançon, and at Moulineaux.^c

Another iron sword in its sheath, also bent up, is preserved in the museum of Clermont-Ferrand. It was found in a tumulus near Aurillac. Several other examples are preserved in the same collection, two of them being also folded.

One of the most remarkable discoveries however of such swords took place in the excavations made by the Emperor Napoleon III. at Alise Sainte Reine, the much-disputed site of the Alesia of Cæsar. Several of these swords are represented in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1864, vol. x. pl. 22-23, and they evidently belong to the second class of swords described above.^d

In Switzerland a considerable number of these swords have been found, principally in the lake-dwellings, and chiefly at La Tene, near Marin, Lake of Neuchâtel, where about fifty have from time to time been brought to light. They have been described in various works on the Swiss Lake Dwellings,^e and have for the most part passed into the museum at Bienne, with the collection of Colonel Schwab. One well-preserved example has been presented to the British Museum by Professor E. Desor, of Neuchâtel. These swords vary in length from 3 feet 6 in. to 2 feet 9 in. including the tangs which passed through the handles. Of the handles themselves no portions have been preserved, but they are conjectured, on the authority of Colonel Schwab, to have been of wood.

From the conditions under which they were found these swords exhibit all the minute details and ornaments of the metal-work; the upper ends of the scabbards have embossed or engraved designs, and the sheaths are occasionally covered with punched diapers. In one instance the upper part of the sheath has on it

^a Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises*, &c. 1857, p. 406. *Seine Inferieure*, p. 327.

^b *Ib.* p. 407. *Seine Inferieure*, p. 424.

^c Cochet, *Seine Inferieure*, pp. 303, 460.

^d See also *Rev. Arch.* xii. p. 81. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Band iii. Heft ii. Taf. 1, No. 14.

^e See Dr. Ferdinand Keller's seven reports on the subject, published in the *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich*; the two editions of the *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland*, translated from Dr. Keller, and arranged by J. E. Lee, F.S.A. 1866 and 1878; Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, 1860.

three animals, apparently fantastic figures of ibexes in low relief. This specimen is in the collection of Professor Desor.^a On some of the blades makers' stamps appear, but no letters; about thirteen varieties of these stamps are known, chiefly crescent forms, boars, &c.

A still larger quantity of such swords, but in a bad state of preservation, have been brought to light in the remarkable deposit at Tiefenau, near Berne,^b described by Baron Gustave de Bonstetten, Hon. F.S.A., in his memoir "*Notice des Armes et Chariots de Guerre découverts à Tiefenau près de Berne en 1851.*" Two of them are in the British Museum. The other objects consisted of portions of chariot wheels, horse trappings, spears, daggers, fragments of helmets, and lumps of chain mail, all much oxidised. The most interesting fact was the discovery of a few coins of Massilia, the Sequani, Leuci, and Parisii, all pointing to a Gaulish period anterior to the Roman Empire.

Among isolated specimens found in Switzerland may be noticed one from Basadingen (Thurgau), preserved in the Zurich Museum, and another found in a tumulus at Romanel, near Lausanne, engraved in Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, pl. xiv. fig. 21.

In Germany discoveries of this nature have been more rare. Besides the two noticed above may be cited one found at the foot of the Swabian Alps, and preserved in the museum of the University of Tübingen,^c length 2 ft. 8 in. Thirteen were discovered by Wilhelmi in a cemetery at Sinsheim, Grand Duchy of Baden, one of which is engraved in his *Beschreibung vierzehn alten Deutschen Todtenhügel*, taf. iii. 13. I am aware that Dr. Keller does not consider this cemetery to be of the same age as the swords from the Swiss lakes, but in it were found other antiquities similar to those discovered with the swords under consideration in other parts of the world, especially iron fibulæ of a peculiar type.

In 1867 I obtained at Augsburg for the British Museum the upper part of a sword such as we are describing, and which was stated to have been found near that city. It bears a crescent-shaped maker's stamp^d inclosing apparently a rude head in front view.

A sword of the same kind with a fragment of its iron sheath and the blade with the same stamp as that just described was found at Spire, and is engraved

^a Engraved in *Transactions of the Prehistoric Congress at Paris*, p. 294.

^b See also A. Jahn, in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, 1854, p. 135.

^c Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft i. Taf. 5, No. 4.

^d Similar to the one engraved in *Keller's Lake Dwellings*, translated by Lee, 2nd ed. p. 413.

in Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Band ii. Heft vii. Taf. 6, No. 3. It is preserved in the museum of Mayence, and its length is 2 ft. 11½ in.

Another found in a grave near Heidesheim, length 2 ft. 7¾ in. is published in the same work and plate, No. 4. It has fragments of an ornamented iron sheath, is broken in two, and was found with a shield-boss, a fibula of the usual form, and other objects.^a

In the Berlin Museum is preserved a large sword and sheath, which have been folded backwards and forwards several times. It was found at Münsterwalde, near Marienweiler, together with a spear-head of iron, also doubled up. Another, imperfect and much bent and without a sheath, is in the same museum, and was found at Pietrowa, Kr. Schrimmer.

I must not omit to mention an iron sword in the museum at Mayence 2 ft. 8 in. long, found in the neighbourhood of Ingelheim; the upper part of the iron sheath has been preserved, on which are the letters C S or C S I. It is evidently a sword of this class, but the form of the loop betrays Roman influence; the letters are not however stamped like a maker's mark, and the letters may have been added by its Roman owner, though Roman letters were in use among the Celts, as shown by their coins.^b

Even in Hungary some finds of this kind have occurred; a plain specimen found in that country, but without precise locality, is in the museum at Vienna, and measures 3 feet in length. Another with remains of the iron sheath and ornamental termination belongs to the University of Buda-Pesth; its length is 2 ft. 7 in. A third, found in the county of Somogy, is in the possession of Count Szechenyi; its length is 2 ft. 9 in. A fourth, in the collection of Baron Nyary, has been in ancient times bent nearly double, sheath and all; length 2 ft. 8½ in.

In the National Museum at Buda-Pesth three are preserved, besides the one with a bronze handle noticed above. One of these was found in the Danube, at Czanad, co. Pesth. The sheath is lost and the end is imperfect. The second, with part of its iron sheath and a cross band of scrolls towards the upper part, was discovered at Bacska, co. Bako; its length is 3 ft. 4 in. The third is a remarkable specimen; on the tang are two circular plates of iron and a curved piece at the top, which form the framework of its handle, and closely resemble an Irish specimen described above. The blade, which is in all 2 ft. 10 in. in

^a Engravings of two other such swords from Germany are given in the same plate, Nos. 5, 6; another, from Heidesheim, without a sheath, in Band iii. Heft ii. Taf. 1, No. 2.

^b Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft i. Taf. 5, Nos. 2, 3.

length, is thickly covered with small dents; the sheath has on the back, near the top, a richly ornamented loop, with a triple spiral pattern, and on the upper part of the front are engraved scrolls of a thoroughly Celtic character. This remarkable specimen was found in a tomb at Ipoly-szob. At the bottom of the pit lay several urns; above them was the sword, with an iron spear, part of a shield-boss, a twisted collar or chain, and three fibulæ of the type so often found with these swords.^a There is also in the same museum the end of a sword-sheath of the usual type, but remarkably well preserved, found at Palfa, co. Nograd.

It is not however only to the north of the Alps that the discovery of swords of this description is confined. The attention of archaeologists has been long directed to the remarkable excavations which have been made in the ancient necropolis of Marzabotto in the Apennines, and they have been very fully illustrated in two works^b by Count Giovanni Gozzadini, Hon. F.S.A. published in 1865 and 1870.

On visiting these excavations, while attending the Prehistoric Congress at Bologna, M. Gabriel de Mortillet was much surprised to recognise, among the relics which had been excavated, some weapons, all found in the same tomb, identical in form with French arms considered to be unquestionably Gaulish. He published a note on this subject in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1871, vol. xxii. p. 288, illustrated with an engraving (pl. xxii), giving a sword and spear-head from Marzabotto with the same weapons from the cemeteries of the Marne.

The identity is most striking, though Italian archaeologists are not disposed to accept the possible mixture of a Gaulish element in this cemetery, as it would affect the early date to which they would wish to refer it,^c and to which no doubt some of the remains may belong. Among these remains are several portions of Greek painted vases with red figures of about the same date as the cup discovered by M. Morel at Somme-Bionne, and which, like it, may be referred to about B.C. 300—280.

This is exactly the period of the great wars between the Romans and the allied Gauls and Etruscans.

I may add that M. Alexandre Bertrand^d has expressed his perfect concurrence with the suggestions made by M. de Mortillet.

^a See *Archæologiai Közlemények, Képtáraz* ii. pl. iv. v. 1861.

^b *Di una antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese. Fol. Bologna, 1865. Ulteriori scoperte nell' antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese. Fol. Bologna, 1870.*

^c See *Compte-rendu du Congrès Préhistorique de Bologne*, p. 258.

^d *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise*, p. 359. Paris, 1876.

Before terminating these notes I ought perhaps to mention some very rude iron objects which in two cases at least have been found in England in company with swords of this kind and which may not improbably be bars of iron roughly prepared to be afterwards forged into sword-blades.

These rude objects are flat bars pinched up at one end so as to form a kind of handle.

Numerous specimens have been found in England. At Hod Hill and Spettisbury, Dorset,^a they have been discovered on the same spots as the swords described above. They have also been found by themselves at Winchester, five of which are in the British Museum; at Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, where 147 were found;^b at a camp at Meon Hill in the same county no less than 394 in number;^c and on the Malvern Hills, between Great Malvern and the Wyche, where 150 were brought to light.^d

At Tiefenau, near Berne, with the remarkable assemblage of antiquities already noticed, were discovered some thick pieces of iron like ingots, but with tangs at one end, which may have served the same purpose.*

In the above observations I have attempted to bring together what materials I have been able to discover for the study of this curious class of swords, which we find as far west as Ireland, and as far east as Hungary; as far north as Scotland, and as far south as the Apennines. In all these countries the swords exhibit great points of family resemblance, but a certain amount of individual character.

The length of the whole weapon varies from 3 ft. 6 in. to 1 ft. 8 in. The ends are fairly sharp, scarcely so pointed as the bronze swords that preceded them, and not so rounded as the Teutonic swords that followed them. The tangs of tolerable length, so as to give a good grip; the handles, rarely preserved, formed in a very few instances of bronze either wholly or in part, but more generally the tangs only remain, the rest of the handles having been made of some material that has perished, probably wood. The sheaths often made of bronze in England, rarely of iron; often of iron on the continent, and rarely of bronze. The loops for suspension in one variety very prominent and half way down the sheath, but more generally less prominent and at the upper end. The tops of the sheaths

^a Proceedings, iv. 188; Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. pl. ii. figs. 2, 3.

^b Proceedings, 2nd S. i. 234.

^c Skelton's *Armoury at Goodrich Court*, i. pl. xlv. fig. 3.

^d Catalogue of the Museum of the Archeological Institute at Worcester (1852), p. 13.

* Bonstetten, *Notice sur des Armes et Chariots de Guerre découverts à Tiefenau*, pl. ii.-iv.

frequently straight, though more generally ogee-shaped, and fitting into a corresponding curved bar in the handles. The iron often covered with minute patterns like shagreen, and the blades sometimes stamped with makers' marks, but not with names like the Roman swords found in Denmark and Germany.

The geographical distribution of these swords, or their sheaths, in the British Islands (as far as my knowledge extends) is as follows:—Bed of the Thames, 8; Yorkshire, 5; Lincolnshire, 4; Dorsetshire, 2, besides fragments; Hertfordshire, Cumberland, and Lancashire, 1 each; in Scotland, 2; in Ireland, 2 and some fragments.

Of the three classes into which I have divided these weapons, the first, characterised by bronze sheaths with bifurcate ends and very large loops half way down the backs, seem to have been found only in Britain—that is, England and Scotland—and may be presumed, therefore, to be peculiar to this country. The second class, with broad rounded ends to the sheaths, and the loop towards the upper part, occur both in England and abroad. The third type, more pointed at the end of the scabbard, which is strengthened with a peculiar heart-shaped termination, occurs in Ireland and England, but is more common on the Continent. Whether these varieties of form depend on their being of different ages, or their belonging to different tribes, can only be determined by further research.

Of one thing, however, I feel quite persuaded, which is that they are not Greek, Etruscan, or Roman. They are found associated with other antiquities of a peculiar character, and exhibit ornaments (when sufficiently well preserved) such as occur on numerous other objects to which I have ventured to give the term Late Celtic. I have long had this opinion, and I stated it in 1858 before this Society,^a and I have since seen no reason to alter it, though it has been combated by Dr. Lindenschmit and others. The term Late Celtic is better suited to this country than to France, where the word Celtic has been much abused. There the corresponding term would be Gaulish, an origin now adopted by most French archæologists for relics of this character.

As to age it is difficult to give a decided opinion; the discovery of a Greek painted vase at Somme-Bionne, Marne, where the warrior was buried with a chariot, carries us back to nearly three centuries before Christ; and interments in chariots, evidently of the same description, are not unknown in our own country, showing (what is evident from other sources) that the same or cognate tribes occupied the British islands.

^a Proc. iv. 158.

It appears to me that we may safely place the date of these weapons between B.C. 300 and A.D. 100. Abroad commencing perhaps earlier than the date mentioned, but also terminating earlier, they being put out of use by the shorter and more effective Roman sword. In England commencing not later than the introduction of coins, referred by Mr. Evans to B.C. 200-150,^a and lasting to the time of Claudius or a little later. It is possible that their introduction may be in some measure due to the Belgic invasion, but on the other hand they are more often found beyond the boundaries of the Belgæ than within them.

I have mentioned the contrary views entertained by my good friend Dr. Lindenschmit, whose great services to archaeology no one is more ready to admit than myself. It is to him that we owe the creation of the admirable collection of casts and originals that have been brought together in the Museum of Mayence. We owe also to him the publication of the *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, often quoted in this notice.

In the "Beilage" to that work, vol. iii. part i. he has published a treatise on the origin of objects of the early iron age, in which he gives his opinion that most of these objects were imported into the countries where they are found; and at p. 28 he speaks of "the national conceit which claims all the antiquities that do not bear the easily recognised stamp of the Imperial Roman period as evidences of an imaginary ancient British art."

I feel sure that if the learned doctor were better acquainted with our antiquities he would change his opinion. No modern antiquary would suggest an Etruscan origin for the antiquities of this country, and especially of Ireland, notwithstanding the nonsense written by Sir William Betham.^b

I am quite prepared to admit an Etruscan *influence*, and that it was from the Etruscans that any elements of classical design that are to be found in these antiquities were derived. This was, however, the result of a long series of modifications. The Gaulish inhabitants of the north of Italy would acquire by peaceful intercourse, or during their warlike raids, many Etruscan objects. These they would probably imitate as well as they could. Their next neighbours of cognate races would repeat the operation, each time with a greater divergence from the originals, till at length the strange trumpet pattern of the British bronze-work would come into existence, derived, perhaps, from the well-known wave pattern of the Greeks. Such designs continued down to a late date in Ireland, as shown by illuminated manuscripts; and the agency of those remarkable missionaries, the Scotie or Irish monks, influenced mediæval art both in England and abroad.

^a Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 26.

^b *Etruria Celtica*, Dublin, 1842.

The history of Celtic art is, in fact, of the same kind as the history of Celtic coinage, now generally admitted by numismatists. The golden *philippi*, or staters of Philip of Macedon, were copied with some success by the neighbouring barbarians. The type was gradually adopted by other Celtic races, departing further and further from the original, till the wreath of Apollo became an ear of barley, or a cruciform ornament, and the chariot of Victory was reduced to a single horse.

On the other hand, it may be of interest to cite the opinion of our learned Fellow Dr. Thurnam, who has noticed the swords in question in the following passage of his valuable introduction to the *Crania Britannia* :—

Certain curious swords of iron, with hilts and sheaths of bronze, of superior but evidently barbaric workmanship, which probably belong to the transition period to which we refer, can only be regarded as the swords of native Britons. Such have been found in the bed of the Thames; in three instances in that of the Witham below Lincoln; at Flasby and Stanwick, Yorkshire; under a stone-heap at Worton, Lancashire; at Embleton, Cumberland; and, lastly, at the foot of the Pentland Hills, near Edinburgh. In two instances these swords were accompanied by others of bronze,^a showing the contemporary use which would occur in a transition period, such as that to which they are to be attributed. There is a similar variety in their length to that in the bronze swords. One found in the Thames measures fully 3 feet; that in the Witham, in 1787, nearly as much; that from Embleton, 26½ inches; and those from Stanwick and the Pentlands, about 2 feet. Some are ornamented in a grotesque though bold style, with figures of animal heads;^b others with coloured enamel, in a manner, however, quite distinct from the Roman or Anglo-Saxon metal-work, but corresponding with that of horse-trappings and other objects from Polden Hill, Stanwick (where one of the swords was found), Annandale, and other places, the manufacture of which is, with much probability, assigned to Central Gaul. On the backs of the scabbards are loops of bronze, generally near the middle, but in two of the largest size at the top, by means of which they could be attached to the girdle, or to brazen or iron chains, such as Diodorus says the Gauls used for this purpose. In two instances the small size of the weapon shows that they are more properly to be regarded as daggers than swords. One of these is from the bed of the Thames, the other from that of the Witham. Both are from localities near which remarkable examples of British bronze shields have been discovered; so that the contemporary character of the two can hardly be doubted, were it not even proved by the similarity of the peculiar ornamentation, especially in the dagger, sword, and shield from the Witham. The hilt of this dagger terminates in a little imp-like figure, the eyes of which, as well as certain ornamental studs which were gilt, had probably been filled in with enamel.—*Davis and Thurnam, Crania Brit.* p. 91.

^a These were found in the beds of rivers, the Thames and Witham, and therefore cannot be trusted to prove a contemporary existence of swords of the two metals, especially when they are dredged up and found by workmen without any archaeological superintendence.—A. W. F.

^b This is, I think, an error; such heads were found at Stanwick, but there is no evidence that they formed part of sword-sheaths.—A. W. F.

X.—*On Wall Decorations in Sectile Work as used by the Romans, with special reference to the Decorations of the Palace of the Bassi at Rome.* By ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq., F.S.A.

Read November 24th, 1870.

It is proposed in the following memoir to do two things: one, to give some account of that species of mosaic decoration which by the Romans was distinguished as "*opus sectile*," particularly as applied on walls; the other, to describe the very remarkable building which has afforded by far the most important examples of work of that character of which we have any knowledge, viz., the church of San Andrea in Catabarbara, which was probably originally the great hall or basilica of the palace of the Bassi on the Esquiline hill in Rome.

Those collocations of pieces of stone, glass, or baked clay which we are accustomed to call mosaics may be divided into three classes; first, that in which fragments of stone or glass without any definite shape are fixed in cement and polished down to a smooth surface; second, that in which the pieces are all small cubes; and third, that in which the materials employed are in slices, and are so cut into shapes, geometrical or other, that when put together they form a pattern.

The first kind is still in use in Italy, where it is known as "*alla Veneziana*." A good ancient example exists in the "House of the Faun" at Pompeii; this contains many pieces of transparent amethystine and opaque crimson glass. The second kind, called "*tessellatum*," as being composed of *tessellæ*, is too well known to need any description. The third is that which is the subject of this memoir. It was known as "*sectile*," for Vitruvius (book vii. c. 1) speaks of sectile pavements as containing "*scutulæ*" (probably circles), "*trigones*," "*quadrati*," or "*favi*" (hexagons), and very many ancient examples of such remain. Several may be seen in the museum at Naples, but perhaps the most striking existing is that of the Pantheon at Rome. Whether any distinctive name was given to that description of sectile work in which the patterns were not geometrical, does not appear. Examples of this last variety, either in

pavements or in wall decorations, are extremely rare, although fragmentary pieces of either are of very frequent occurrence; the non-geometrical patterns were no doubt more costly, and therefore, perhaps, less used in pavements than those of the geometrical class, the comparatively simple forms in which could be produced with less labour.

Such patterns were, however, very largely used in the decoration of walls, and were generally executed in glass; detached pieces are found in thousands in the ruins of villas near Rome, but instances in which the connection and disposition of the pieces can be traced are of extreme rarity; only three, as far as my knowledge extends, in which glass is the material can be cited.

While, therefore, tessellated work, whether in pavements or as decorations for walls, is familiarly known to us, and has been largely illustrated, sectile work, and especially the non-geometrical variety, has been but little noticed, but, as I hope to be able to show, the remains of it which exist, although but very scanty, well deserve the attention of the student of art or antiquity. Those in which figures of men or animals appear have especial claims to notice, but those consisting merely of patterns are also interesting from the fact that they preserve their original colours unaltered, and that we have comparatively very small remains of the polychromatic decorations of the ancients—at least, of those in which variety of colour and form, and not the representation of natural designs, was the primary object.

Before entering into a description of the existing remains it may, however, be well to say a few words on the history of this sectile work.

Pavements made of variously coloured marbles were in use among the Persians; in the Book of Esther (chap. i. 6) mention is made of “a pavement of red and blue and white and black marbles” in the palace of King Ahasuerus at Susa. The Greeks probably learnt from the Persians the art of constructing such work, but no existing monument can be referred to. One instance of the use of coloured glass in architectural decoration in the best period of Greek art, though trifling in itself, is very suggestive; it is in the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens; here pieces of blue glass are inlaid in the plaited torus between the volutes of the capitals of the portico.^a

Pliny (Hist. Nat. book xxxvi. c. 15) mentions a temple at Cyzicus, the walls of which were of polished stone, with threads of gold between the joints; it seems

^a Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. ii. p. 73, note a. These authors say “coloured stones or glass,” but Mr. H. March Phillips informed me that he had noticed these decorations, and that they were pieces of coloured glass.

probable that we should by this passage understand not that the building was constructed with plain rectilinear courses of white stone, but that coloured marbles formed patterns on the walls. In the former case the threads of gold would have produced little or no effect, in the second the beauty of the work would be greatly increased by the lines of gold parting off and harmonising the colours of the stones. That the intervention of a line of gold or of white between positive colours has that effect may be seen in many ornamental works of all ages and countries, and, in the case of the incrustations of walls, white lines of mortar often occur between the various pieces of marble, the work having evidently been purposely so constructed; instances of this may be seen in San Giovanni in Fonte at Ravenna and in Santa Sabina in Rome, both of the fourth or fifth centuries of our era.

Of incrustations on walls in glass at Rome perhaps the earliest instance on record is that mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* book xxxvi. c. 15), when he tells us that Scæurus, the stepson of Sylla, constructed a theatre of three storeys, the lowest of marble, the second of glass, and the third of gilded wood. It cannot be supposed that the glass was used in solid masses; doubtless it was attached to the walls in the form of "crustæ."

In the time of Cæsar, sectile pavements were in use, as Suetonius (book i. c. 46) states that that general was accustomed to carry with him on his campaigns both tessellated and sectile pavements. Casaubon, in a note on this passage, suggests that what he really carried with him were the materials for making such pavements. It was the practice to place the chair of a Roman official of high rank, *e.g.*, a prætor or a consul, on an ornamented pavement, and it was no doubt with a view to the formation of such pavements that Cæsar carried these materials with him. Very beautiful examples of sectile decoration for walls have been discovered in the recent excavations made by the Emperor of the French in the portion of the palace of the Cæsars at Rome which was built by Nero. These, presenting very ingenious and elaborate patterns made up of forms chiefly non-geometrical, are wholly composed of marbles and granites or porphyries. Glass, however, was about the same time used for the same purpose, as is proved by examples discovered at Herculaneum and preserved in the museum at Naples.

Excavations in the ruins of a villa on the Via Cassia (about four Roman miles from the Porta del Popolo), which is said to have belonged to Lucius Aurelius Verus, the son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius, brought to light a large quantity of these decorations executed in glass. Whether they can be assigned to the period of Lucius Verus or not, is a question not perhaps very easy to decide; my learned

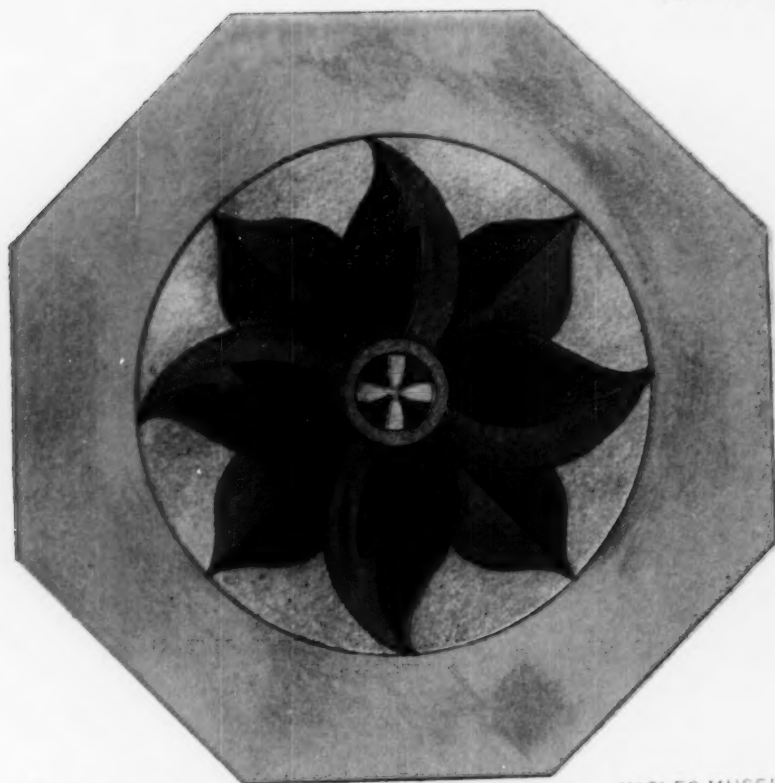
friend Padre Garrucci was of opinion, that, judging from the character of the ornament, a period not very remote from that of Constantine was probably that of their execution. It may however be noticed, that pieces of glass identical in pattern and colour to these are to be found in the mosaics of San Andrea, from which we may infer that the two were constructed at periods not very remote from each other.

In the third century we have distinct reference to such employment of glass, for Vopiscus (in *Vita Firmi*, cap. 3) tells us of Firmus, "*De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur; nam et vitreis quadraturis, bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis, domum induxisse perhibetur.*" From this it would seem that such decorations were deemed uncommon and expensive luxuries when executed in glass, but they would appear to have been more common in marble. Richerius Rhodiginus, a writer of the fifteenth century, says, "*In turribus et decursoriis mœnium Romæ videre est, opere tessellato expicta, distinctaque pavimenta, nec non obductos crustis parietes.*"^a These "*crustæ*" were doubtless of marbles or porphyries; I have myself noticed the traces of such decoration in towers of that part of the wall which is near the Porta San Giovanni, and which probably dates from the time of Aurelian.

The system of decorating walls by means of incrustations of marbles was largely used in the churches constructed in and after the time of Constantine. San Paolo fuori le Mure at Rome, and probably almost every large church built in the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries, was so decorated; the most remarkable examples remaining are at Rome, Santa Sabina (A.D. 425-450); at Ravenna, San Giovanni in Fonte, the baptistery of the cathedral (fifth century), and San Vitale (sixth century); at Parenzo (sixth century) the Duomo; at Constantinople, Santa Sophia; at Thessalonica, St. Demetrius (early sixth century). In none of these, however, as far as I am aware, is any glass used in the sectile work, although the tessellated work in the same churches is almost or entirely composed of that substance. The materials are chiefly marbles of various colours and porphyries, but brick is employed at San Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna, and Parenzo, and mother-o'-pearl at Parenzo, and at San Vitale in Ravenna.

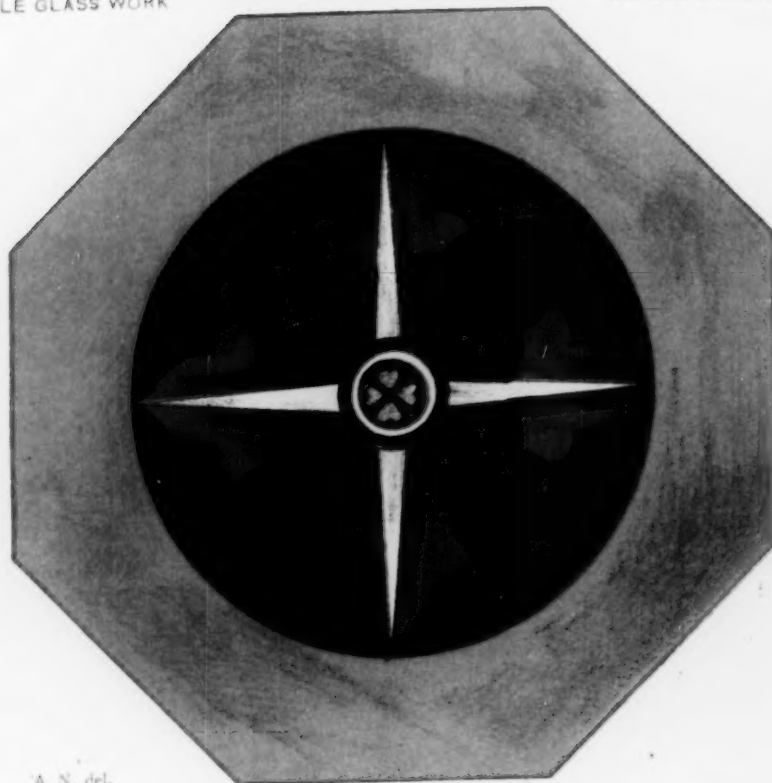
From the period of the above-mentioned churches to the present time this system of decoration has continued in use, so far as marble is concerned. Though it may be difficult to cite examples dating from the centuries between the sixth and the eleventh, it is probable that in the territories ruled by the Emperor of the East it was used from time to time. In the eleventh century we find it in

^a Lect. Ant. lib. 26, c. 32, p. 1,480. Geneva, 1620.



SECTILE GLASS WORK

NAPLES MUSEUM.



A. N. del.

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full vigour in the church of St. Mark at Venice, and traces of it in the cathedral of Pisa. In the church of San Miniato, near Florence, it was extensively employed in the same century; and throughout the middle ages, in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, the artists of the period of the Renaissance and those of the succeeding centuries largely used it; one of the most splendid and costly instances of its employment being the still unfinished mausoleum of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany annexed to the church of San Lorenzo at Florence.

I have thus briefly sketched the history of sectile work as used in the decoration of walls; it remains to describe the few existing examples, which are composed wholly or partly of glass.

The examples of sectile work in glass in the museum at Naples (two of which are shown in Plate XVII.) are more elaborate in design and of more careful execution than any others which I have met with, the pieces being accurately shaped and fitted. As each octagon contains from twenty-five to thirty-two pieces, all accurately shaped and fitted together, the cost of such a method of decorating walls must have been excessive, even though we make allowance for the comparative cheapness of manual labour. Each octagon must have required several days' labour to complete, for the pieces are not chipped, but ground to their shapes.

The shades of colour and quality of the glass composing these octagons appear the same as those of some of the fragments so frequently found near Rome.

The designs, it will be seen, are peculiar, and somewhat unlike those which we are accustomed to meet with in classical art. They are said to have been found, with two others of similar character, but different pattern, at Herculaneum, and, if so, belong to the first century of our era.

The next examples in date, if we may believe that they belong to the period of Lucius Verus, are the pieces discovered, as has been said above, in the ruins of the villa, about four miles from Rome, which belonged to him. These were found lying on the floor, and were supposed by the discoverers to have composed a pavement, but it is clear that they are much too thin and fragile for such use. They had no doubt fallen on the floor, in consequence of the decay of the plaster by which they had been fixed on the walls.

Several thousand pieces came into my possession, but many of them were unfortunately broken into so many fragments that it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what their original form may have been, and consequently to reconstruct the original pattern. Such, however, is not the case with a very considerable quantity, and the pieces so fit together that there can be no doubt that the patterns have been correctly re-composed. Some of these are in the British

Museum, and two examples of the patterns have been engraved in plate vi. of the lately published catalogue of glass in the South Kensington Museum. The prevalent forms of the pieces composing the patterns which have been recovered are triangles, bands, circles, and oblongs, and these can be so arranged as to form squares, divided diagonally by bands, and bordered by other bands. The triangles are generally of brick-red opaque glass; the bands have a ground of the same colour, with circles and dots of opaque yellow or white traversing the substance of the glass, so as to be visible on both sides; the circles contain rosettes of yellow on a red ground; the oblongs are transparent green, with a yellow edge.

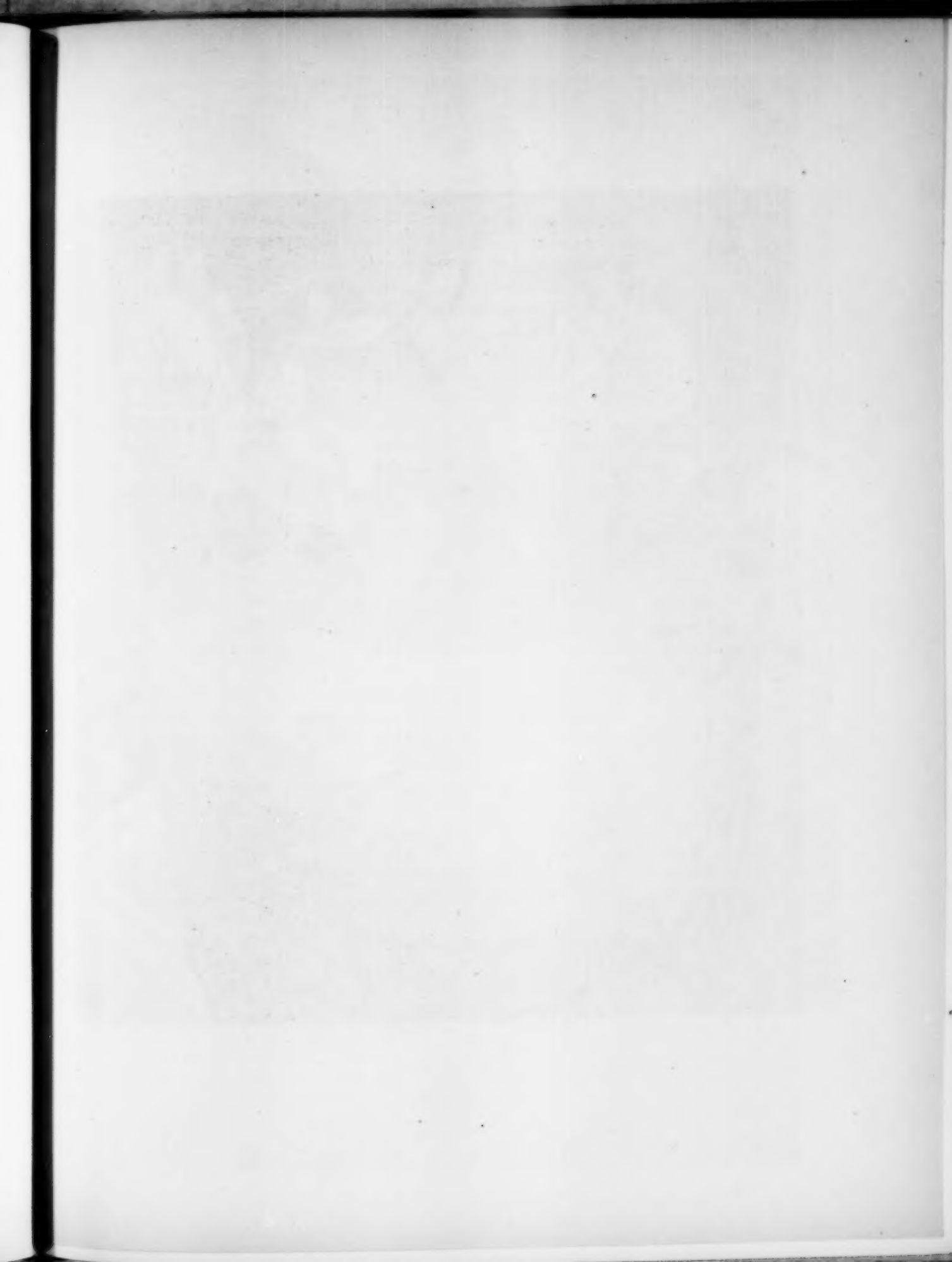
These have been carefully ground at the edges so as to correspond exactly in size and to fit accurately. As about forty-five pieces are required to cover a space of five inches square, the amount of labour expended in shaping a sufficient number of these pieces to cover the walls of a moderately-sized room must have been prodigious.

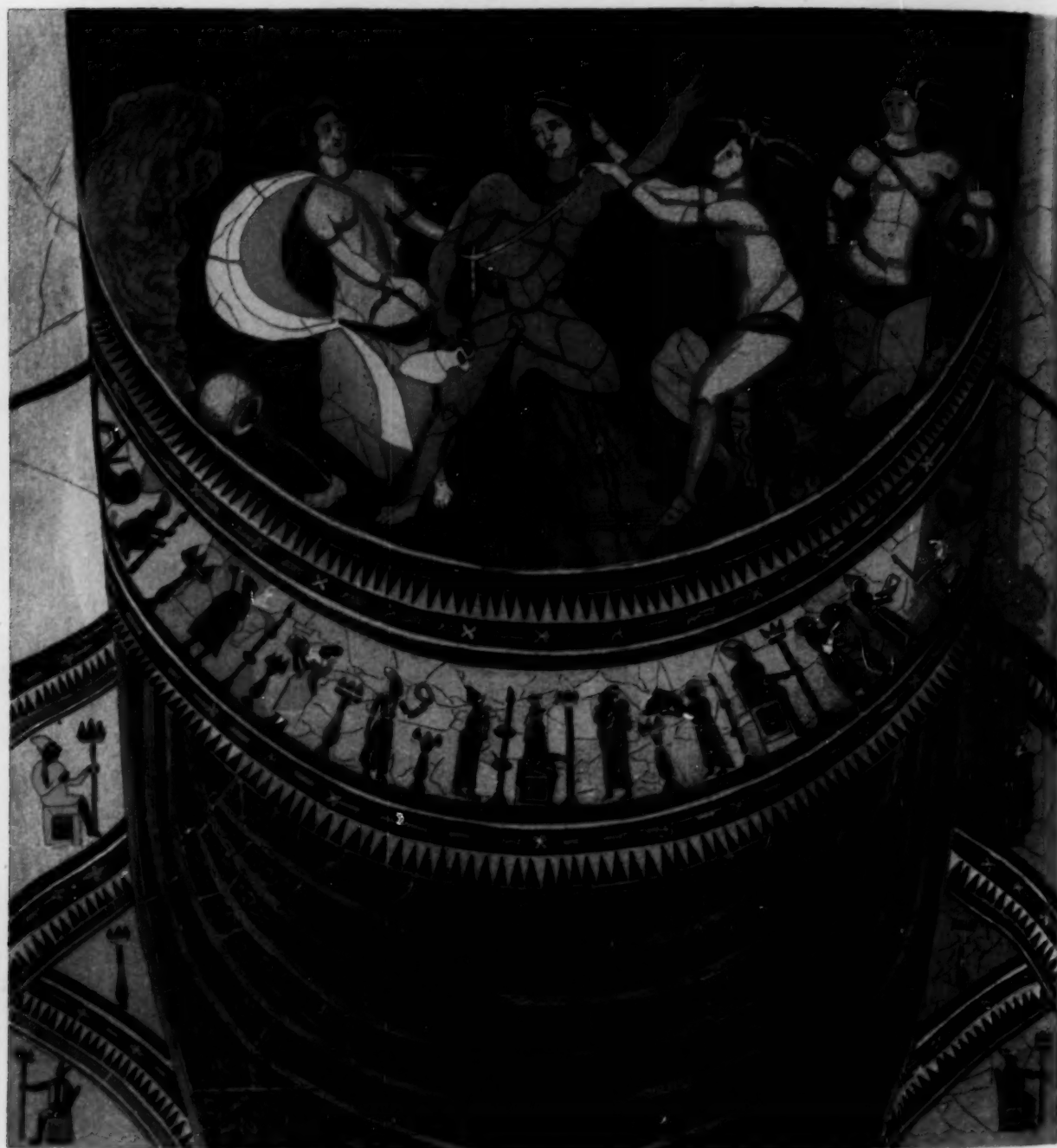
With these were found an immense number of pieces of various sizes, forms, and colours, white, yellow, green, and blue of several shades, which I have not been able to form into patterns with any certainty of having recovered the original order of the pieces; some, however, evidently formed portions of patterns of flowing character such as are frequently seen in classical ornamentation. A few fragments would also appear to have belonged to rosettes similar to those in the museum at Naples.

Two fragments of still more remarkable character came into my hands, one being the upper portion of a female face, the other a part of the figure of a fish.

These are both formed by a somewhat peculiar process; the glass of appropriate colours would seem to have been broken into pieces of the required shape, then were placed on a smooth surface in proper order, and a mass of hot glass pressed upon them so as to unite them into one mass; this process had the advantage over tessellated work that it in some degree blended and softened the outlines of the pieces employed, and the firm union obtained made the figures so formed more durable. The effect of work so executed must have closely resembled that of a drawing executed in the usual antique style with broad washes, and not exhibited the hardness of a mosaic.

The female figure must have measured, if standing, nearly 15 inches in height, the fish 6 to 8 inches in length. Whether the two did or did not form part of the same composition, and what the subject of the composition of which either or both formed a part, must, it is to be feared, be entirely a matter of conjecture. It is greatly to be regretted that no considerable portion of such work remains,





W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

ROMAN WALL DECORATION IN OPUS SECTILE.
RAPE OF HYLAS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1873.

but it is interesting to observe how much ingenuity and invention the ancient artists brought to bear in the employment of glass.

But by far the most remarkable examples of decoration of this kind are those shown in Plates XVIII. and XIX., and the woodcut on the next page; they indeed seem to be the only existing examples in which figures of men or animals are represented. These and another figure of a tiger are all that remain of the series of decorations of like kind with which the walls of a great hall or basilica erected by Junius Bassus, consul A.D. 317, were covered. In this place I shall confine myself to a description of the materials of which they are formed, and of the methods employed, leaving to the second part of this memoir what has to be said of the building itself, of the relation in which these mosaics stood to it, and of their subjects.

The ground of both the large pictures was originally, doubtless, green porphyry (or as it is commonly called at Rome "serpentino"), and still remains so in that representing the rape of Hylas; but in that of the consular procession a great part of the ground is now of the soft stone known as "Verde di Prato," so much used in buildings in Tuscany; this having, no doubt, been used to replace pieces of green porphyry which have dropped out; the rocks in the rape of Hylas are of "alabastro fiorito" (variegated alabaster); the figures of Hylas and of the nymphs of the marble known as "giallo antico;" the hair, I believe, of some variety of alabaster; the *præfericulum* held by Hylas, and the armlets and bracelets of two of the nymphs, of mother-o'-pearl. The water, the blue portions of the garments of the nymphs, and the cloak of Hylas are of glass. The drapery flying out from the nymph on the right of Hylas is of marble, the paler portion of that known as "palombino."

The band representing embroidery below the figures of Hylas and the nymphs is wholly of glass, with the possible exception of the green ground on which the small figures are placed; though I know of no marble used at Rome in the classical period which has precisely this tint, I was unable to satisfy myself that it was glass. The figures, which obviously are careless copies of Egyptian originals, are entirely composed of pieces of glass; some of these pieces are throughout of one colour; others, and particularly those forming the draperies, are of varieties of what the Venetians call "millefiore" glass, formed by making rods or canes with threads of glass of various colours, so arranged as to present some resemblance to an expanded flower or a section of a coralline; the rods so formed were cut or broken transversely and each section would present the same pattern. These sections were then placed side by side, probably in a mould, and united by

heat ; the mass thus obtained was then heated and worked into vessels, tablets, or the like. Many of the pieces employed in this mosaic are apparently fragments of vessels made of this millefiore glass, which was used in Rome for dishes, plates, and other table utensils, much as we now use porcelain. It was used in immense quantities, as we may learn from the fact that every year thousands of pieces are found about the sites of ancient villas. Doubtless the Transtiberines, who, as Martial tells us (Ep. lib. i. 42), made a living by exchanging sulphur matches for broken glass, sold the fragments of these vessels to the artist in mosaic, while the plain glass was returned to the melting-pot.

It may be worth mention, as having some bearing on the question of date, that one small piece, red, with five white spots, which forms part of the chair of one of the seated figures, is identical with pieces forming part of the decorations of the villa near Rome mentioned above.

The other large picture represents a consul (or other official) clad in the "toga (or læna) picta" or "triumphalis" of purple and gold, proceeding in his chariot to preside at the games. The white horses are of "palombino;" the chestnut of "giallo antico;" the stockings worn by the men on horseback of "palombino;" the garments as well of these as of the consul of glass; as also are the trappings



of the horses, with the exception of the discs in the breast and headbands of the horses attached to the biga, which are of mother-o'-pearl. The spokes of the chariot-wheels are, I believe, also of this last material, but my memoranda are deficient on this point.



ROMAN WALL DECORATION IN OPUS SECTILE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1879.

These two mosaics are preserved in the palace of the Prince del Drago at the Quattro Fontane in Rome, which when they were originally placed there belonged to Cardinal Nerli, and has subsequently been known as the Palazzo Albani.

The only other portions which remain of the decorations of this basilica are two compartments preserved in the church of San Antonio Abate, one of which is shown in the annexed cut, reproduced from a photograph. In this the background and the stripes of the tigress are of green porphyry; the remainder of the tigress's skin of giallo antico; the bullock of a pale fawn-coloured marble; the eyes, I believe, of mother-o'-pearl. No glass is to be found in these compartments. The ground appeared to be some variety of alabaster.

In these examples the work has been done in a somewhat rough and irregular manner, for they were placed originally at a considerable distance from the eye; the pieces are not made to fit accurately, and were evidently put together much as they came to hand, the junctions of pieces of the same colour occurring at irregular intervals without regard to the design and wherever convenience dictated. The glass employed is almost all opaque, scarcely any other than the deep blue being transparent.

It is interesting to consider how near an approach was made in these pictures to what we call "painted glass windows;" but, as the system of joining glass by narrow strips of lead was not invented until many centuries later, the idea of constructing transparent pictures, if it ever occurred to the mind of the artists of these mosaics, necessarily remained barren.

At the time that these mosaics were constructed, decorations of like character were probably by no means uncommon at Rome. Herr von Minutoli (*Über die Anfertigung und die Nutzenanwendung der farbigen Gläser bei den Alten*, Berlin, 1836, p. 13) tells us that he was informed by Signor Luigi Vescovali that the walls of a chamber in a palace between the gate of San Sebastian and that of St. Paul at Rome^a were found to be covered up to a man's height from the ground with choice marbles, and above that height with coloured glass plates and arabesques (*mit farbigen Glastafeln und Arabesken*). Signor Vescovali, he says, showed him some figures of "giallo antico" engraved and executed in a very good style; these were originally let into the wall between the glass plates, and many of the appendages, as shields, swords, the tunics or chlamydes, consisted of coloured incrustations (*inkrustirten*, *i.e.* mosaic or millefiori) glasses. Canon Gorio,

^a Herr v. Minutoli says that the chamber was that the floor of which consisted of the beautiful mosaic now in the museum of the capitol, in which doves perched on the lip of a vase are represented. But this is said to have been found in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli.

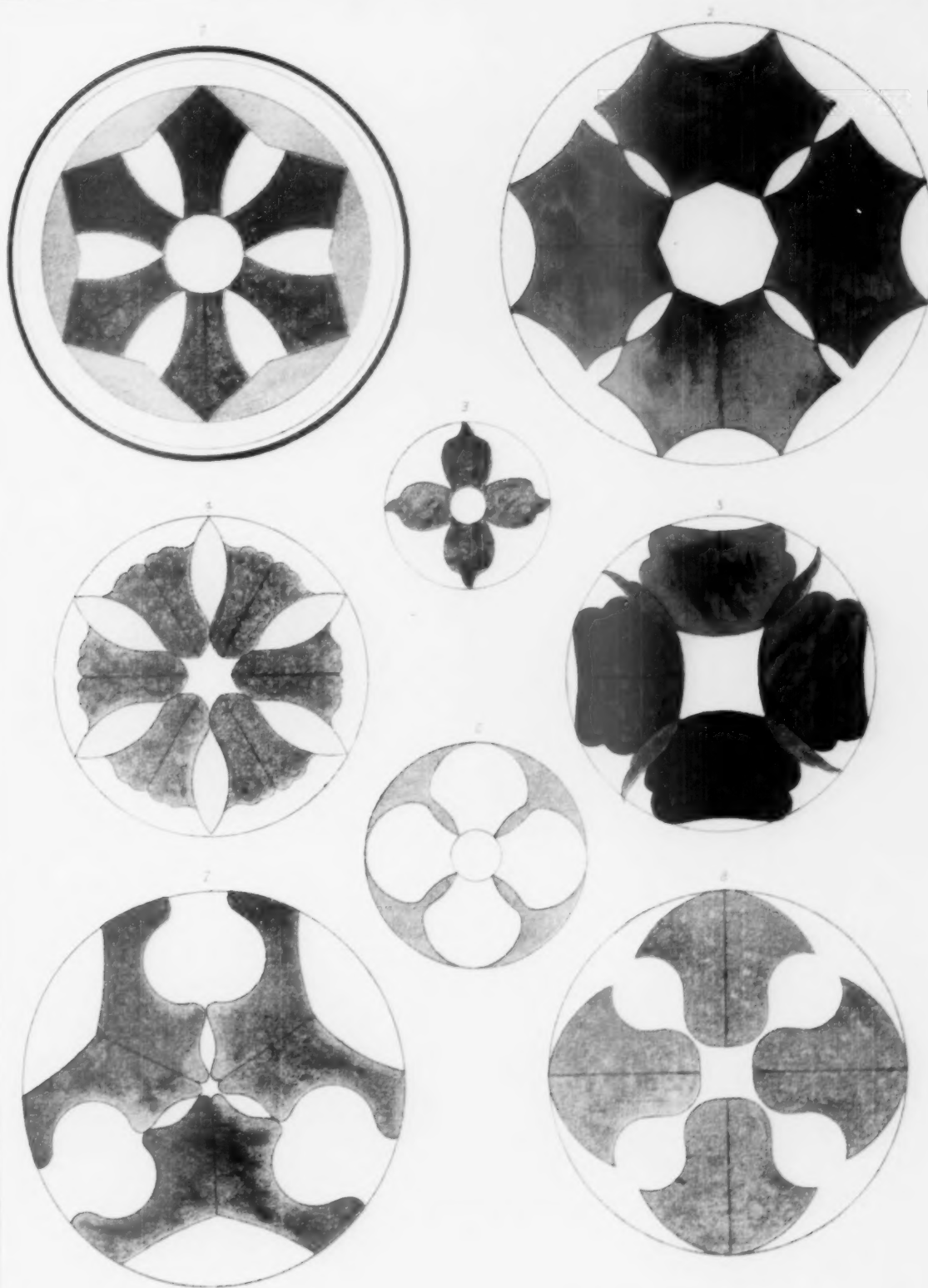
he says, showed him at Naples fragments of decorations of various marbles which had been affixed to the walls of two chambers with plates of coloured glass between them.

But, although so few examples of sectile wall decoration have been preserved, the practice, as has been already said, of forming such with pieces of glass must have prevailed most extensively in Rome and its vicinity, for even now, after a lapse of some fourteen or fifteen hundred years, thousands of pieces of glass which have formed parts of such decorations are annually found, chiefly in the vineyards and market gardens which surround Rome and occupy the sites of villas. These are of all sorts of colours and forms; red, white, and green are the most common colours; the forms are geometrical, octagons, triangles, squares, portions of circles, or often non-geometrical. Some of these non-geometrical forms are obviously adapted to form parts of the running patterns used as borders in antique work, but others are of shapes the adaptability of which to the formation of patterns is less obvious. I have, however, found that the most puzzling pieces had usually one straight side, and that if two such pieces were joined at these straight sides a figure was produced which might pass as a petal of a three, four, or six-petalled flower. The diagrams in the accompanying plate (Plate XX.) will show how these pieces were in all probability arranged. The coloured parts represent the pieces which exist.

The rosettes thus formed were probably inclosed in octagons, and these combined so as to form patterns of the character which we usually call diapers, repetitions of small parts in a symmetrical manner. Such patterns are not very often met with at Pompeii or in the sepulchres or other remains at Rome, the chief sources from whence we derive our knowledge of Roman wall decoration for domestic purposes. But one instance at Pompeii may be cited; it was found in a house in the Strada di Stabia discovered in 1872; an engraving will be found in Ritcher's *Secrets de l'Art Decoratif*, plate 1.

Having thus described in some detail the examples of sectile mosaic in wall decoration which have come under my notice, I proceed to the history and description of the very remarkable building which has afforded the only examples of this method of depicting subjects into which human or animal forms entered which have been preserved to our time.

The history of this building, from the time when it was converted into a church and dedicated by Pope Simplicius, to that of its destruction, has long been sufficiently well known, but that of the earlier period has been misunderstood.



WALL DECORATIONS OF GLASS.

SCALE OF NO. 1, $\frac{1}{4}$ LINEAR, THE OTHERS $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.

W. GREGG, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON, S. E.

Ciampini believed it to have been the building known as the Basilica Siciniana (or, more properly, Sicinina), a church supposed to have been constructed out of some hall in the palace of the Sicinian family; but that so-called basilica, there is little or no doubt, was really the same edifice as the church better known as the Basilica Liberiana, or Santa Maria in Presepe, otherwise Santa Maria Maggiore (v. De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1871, p. 19).

The real origin of the building of which I am writing is clearly proved by an inscription which existed in the apse, and was copied in an imperfect state by several antiquaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Pietro Sabino, Ugonius, and De Winghe; but the most perfect text is found in an epigraphical collection, preserved in manuscript in the public library of Sienna. In this it runs:—

IVNIVS BASSVS V. C. CONSVL ORDINARIVS PROPRIA IMPENSA A SOLO FECIT ET
DEDICAVIT.^a

This Junius Bassus, Cavaliere De Rossi (*Bull.* 1871, p. 46) thinks may be confidently asserted to be the Bassus who was consul in A.D. 317. He usually appears in the *Fasti Consulares* as Septimius Bassus; but this, according to De Rossi, is an error, arising from a confusion made between a Bassus, consul, and a Septimius Bassus, *præfectus urbi* in the same year, 317.

The grounds on which De Rossi excludes the four Bassi who appear in the *Fasti* as consuls in A.D. 289, 330 (or 331), 408, and 431, from the number of the probable founders of the building will be found in his memoir (*Bull.* 1871, p. 44), and will probably be thought tolerably conclusive. As in very many cases the whole of the names of the personages who filled the great offices at Rome have not been preserved to us, it is often impossible to attain anything like certainty as to the family of many—consuls and others—and it has been disputed^b whether Junius Bassus, consul in 317, and his namesake, prefect of the city in 359, were or were not of the family of the Bassi alluded to in the well-known lines of Prudentius:—

“Non Paulinorum noi. Bassorum dubitavit
Prompta fides dare se Christo stirpemque superham
Gentis patritiæ venturo attollere sæclo.”

(In Symmachum, v. 642.)

^a Cav. de Rossi warns his readers against the supposition that the building was a temple because the consul dedicated it.

^b Vide *Sac. Vatican. Basil. Crypt. Mon.* by P. L. Dionysius, Rome 1773, p. 201.

Cav. de Rossi's opinion is that they were father and son, and of a family of the Gens Junia, known as that of the Bassi.

Had the name of the younger Junius Bassus appeared in the *Fasti* as consul, the erection of the basilica might have been ascribed to him, but the Bassus, consul in 330 (or 331), appears to have been of the Gens Annia, and those who were consuls in 408 and 431 to have been of the Gens Anicia; it would therefore seem that we must consider the consul of 317 as the founder.

The second stage in its history was also vouched for by an inscription running as follows:—

Hæc tibi mens Valilæ decrevit prædia Xre
 Cui testator opes detulit ille suas
 Simplicius quæ papa sacris cælestibus aptans
 Effecit vere muneris esse tui.
 Et quod apostolici deessent limina nobis
 Martyris Andreæ nomine composuit
 Utitur hæc heres titulis ecclesia justis
 Succedensque domo mystica jura locat.
 Plebs devota veni perque hæc commercia disce
 Terreno censu regna superna peti.

These verses record the dedication of the building to St. Andrew after it with the adjacent property had been bequeathed to the church by Flavius Valila, a Goth, who, entering the service of Rome, became "*magister utriusque militiæ*." He is known by the *Carta Cornutiana* (*Mab. de re Diplom.*, Paris, 1709, p. 462) to have been alive in 471, and, as Pope Simplicius died in 482 (or 483), the dedication must have taken place between those years.

These verses were placed below the semi-dome of the apse, and over them, in mosaic, figures of our Lord and six apostles standing erect. The original decoration of the apse, though removed from the upper portion, appears to have been allowed to remain in the lower, as the inscription of Junius Bassus retained its place; nor as it would seem were the decorations of the rest of the building meddled with, however unsuited they might be to a church.

It is conjectured that the affix of Catabarbara Patricia, by which this church was distinguished in the eighth and ninth centuries, became attached to it in consequence of its connection with this residence of the barbarian patrician (*vide De Rossi, Bull. 1871, p. 25*).

Pope Gregory II., it is stated in the *Liber Pontificalis*, "*instituit gerontocomium . . . monasteriumque juxta positum Sancti Andreæ apostoli quod Barbaræ nuncupatur.*"

In the fifteenth century it was in a condition of decay approaching ruin, for

Platina (*Hist. de Vitis Pontificum, in vitâ Simplicii*), after stating that Pope Simplicius dedicated the church, adds, "*adhuc vestigia quædam antiquitatis apparent, quæ persæpe flendo inspexi, ob incuriam eorum quibus ipsa templa jam ruinam minantia commissa sunt.*"

About the same time the celebrated architect Sangallo made the drawing preserved in the Barberini Library, in a volume dated 1465. A copy of this drawing copied from the Bull. di. Arch. Crist. for 1871 is given in Plate XXI.

It subsequently ceased to be used as a place of worship, and its attached monastery was incorporated with the adjacent convent of San Antonio Abate, to which a hospital was attached. Grimaldi, who wrote about 1622, states (*Bull. 1871, p. 18*) that the French monks of St. Anthony, who served the hospital, had conceived the idea that the cements (*mixture glutinum*) by which the incrustations were held to the walls were excellent remedies for fever, and accordingly destroyed the mosaic pictures in order to obtain this admirable medicine! Whatever mischief the monks may have done, time, producing decay of the cement, no doubt did its share, for since the remaining fragments have been better cared for many parts have been lost, and I saw a piece of blue glass drop from the mosaic representing the consul whilst I was looking at it.

The two compartments shown in Plates XVIII. and XIX. were conveyed to the palace of Cardinal Massimi at the Quattro Fontane, now the property of the Prince del Drago.

In the course of this century the decay of the buildings and its mosaics progressed rapidly, and it was dismantled in 1686; but some portions of the walls are said still to remain.

I have thus given a summary of the history of the building which Cav. de Rossi has worked out with that assiduity and almost unrivalled knowledge of all that relates to the antiquities of Rome which distinguish him. It remains to describe the building, its system of decoration, and the still existing fragments of the mosaics which adorned it.

The building is peculiarly worth attention, if we may—as it seems to me we reasonably may—consider it as one of the very few examples of the great state apartment of a Roman house of the first class of which we have any accurate knowledge, and certainly the only one of the internal ornamentation of which we know anything. No house at Pompeii or Herculaneum is of the same character or size as were the palaces of the great patrician families at Rome, and of the imperial palace little is left of the great apartments except foundations.

It is well known that besides the great public basilicas there were vast halls

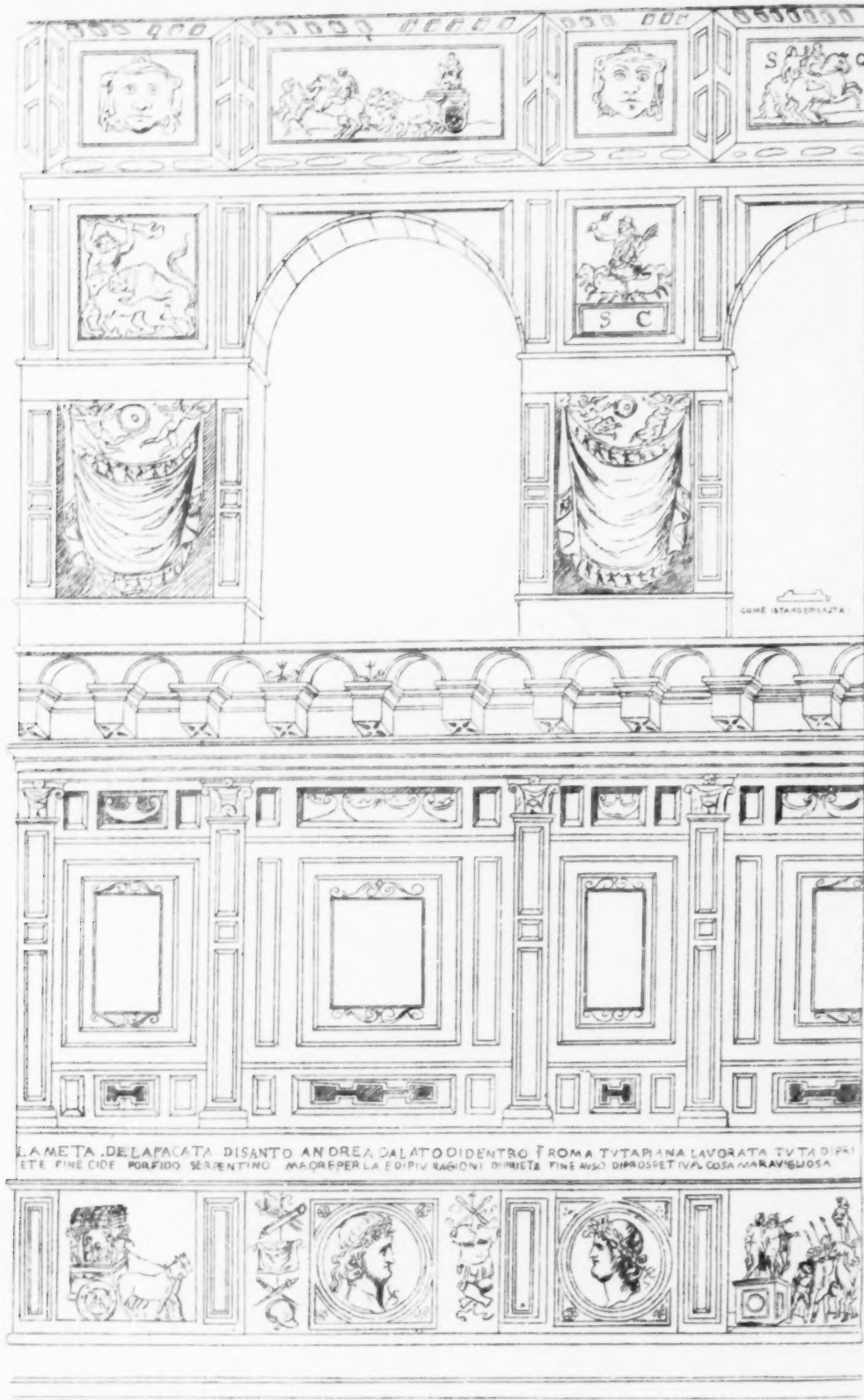
called basilicas in the important palaces of imperial times: thus, the Villa Gordianorum, near Rome, contained, as we are told by Julius Capitolinus (*Hist. Aug. Gordianus III. c. 32*), three basilicas, each a hundred feet in length. These halls, no doubt, served many of the purposes of the great hall of a medieval house, were places where the clients and dependants could assemble, where the "imagines" of the family were displayed, and where festive solemnities could be held.

Perhaps the only example of a structure of this kind now existing is the basilica of the Sessorium, now the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, near the Lateran. This, though larger, in many respects resembles the basilica of the Bassi; each was an oblong space very lofty in proportion to its length or breadth, and lit by very large windows near the top; in both a portico of two storeys extended across the front. The sides of the Sessorian basilica were pierced by five large openings on the ground level, divided by piers, or rather masses of wall, while the walls of the other basilicas were unbroken.

The former was in its original state internally about 115 feet long by 72 wide, and 66 high; the latter is stated to have been about 62 feet long by 45 wide, and 68 high. These dimensions are given on the authority of Hübsch, *Alt Christliche Kirchen*, who states that he derives those of the Bassian basilica from Ciampini (*Vet. Moni.*). That author, however, gives no scale with his engraving of the building, and a comparison of the existing remains of the mosaics with the elevations of the interior of the building by Ciampini and Sangallo leads to the conclusion that it was in reality not more than 45 feet high.

The Sessorian basilica ends in a semi-circular apse, which, however, is not supposed to be of as early a date as the rest of the structure; in the other building under consideration the apse appears to have been part of the original building. The upper storey of each contained, in the first, five windows, about 27 feet high by 15 wide; in the latter, three, which would seem to have measured about 10 feet high by 6 wide. These great windows were no doubt originally fitted with marble slabs pierced with numerous apertures, which may or may not have been fitted with glass (*vide Archæologia*, vol. xl. "On the Churches of Rome earlier than the year 1150," p. 195). In the Bassian basilica, where the walls were completely covered with marbles and glass of bright colours, it seems extremely probable that the windows were also made to contribute to the splendour of the apartment by being fitted with coloured glass.

The Sessorian basilica has undergone so many repairs that scarcely a trace of the original system of decoration can be found, but an accidental opening in the



PORTION OF THE BASSIAN BASILICA, FROM A DRAWING BY SANGALLO.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON. S. R.

stones with which the great arches in the walls have been closed enabled me to ascertain that the surfaces had been covered with thin slabs of marble of various colours, arranged in patterns, and I have no doubt that the whole interior was, as in the Bassian basilica, covered with decoration of the same sort.

Seeing, then, that these two buildings exhibit so many points of resemblance in plan and in character, and that there is evidence that the Sessorian basilica was formed out of a portion of the palace so-called (*vide Lib. Pontif. in vita San Silvestri*), and that it was originally not a church, but a great hall, we may, I think, not hesitate to conclude that the Bassian basilica was also originally the great state apartment, hall, or basilica of a great patrician family, probably bearing the family name of Bassus. This attribution of the building will, I think, appear even more probable when the character of the decorations is considered.

De Rossi has shown that in the eighteenth century the convent of San Andrea was known as the "Massa Juliana," and that Juliana was the cognomen of several matrons ancestresses of the Anicii, Probi, and Bassi of the fourth century. Ulrichs (*Beschreibung von Rom. vol. iii. part 2, p. 216*) states that fine ruins of a palace exist near San Antonio Abate but within the bounds of the Villa Negroni. Are these fragments of the palace of the Bassi?

In Plate XXI. is given a reduced copy of Sangallo's drawing already mentioned; the original measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $10\frac{1}{4}$ in width. It represents one-half of one side of the interior of the Bassian basilica; from this it will be seen that each side was decorated by twenty-six pictures, or, if the spaces which are left blank once also contained pictures, by thirty-nine. But it is perhaps more probable that these were filled by slabs of precious marbles, and not with mosaics. Of the decoration of the wall at the entrance, or of that at the apse, we only know that in the latter was the inscription in which Junius Bassus is named, and that Ugonius (writing before 1588) seems to write of that part of the building when he mentions incrustations of stones of various colours worked in designs of diverse figures. (*In capo se sale all' altar grande dove e dietro il presbiterio e la sedia di marmo episcopale è tutto incrostato di pietre di varii colori fatte a lavori a disegno di diverse figure, Bull. 1871, p. 14*).

These fifty-two pictures may be divided into four classes, portrait-heads and masks, figures of animals, subjects historical or mythological or relating to the games of the circus, and, lastly, trophies of arms; originally there were, it would seem, sixteen of the first class, six or eight of the second, twenty or twenty-two of the third, and eight of the fourth. There remain in existence none of the first

or fourth class, two of the second, and two of the third, but Sangallo's sketch and Ciampini's engraving have preserved representations (not, it is to be feared, of very accurate character), of two portrait-heads, two masks, one animal figure, seven of the mythological or historical subjects, and two trophies. The heads crowned with laurel-wreaths no doubt portray Emperors, and if the whole series had been before us it would no doubt have materially aided us in an attempt to find an answer to the question—What was the leading idea in the selection and arrangement of these mosaic pictures? But, unfortunately, we know only two of them; one of these decidedly resembles Nero, but in that case, as Cav. de Rossi remarks, we might reasonably expect that the next effigy would represent either his predecessor or his successor, Claudius or Galba, while it bears no resemblance to either. The two, however, bear some resemblance to Titus and Domitian; both of whom belonged to the Gens Flavia; and De Rossi, thinking that the leading idea of these decorations was to do honour to the deeds of the Emperor Constantine, suggests that portraits of emperors or empresses of that family would be appropriately placed among them.

Of the other pictures of the third class perhaps the most important is that on the right-hand of the lower part of Sangallo's drawing; in this it will be seen two figures are shown standing on a pedestal and wearing cloaks and helmets, the foremost of whom is in the act of addressing a crowd of soldiers who parade before him one or more human heads on the points of lances. Dr. Bock has suggested (*Christl. Kunstblätter*, Freiburg, March, 1869) and De Rossi adopts the suggestion, that this represents Constantine's troops offering their congratulations to him after the defeat and death of Maxentius in 312. Both authors are so fully satisfied with the correctness of this attribution that it serves as the key by which the other scenes are explained.

The Senate, it appears (*Bull.* 1871, p. 49), instituted games to be celebrated in the circus on the 28th and 29th of each year in honour of the "*evictio tyranni*" and the triumphant entry of Constantine into Rome, and it is thence inferred that the subjects marked with the letters S. C. have reference to the games then instituted; the other subjects, as that of the car drawn by lions and the "*carpentum*" on the lowest tier of compartments, may, De Rossi thinks, be explained, the first as alluding to the festive procession in which cars carrying images of the gods habitually formed a part, the second as an appendage to the state of a chief magistrate. The figure in the quadriga no doubt represents a victorious charioteer holding the palm of victory.

The figure in the biga De Rossi believes to represent Junius Bassus himself,

setting forth to preside at the games above-mentioned, not, he thinks, at his own consular "editio." The consul dignitary is clad in the "toga picta," or "triumphalis,"^a which Pliny says was of purple mixed with gold (purpura . . . in triumphali (sc. veste) miscetur auro, Nat. Hist. book ix. c. 36). The "purple," it will be seen, is in this instance represented by a deep blue.^b Possibly this is what Pliny (book ix. c. 39) calls "dibaphas," twice dipped. However this may be, probably the robe exhibits the shade of "purpura" which was at the time the most esteemed. With it, it will be seen, are mixed gold, red, and a pale yellow or fawn colour. This effigy is peculiarly curious, as probably the unique instance in which we have a coloured representation of the consular dress. The consular diptychs of ivory (vide Gori, Thes. Vet. Dipt.) give us many sculptured effigies of consuls from which we may learn what the fashion of the embroidery of the "toga picta" was; usually large rosettes cover almost the whole surface; in that of Basilius, consul in 541^c, the whole is covered with a pattern of feathers; but of course the colours of the embroidery are not shown in these sculptures.

The chief peculiarity of the costume is that the "lorum,"^d or embroidered band

^a De Rossi describes him as "un personaggio insignito del lato clavo o piuttosto della lena senatoria attraverso il petto." But the proper external vestment of the consul on solemn occasions seems to have been the embroidered toga, otherwise called trabea. "Cape tunicam palmatam, togam pictam . . . namte consulem hodie designo, &c.," are the words addressed by the Emperor Aurelian's representative to the newly-nominated consul. (Vopiscus, in vitâ Aurel.) The latus-clavus would seem to have been a tunic with stripes of purple. In vol. i. cap. 1, of Gori's Thes. Vet. Dipt., the consular vestments are treated of at length and with much research.

^b It is clear from Pliny's Nat. Hist. (book ix. c. 36—39) that red, true purple (i.e., a mixture of red and blue), and blue, were all varieties of "purpura;" one was the "color sanguinis concreti" (the Tyria or Tarentina); there were also the "color violaceus" (cap. 39), the "amethysti color" (cap. 38), and the "color austerus in glauco et irascenti similis mari" (cap. 36), a deep blue; the Mediterranean, it must be remembered, may often be seen, even in a storm, of a dark blue. "Dibapha Tyria," he says, were first used by P. Lentulus Spinter, ædile, A.U.C. 700, in the prætexta (sc. toga). The fashion may have changed, and, indeed, Pliny asserts in the same chapter that Cornelius Nepos said that when he was young "violacea purpura vigeat nec multo post rubra Tarentina. Huic neccessit dibapha Tyria." Dibapha may, however, have always remained the colour appropriated to magistrates. Dalechamps, in a note on cap. 38, says, that Hadrianus Junius, cap. 2 (of his Animadversiones?), asserts that Sextus Pompeius changed the colour of the "paludamentum Imperatorium" from "phœniceum" to blue in honour of Neptune, and in memory of shipwrecks suffered by his enemies. Hadrianus Junius was a Dutch physician of the sixteenth century; it does not appear what his authority for the statement was.

^c The diptych preserved in the Uffizi at Florence and engraved by Gori (Thes. Dipt. Antic. t. ii., tab. xx.) is generally so assigned, but it, perhaps, more probably is that of Anicius Faustus, consul A.D. 483.

^d The "lorum" appears to have been originally a scarf, given as a distinction; it is seen in a simple form, on the necks of several of the courtiers of Constantine, in a bas-relief on the arch of that emperor. (Vide Marriott, Vestiarium Christianum, pl. iv.) It is no doubt the same thing as the "orarium," given, according to Trebellius Pollio, by Aurelian, "ad favorem," and from hence originated the pallium of the Western, and ὁμοφόριον of the Eastern, Church. Orarium, as Mr. Marriott has pointed out, probably derives from "Ὀσ," and means merely a handkerchief.

worn round the shoulders over the toga, and hanging down in front, does not appear. This is somewhat remarkable, as it is worn by every one of the consuls whose effigy as presiding at the games is preserved to us on a diptych. It might appear to be absent from the figures on the diptych of Monza, dating from circa A.D. 600, which represent Pope Gregory the Great and King David in the consular costume: if we were to judge from the engravings in the second volume of Gori, these are, however, not quite correct; but, though the *lorum* is indistinctly marked round the neck, the dependent band is very clearly shown across the chest and at its lower end. Junius Bassus however may possibly not have received this mark of imperial favour. A part of the right arm of the figure supposed to represent him is of a paler colour than the rest, and appears to be unclothed. Probably this is a substitution in marble for the glass which originally represented the sleeve of the "*tunica palmata*," and which has fallen out. It would, however, be unsafe to assume as certain that the personage here represented was a consul, for the wearing of the consular vestments, it should seem, was allowed at the celebration of the games in the circus to other dignitaries beside consuls; *prætors* (vide Juvenal, Sat. x. v. 36), *ædiles*, in fact the "*editores*" generally, of whatever official rank they might be, appear to have worn the *toga picta* and the *tunica palmata*, when presiding at the games which they exhibited (vide Bulengerus, *De Circo Rom. &c.* cap. xlii. xliii).

The official, it will be seen, is attended by four men on horseback, dressed in short tunics with sleeves, in two cases of colours different from those of the body, breeches with knee-caps and bandages round the legs; the heads of three of the figures appear to be covered by close-fitting caps. This dress, though at first sight somewhat unclassical, appears to have been (except as regards the caps) usually worn by those who fought with beasts in the arena. It is distinctly shown in the dress of the men fighting stags on the diptych in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool, attributed to the consulship of Marcus Julius Philippus, A.D. 248, and somewhat less so in that of men fighting with lions on the diptych of Areobindus, A.D. 506; in this last instance the knee-caps seem to be pretty distinctly marked, but the thighs would seem to be naked and the legs only partly covered; the execution is, however, too rough to admit of any certainty as to the intentions of the sculptor. The caps and leg bandages are worn by the charioteers on the diptych at Brescia inscribed "*Lampadiorum*." (Gori, vol. ii. pl. xvi.) It will be observed that the tunics are of various colours, red, blue, green, and white or grey; the first and last have green sleeves. These, no doubt, are the liveries, so to speak, of the "*factiones*" of the circus, the companies into which the

charioteers were divided. They were four in number, representing the four seasons of the year, or the four elements; the "prasina" (from *πρασον*, a leek), green, representing spring or earth; the "russata," red, summer or fire; the "veneta," blue, autumn or water; and the "alba" or "albata," winter or air. Domitian added two others, gold and silver (Xiphilinus, *Lut*, 1551, p. 219) or gold and purple (Suetonius, *cap. vii.*); but this innovation does not seem to have lasted long. For several centuries the contests of the factions had an importance in Rome, in Constantinople, in Alexandria, and in some of the cities of the East, to which modern times afford no parallel; emperors wore the liveries of their favourite faction (*e. g.*, Nero that of the *factio prasina*), and the most furious tumults and seditions (often, no doubt, not unconnected with political matters) were excited in the circus by one or other of them. In the great sedition at Constantinople, in the fifth year of the emperor Justinian, A. D. 532, thirty thousand people are said to have been slain in the hippodrome (*vide* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *cap. xl.*). So many are the passages in classical writers, so many the historical occurrences and the personal anecdotes which have reference to these factions, that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that to detail them in full would almost fill a volume. Those who may wish to pursue the subject will find it treated of by Panvinus (*De Ludis Circensibus*, *lib. 1, cap. x. xi.*), and by Bulengerus (*De Circo Rom. Ludisque Circensibus*, *cap. xlviii. xlix.*), and succinctly by Gibbon as cited above.*

So far as my knowledge extends, the mosaic under consideration is the only extant monument in which these celebrated colours appear.

The question remains, what is the office of these equestrians? That they wear the colours of the four factions certainly suggests a connection with the chariot-races, for I am not aware that any passage in any classical author proves that the horse-races were conducted, like the chariot-races, by the starting of representatives of each faction; such, however, may have been the case; but the fact that they carry in their hands objects resembling racquets is opposed to the supposition that they represent jockeys, for no such objects are to be found in connection with any of the numerous figures representing men racing on horseback which may be found on antique monuments. If they had been without these

* One curious anecdote, which will not be found in the authors quoted, deserves mention. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* *lib. x. c. 24*) tells us that Cæcina, a knight and "*quadrigarum dominus*," was accustomed to announce to his friends at Volterra, his native city, the result of the race, by releasing swallows brought from that city, "*illito victoriae colore*," with the colour of the winning faction smeared on them, which flew back to their nests. Domini factionum are mentioned by Suetonius (*In Nerone*, *c. 22*), and others. The story seems to suggest that the citizens of Volterra were accustomed to put money on the races.

instruments I should have been disposed to think that they represented the mounted men who are to be seen in many, though not in all, the sculptures in which chariot-races are the subjects (v. Panvinus, *De Ludis Circensibus*, &c. in Grævius, *Thesaurus Antiq. Rom.* T. ix. pp. 96, 183), accompanying each chariot and assisting in urging on the horses, but these in no case hold anything more than a whip, and more usually not even that.

Unfortunately, the objects held by the horsemen are so ill-drawn and ill-defined that it is difficult to ascertain what they were intended to represent. Their proportionate length may be assumed to be about four feet, and they have been supposed to represent musical instruments, or "*cornua abundantiae*"^a from which largesses were scattered among the crowd. They would certainly seem to be intended to represent some instrument with an open mouth, but three are drawn so as to show a reticulation occupying, not the whole, but some part of the surface of the lower end, just in fact as a racquet might be drawn; had not the extremity been so drawn as to suggest a cup-like termination I should have had no hesitation in believing that racquets were the objects intended, and that the riders were about to engage in a game of what we now call polo, in which balls are driven to a goal by mounted men equipped with sticks or racquets. Such a game was certainly played at Constantinople not very long after the date of this mosaic, for Theodosius the younger, according to Codinus, made the *τρυκανιστηριον*,^b the place where the game was played, near the great chrysotriclinium of the palace. If we may venture (as Ducange is disposed to do) to believe

^a Cav. de Rossi says that they resemble the horns from which coins are poured by boys, as shown in a piece of woven stuff in the Louvre (*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, tom. iv. pl. xx.), but the "*cornua*" in this case are rhytons ending in animals' heads, and very unlike the instruments in the mosaic.

^b Ducange has written a long dissertation—"De l'exercice de la Chicane ou du Jeu de Paume à cheval" (one of those on the history of St. Louis)—on the subject of this game; he is much puzzled to find a proper etymological derivation for the word, declining to accept that which some one had proposed, from the English "*chicquen*" (because fowls run after and persecute one of their number which has caught up a dainty morsel); but, finding that *mall* was played in Languedoc under the name of "*jeu de la chicane*," he expresses an opinion that it originated in France and was carried thence to Byzantium. The verb used by the Greeks to express playing at this game was *τρυκανίζειν*, and this no doubt derives from a root in some oriental dialect (perhaps the same as that from which comes the Turkish "*shaka*," game), for the game is called in Persia as well as in India Choghān. Our name for the game, "*Polo*," is derived from Little Thibet, where it seems indigenous and national; *polo* in the language of that country means a ball. John Cinnamus gives a full account of the manner in which the game was played, the Greek text of which is given by Ducange, and an English translation by F. Drew (*The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 380). Cinnamus remarks on the game that it is conducive to falls and altogether dangerous, an observation the truth of which has been shown by many fatal accidents in ancient times at Constantinople and in India, and in modern, in India and in England.

that the "*Sphæromachia*" mentioned by Seneca in Ep. 80 was played by men on horseback, we may go back to the first century for its use at Rome; but the games played with balls at Rome would seem to have been mostly played by men on foot. At Constantinople polo was played with racquets, which John Cinnamus, a writer of the twelfth century, minutely describes as having at one end a rounded space filled with a net-like arrangement of cat-gut.

In Ciampini's engraving four other figures are given, now wanting. These were in two groups, each consisting of two figures; one in each is in a crouching or almost prostrate attitude, and is being struck apparently with a double thong by the other; some small objects, two of which seem to be horn-shaped vessels with handles, and others baskets or small panniers, are scattered about. De Rossi (p. 47) thinks that these figures represent the manumission of slaves, of which ceremony the giving a slight blow formed a part; the attitudes of the actors, however, seem inconsistent with this explanation, for one of the strikers is kneeling, and in both cases they are in violent action, moreover their costume is just the same as that of the mounted men. I should rather be disposed to think that some game is intended to be represented, or are the small objects scattered about "*sportulæ*," in which doles were distributed, and the figures representatives of the mob scrambling for them? The costume of the figures seems however rather opposed to this supposition.

The companion picture which remains, the rape of Hylas, would seem to be represented as if it formed the central or at least the most important part of the decoration of a piece of tapestry hung upon the wall; the folds of this tapestry appear below, and on each side of the picture; about one-half of the part below the picture has perished since the drawing from which Ciampini's engraving (*Vet. Mon. tom. i. tab. xxiv.*) was taken was made. In this engraving it is shown as ending with a semi-circular sweep on which is a border of small figures of Egyptian divinities of the same character as those in the upper border. If the intention of the artist were to make the picture a part of the tapestry, it should seem that the entire piece must have been circular, but if the picture be considered as independent, and the tapestry as hung on the wall in front of it, the cloth may have been rectangular. It would, however, be very unsafe to draw inferences too decidedly from work of this character, much must of course be allowed for pictorial licence.

It is in favour of the supposition that the picture is to be regarded as a part of the tapestry, that the ground of it and of the remainder is the same, viz., green porphyry.

The engraving of the consular subject given by Ciampini (tom. i. tab. xxiii.) shows that a like representation of tapestry occupied the space at the sides of and below the picture, but this has wholly perished.

These draperies, as Cav. de Rossi has pointed out (p. 57), are no doubt representations of the "*tapetia Alessandrina*," esteemed in Rome in the time of Plautus,^a and not less so in the time of the Empire. It is not the least interesting point in these mosaics that they have preserved for us so minute a portraiture of these tapestries, the "*polymita*" (*i.e.*, woven of many threads), which Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 48) tells us were invented at Alexandria, and which are alluded to by Martial and others.

Dr. Birch has informed me that, though an Egyptian original was no doubt copied, the representations of the divinities are inaccurate, and cannot be assigned with any certainty to any known Egyptian deities, and that the work has evidently been designed and executed by artists without correct knowledge of the art or of the religion of Egypt.

Two compartments in which like tapestries are introduced appear in Sangallo's sketch; in these winged figures, in one nude, in the other clothed, seem to uphold the ends of the drapery, and Ugonius describes another as representing an Apollo standing with men around him.

Cav. de Rossi calls attention to the fact that these tapestries, or *vela*, are represented as if hanging on the walls, not in archways or in doors; of this latter use of such draperies we have abundant examples, but this he thinks shows that they were used not only as door, but as wall, hangings.

The representations of animals we may also consider as placed in allusion to the "*venationes*" which formed part of the games in the circus, though the presence of the hippocentaurs can hardly be so explained. Figures of lions, tigers, or other ferocious beasts tearing their prey were favourite subjects with Roman artists, probably in most cases because they were grand and terrible objects, and without any special reference to the games. M. Ampère, however, somewhat oddly suggests that the tiger is probably a portrait of some animal well known as having often appeared in the circus." Ciampini states that this and the companion figure, also preserved in the church of St. Anthony, occupied the places where the winged centaur and the charioteer appear in Sangallo's drawing.

^a "*Alexandrina belluata conchyliata tapetia*." Pseud. act 1, sc. 2, v. 14.

^b "Le tigre . . . est selon toute apparence le portrait d'un acteur renommé. Pourquoi les tigres n'auraient-ils pas en leurs portraits à Rome, les gladiateurs qui n'étaient pas beaucoup moins féroces que les tigres y avaient bien les leurs?" (Ampère, l'Histoire Romaine à Rome, vol. iv. p. 28.)

Ciampini probably was in error, having only heard that they had been so placed after they had been detached, while Sangallo made his drawing no doubt on the spot. Ciampini has also given an engraving of a winged hippocentaur, which probably occupied a similar place; this appears to have been copied from a sketch by Ciacconi, which still exists in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (No. 5,407).

I have thus given a summary description of such of the mosaic pictures which formerly covered the walls of San Andrea as we know anything of. With the exception of the subject of Hylas, and of the two corresponding compartments shown in Sangallo's sketch, the choice of subjects seems to tally pretty well with the suggestion of Dr. Bock mentioned above, especially if we regard the Hylas and like subjects and the groups of animals merely in the light of ornamental accessories. The Romans do not appear to have been severely strict in carrying out a scheme of decoration in accordance with one leading idea, but rather, like their imitators the artists of the Renaissance, to have allowed their decorators to give the reins to their fancy, and to paint any subject, any animal, or thing, rather because they deemed it beautiful than because it was appropriate. The tapestries were in this case obviously merely ornamental, and it is perhaps not surprising that the subjects placed above them should also have been chosen merely on account of their decorative character. Perhaps this view of the matter yields support to the supposition that all these, which I may call tapestry compartments, belonged to some earlier building, and that one group of figures was destroyed in order to make way for the consul. It is however possible that this was not done when the building was erected in 317, but at some later period, when some descendant wished to exhibit the effigy of his ancestor the consul or other high official on the wall of his state apartment. Thus we may perhaps better account for the strange badness of style, which, so far as we know, seems peculiar to that compartment; the rest of the pictures, so far as we can judge from the slight sketch of Sangallo, would seem to have been of tolerably good style, and are infinitely better executed than the consular group, and, indeed, show the characteristic qualities rather of a living and vigorous than of a feeble and decaying art.

Cav. de Rossi, whose opinion on such a subject is entitled to the greatest respect, considers that the style of the group of the consul is evidently that of the fourth century, and that the subject of Hylas is earlier, but not so early as the time of Hadrian, to which some have been disposed to refer it. If, however, I am right in thinking that the style of the greater part of the mosaics was as good as that of the Hylas it would seem difficult to suppose that they were not made in 317 for the places which they occupied; that many mosaic pictures should

be detached from an earlier building, and that a new one should be constructed and arranged with a view to receive them, seems hardly probable; and we are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the building and mosaics of good style were coeval, and that the exceptionally ill-drawn figures of the consul and his attendants are of a later period and inserted in place of some subject of mythological character. This supposition may derive some confirmation from the almost identity in the drawing of the car and horses in the mosaic, and in a like subject on the embroidery of the lorum worn by Anicius Faustus (consul A.D. 483) as shown on the diptych preserved in the Uffizi at Florence (vide Gori, *Thes. Dipt. Antiq.* t. ii. tab. xx.) If we attribute the mosaic to the period of the diptych, the fifth century, we may explain the presence of the polo-players by the supposition that Theodosius the Second, having introduced the game into Constantinople (v. p. 286 *ante*) the consul (?) shown in the mosaic was the first to exhibit it in the Roman circus. Some may however perhaps be disposed to attribute the badness of style of this picture to the haste with which it was prepared, or to the inferiority in skill of the artist who executed it, rather than to the late period of its fabrication.

Too much reliance, I think, is often placed on goodness of style as a criterion of date, and too little regard paid to the difference in skill and taste between one artist and another, and to the probability that work hurriedly executed will be badly designed and badly executed. Thus those sculptures on the Arch of Constantine at Rome, which were executed at the time of its erection, show a degree of badness of style altogether astonishing; far better sculpture was executed long after, as may be seen in many of the Christian sarcophagi, *e.g.*, in that of Junius Bassus, prefect of the city (ob. 359), in the crypt of St. Peter's.

Our museums, of course, contain for the most part work of good character, poor examples, though dating from a good period, being rejected; but whoever at Rome examines all the fragments of sculpture which he sees will be convinced that much bad work was produced at periods when that of the best artists was excellent.

In favour of the supposition that the consular subject is contemporaneous with the others it may be mentioned that there is no difference in the materials or the method of execution. In order to give the details this subject has been represented in the plate on a scale about one-third larger than that of Hylas, but they are really of about the same size, the consular subject measuring 3 ft. 7 in. in width, that of Hylas 3 ft. 9 in. exclusive of the folds of drapery on each side.

These mosaics, it may be remarked in conclusion, occupy a somewhat important

place in relation to the history of the art of painting, as well as of that of mosaic work. Kugler, in his *Handbook of Painting* (English translation, vol. i. p. 20), makes the following observations:—"We own that the middle links between the small cabinet pieces in mosaic which the relics of Pompeii and of imperial Rome have preserved to us, and the suddenly-commencing wall-mosaics of Christian origin, are yet wanting. The temples, palaces, and baths of the later emperors contain innumerable wall-paintings, stuccoes, and mosaic pavements; but as far as we know no mosaic work on ceilings or walls. Pliny, it is true, distinctly tells us (xxxvi. 64) that mosaic work, proceeding as it were upwards from the pavement, had recently taken possession of the arches above them, and had since then been made of vitrified substances; also that mosaic work had been made capable of expressing every colour, and that these materials were as applicable for the purposes of painting as any other. But the few existing specimens, exceeding the limits of the pavement and the small wall-picture, are of a purely decorative style without figures. We are almost tempted to believe that historical mosaic painting of the grander style first started into life in the course of the fourth century, and suddenly took its wide spread,* borne on the advancing tide of the triumphant Christian faith."

Kugler, in a part of the above passage which I have omitted, remarks on the absence of such decorations from the ruins of the baths of Diocletian and like edifices, but all these have for very many centuries been in such a state of decay that whatever decorations may have once covered their walls and vaults must have dropped from them at a period long before that in which antiquaries began to notice and describe the remains of antiquity.

The mosaics of the basilica of Bassus clearly go some way to bridge over the chasm in the history of painting to which Kugler adverts; they are on the one hand allied to the small mosaic pictures of the Roman villas by their pictorial character, and on the other approach the early Christian mosaics in the increased size of the figures, and the prominence given to them by the comparative simplicity of the composition and the absence of a pictorial background. The bust portraits of the emperors were, it will be seen, colossal, nearly three feet in height.

It has been already shown on the authority of Von Minutoli (p. 275 *ante*) that decorations of a like character existed elsewhere at Rome, and it is easy to see how the artists accustomed to see and to execute such designs should conceive the idea of the colossal figures which we find in the Christian mosaics.

* This last sentence does not appear in the English edition of 1851; I borrow it from the article *Mosaics*, in *Smith's Dict. of Christian Antiquities*.

On this ground, if on no other, and as the sole surviving examples of all the perished splendour of decoration of this kind which once adorned the palaces of Imperial Rome, these mosaics will, I think, be deemed to merit more attention than they have hitherto received.

It only remains to add that engravings of these mosaics have already been given by several authors, but in no instance with accuracy. Ciampini (tom. i. tab. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.) has engraved a winged centaur, the two tigers, the consular subject, and that of Hylas, but the drawing is very rough and careless; Sante Bartoli (*Recueil de Peintures Antiques*, Paris, 1757) has given the consular subject in colour, not very accurately;* Von Minutoli (*Über die Anfertigung und die Nutzenanwendung der farbigen Gläser bei den Alten*, Tab. iv.), a coloured plate of the Hylas on a good scale and with fair approach to accuracy. The plates which accompany this memoir are reduced by photography from drawings made for the writer in 1870, by the courteous permission of the Prince del Drago, obtained by the kindness of Lord (then Mr.) Odo Russell, the representative of England at Rome.

The drawings were made of the size of the originals by an artist who had shown his competency for such work by drawings made from the frescoes at San Clemente and elsewhere, and who worked under strict injunctions of fidelity and accuracy.

The tigress seizing a bull is reproduced from a photograph taken from the original.

POSTSCRIPT.

While this communication was passing through the press I received from Edmund Oldfield, Esq. F.S.A. a letter on the subject of the Mosaics in the Bassian Basilica, which, coming from one so competent to give an opinion in this matter, I have obtained his consent to append to my paper. Mr. Oldfield writes as follows :—

On the whole, I see no reason for materially changing the opinions which I ventured to express in my former letter on the question of the mosaics.

I will notice the chief points in detail, but must first premise that all my opinions are offered with much hesitation, from the disadvantage which I feel—

* Both Ciampini and Sante Bartoli's engravings would seem to have been taken from the drawings of the well-known antiquary Cav. del Pozzo.

(1) In only knowing the original monuments from your chromoliths and engravings, which cuts off all the important evidence derivable from the technical method in which the designs are executed and finished; (2) in not having had time or opportunity to consult any of the authorities to which De Rossi refers, nor, indeed, any of the ordinary books on ancient art which I should make use of if I were in London, but which are not now within 100 miles of my reach; and (3) in having never yet seen your paper, but gathering your opinions only from your letters.

I. Notwithstanding all you justly say of the uncertainties of good and bad art in all periods, I still cannot believe that either the Hylas or the tigress could have been genuine productions of Constantine's time. As regards the Hylas, I find, curiously enough, that Minutoli referred it, like me, to Hadrian's reign, though the idea of connecting the myth with Antinous seems not to have occurred to any one till now. I do not *insist* on the suggestion of Antinous, nor on the limit of Hadrian's reign; but I agree with De Rossi that the style of design belongs to the second rather than the fourth century, so that we are driven to assume some abnormal circumstance to explain its being found in Junius Bassus' building. I feel the same quite as strongly as to the tigress. In its own line it has greater merit and power, as I think, than the Hylas. The energy and passion of the tigress' face, the firm and truthful grasp of her forepaws, the undulating lines of her body, in which every muscle is at work, the helpless drop of the poor victim on its hind legs, all indicate the hand of a master. One part only is a failure, the near hind leg of the tigress. Assuming that the fault is not in the engraving, nor due to a bad restoration, but in the original work, then the nature of this defect, and its *possible* cause, seem to me worthy of consideration. What the limb requires is merely fore-shortening, a thing only to be attained by delicate modelling, nice gradations of tint, and especially of light and shade. Some of the mosaics of Pompeii, and most of all the so-called "Battle of Issus," exhibit the boldest foreshortening in the limbs of animals, expressed without a flaw. But these are in tessellated or vermiculated work; *opus sectile*, or marble tarsia (unless hatched, and inlaid with composition like niello, as in the pavements at Siena), does not admit of modelling, so that, if the leg of the tigress were formed of a single plaque of marble (to put an extreme hypothesis, for illustration's sake), the outline might be perfectly correct, yet, the inner surface being necessarily false, the whole would be a failure. You will see presently why I dwell on these details.

II. As to the consul, all seem to agree that it is so inferior to the Hylas (and,

as I should add, to the tigress also) that the designs could not have been contemporary, or anything near it. De Rossi, who believes the consul to be of Constantine's time, solves the difficulty by assuming that the Hylas was cut from the walls of some older building. You, who seem inclined to attribute the Hylas to Junius Bassus' artists, suggest that the consul might have been interpolated in the fifth century, about Valila's time. I see no objection to this suggestion as regards the consul. It is just one of those semi-barbarous works to which your views as to uncertainty in date may fairly apply. Regarding it in an artistic light alone, it might be referred indifferently to the beginning of the fourth or middle of the fifth century. But observe, that though (as I think I have before written to you) bad art is of all periods, yet good art is not; and this is why I cannot admit that by carrying the consul down to the fifth you become entitled to assign the Hylas to the fourth century, merely because this allows an interval of 150 years or so between the two. From its own intrinsic evidence, quite irrespective of any date you may determine for the consul, the Hylas must, in my opinion, have been from a design of not later, and perhaps earlier, than the second century, though whether its discovery in the same building with the consul is to be explained by De Rossi's suggestion still remains to be considered.

III. As to all the other decorations, which we only know from Sangallo's drawing, I quite agree with you that their artistic style resembles the Hylas rather than the consul, and that his overlooking this circumstance is a great flaw in De Rossi's argument. It is right, no doubt, to bear in mind that the older artists, before archæology became a science, never copied faithfully, but represented everything in the best possible (that is, their own) style. Still, the general composition of groups, and the selection of subjects, may be pretty well relied on. At any rate, as we have no other and more trustworthy evidence remaining, we must perforce accept Sangallo's rendering; and on this authority I conclude that some theory must be found whereby all the designs except the consul may be grouped together with the Hylas as belonging to an earlier parentage, and the consul alone to a later.

IV. If this view be correct, and if the Hylas be, as De Rossi himself supposes, of the second century, then, as you have pointed out in your letter, his explanation of the other subjects, as composed in honour of Constantine, falls to the ground. But even if we are wrong in this view, and if the Sangallo subjects may be judged of independently of their artistic style, I fail to see the force of the arguments for the Maxentian interpretation.

The subjects themselves are heterogeneous, partly mythological, partly historical, partly spectacular, with some minor parts purely decorative. Had it not been for the inscription which De Rossi has made out from the MS. at Siena, and which he shows to relate to a consul of A.D. 317, there would have been nothing whatever to suggest any connection with Constantine. Assuming his identification of the consul and the date to be correct (on which I do not presume to form any opinion, not having investigated the point), still it by no means appears that the motive of the whole series was to commemorate the reigning Emperor's victories, or that amongst these that of the Pons Milvius was specially selected. To De Rossi, indeed, and in a more or less degree to all Christians, this victory, with the legend of the miracle which preceded it, surpasses all others in interest. But why should it do so to Junius Bassus? If he were a pagan, it would have been pain and grief to him. If a Christian, then surely he would have introduced some symbol allusive to the cross, such as speedily appeared on standards and shields. The only subject in the series which seems to me specially appropriate to the Maxentian victory is that in which soldiers are exhibiting a head on the point of a spear. But throughout the Empire such exhibitions were too common to justify us in appropriating this incident positively to any one person. In like manner, games given by order of the Senate were too frequent events to furnish proof that the S. C. below the charioteer must refer to the games given on the Maxentian triumph. On the whole, the historical arguments which De Rossi has adopted from Böck seem to me too fanciful and ambiguous to stand against the evidence of style which Sangallo's drawings, in accordance with the actual remains of the Hylas and the tigress, furnish in favour of an earlier date.

What theory, then, finally, can I suggest to reconcile all the difficulties? I can only offer a conjectural one, which I shall be quite willing to withdraw if good evidence is produced against it. It is that Junius Bassus erected and dedicated the building, though to whom or for what he has not told us (as he probably would have done, had he wished it to be a compliment to or memorial of the all-powerful Emperor);—but that the artists he employed, incompetent to design anything of original merit themselves, copied the mural decorations of an earlier and better age. Their models were not all taken from one building or of one date; but the Hylas taken from one of Hadrian's monuments, the tigress, perhaps, from an earlier work, the two emperors' heads (if we may so far rely on Sangallo) from a building of the first century, and the other subjects from remains the period of which cannot now be exactly fixed. And now my hypo-

thesis goes one step further. It supposes that the originals were executed either in fresco or in true mosaic, tessellated or vermiculated. But this latter elaborate art having declined in Constantine's time (as witness the mosaics of S. Costanza), or being perhaps too costly, the easier and cheaper, but less artistic, process of *opus sectile* was adopted. Or possibly even (if this be not over-refining) the Hylas might, as De Rossi supposes, have been cut from some earlier building, and the other subjects, though copied from true mosaics, have yet been executed in *opus sectile*, merely for conformity with the Hylas. From whatever motive it was done, the tigress, being executed in a method for which it was not originally designed, presents a correct outline, but faulty surface, and therefore no true foreshortening, in the limb already mentioned.

Thinking, as I do, that De Rossi has failed to establish any monumental motive in the building, I find no difficulty in supposing that Junius Bassus brought together any illustrations of mythology, history, games, or animal life, which suited the purpose (or perhaps merely the available wall-spaces) of his building, whatever it was, whether a secular basilica, an academy, library, or anything else; and in these illustrations no thread of continuity, or even congruity, can now be traced.

Then for the consul—this *may* be of Junius Bassus' own time, intended to portray himself; in which case its inferiority would be explained by the artist being left to his own skill for a design, whilst in all the other works he had good models to copy. Or, if you prefer it, it *may* have been substituted in the following century for a panel of Bassus' period, either for the reason you suggest, or any other, such as an accidental dilapidation in some part, which induced the introduction of this "restoration."

Cumloden, Bournemouth, 7th April, 1879.

IX.—*On Glass Beads with a Chevron Pattern.* By JOHN BRENT, Esq. F.S.A.

Read June 13th, 1872.

I BEG to exhibit three beads belonging to a class which has excited considerable interest among archæologists both in this country and in America, and of which the origin appears to be somewhat uncertain.

Although the specimens exhibited differ in diameter they are all formed of sections of glass rods of the same pattern, and in order to save repetition it may be desirable to give a description which applies to most of the beads under consideration. Around the central tube is generally a small quantity of transparent greenish-white glass; this is surrounded by a narrow zigzag line of opaque white, then comes a band of transparent greenish-white, beyond which a second zigzag line of opaque white, followed by a broad band of opaque red of a deep colour; beyond this a third zigzag line of opaque white; and finally transparent deep blue glass, which forms the outer surface of the cylinder.

The zigzag lines of opaque white present in section twelve-pointed stars, of which the points are sometimes slightly curved. The patterns of the interior are shown by grinding off a portion of the outer coatings at each end, sometimes simply rounded, sometimes in six bevelled facets, the portion immediately round the central tube being left more or less truncated. The appearance of the bead varies according to the angle at which the facets are cut; the result is, that the opaque white lines have the appearance of chevrons. The beads occasionally exhibit small holes parallel to the central tube, which are probably accidentally produced in the process of manufacture.

Of the three specimens exhibited No. 1 is in the Canterbury Museum; it is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter and $\frac{7}{8}$ in. long, and the ends have been facettèd. It was found in 1860, by Mr. James Reid, M.R.C.S. of Canterbury, in soil thrown out in making a pier of the viaduct of the Canterbury and Dover Railway, near Wincheap, where it crosses the St. Mildred meadows. It was found in the marsh itself, in a place which formerly was often inundated by the river Stour. It lay about 3 feet

below the surface, and under a growth of peat. It was discovered in a dark soil with animal bones, and had probably been brought down from the higher land at some remote period in a watercourse. Some distance off at a higher level was an ancient cemetery, where interments had been made both by inhumation and cremation, the latter being undoubtedly Roman.

The second bead is of the usual pattern, $1\frac{9}{10}$ in. long and $1\frac{6}{10}$ in. in diameter, with the ends bevelled off in facets. It was found in 1837, in deepening a well at Wye, Kent, in a house near the church. It was taken by Mr. Matthews, the owner of the premises, out of the mud from the well thrown up in the garden. He bequeathed it, together with the house, to a relative, from whom I obtained it. Mr. Matthews thought the bead had been thrown into the well "to charm the water." It has been figured in Morris's "Topography of Wye," p. 21, and is represented in Plate XXII. fig. 6.

The third bead is of the same form as the last, but smaller in size, measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length and 1 in. in diameter. It belongs to Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A. by whom it was purchased from a curiosity dealer in Canterbury, who stated that he had obtained it from a labouring man, with the account that it was found in the neighbourhood. At the time in question extensive excavations were going on at Canterbury. This bead has the appearance of great antiquity, the glass being much oxidised or perhaps waterworn.

A certain number of these beads are preserved in various collections, which it may be desirable to describe :

In the British Museum there are to be found thirteen specimens, of which the following account has been furnished to me by Mr. Franks :

"1. In the Egyptian collection, length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.; diameter $1\frac{6}{10}$ in.; ends facettèd. Obtained by the Rev. Greville Chester, at Dakkeh, in Nubia, where he purchased it of an Arab girl. It is represented in Plate XXII. fig. 5.

"2. Fragment of a large bead with facettèd ends; present length $1\frac{7}{10}$ in. It was obtained in 1853 from the collection of Dr. Gideon Mantell, but unfortunately nothing is known of its history. It may, however, have been found in Kent or Sussex, as most of his antiquities were derived from those counties.

"3. Large bead, much oxidised, and worn or bruised; the ends truncated and very slightly rounded; length $2\frac{9}{10}$ in.; diameter $1\frac{4}{10}$ in. The outer blue surface is partially ground or worn off so as to exhibit the ridges of the outermost star of opaque white, which gives the bead the effect of being striped. Purchased in 1861, without any history.

"4. Unusually short bead, measuring $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length and $1\frac{3}{10}$ in. in diameter;



Full Size

J. F. Kellish London

GLASS BEADS WITH CHEVRON PATTERN.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879

ends facettèd. The white lines are somewhat curved, so as to resemble a toothed wheel; but little of the outer coating of blue is visible, which forms a herring-bone pattern. It belonged to the late Mr. B. Nightingale, and was found in 1848 in the Greta, near Keswick, Westmoreland, by Mr. Donaldson, while angling.

"5. An egg-shaped bead, rather worn; length $1\frac{9}{10}$ in.; diameter $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.; ends facettèd. From the collection of the Duc de Blacas, 1867. No history, but probably foreign.

"6. Fragment of a bead, with facettèd end; present length $\frac{9}{10}$ in.; acquired in 1868 from the collection of the late Mr. Woodhouse, of Corfu, and probably found in that island; it is slightly iridescent.

"7. A perfect bead; well preserved; length $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; diameter 1 in.; ends facettèd. Believed to have been found in London.

"8. A small bead, evidently much more modern than those described above. It is $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. The outer coating is of a deep green instead of blue. It is only worth noticing as being the specimen formerly in Mr. B. Nightingale's collection, and engraved in *Archæologia*, xxxiv. pl. v. fig. 9. It is stated to have been found in the Thames near London Bridge, June, 1847, and was obtained by the British Museum with the collection of the late Mr. Lucas, of Ashborne, Derbyshire.

"The five following specimens are from the Slade collection:—

"9. A large bead; 2 in. long; $1\frac{4}{10}$ in. diameter; ends facettèd, showing numerous smaller holes parallel to the rod. It is described in the catalogue of the Slade Collection No. 50, and the woodcut illustrating it in that work is here reproduced.*

"10. A very similar bead; length 2 in.; diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; ends facettèd. No history.

"11. A bead nearly globular, with rounded ends; length $\frac{9}{10}$ in.; diameter $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.

"12. 13. A pair of beads, exactly similar, with facettèd ends, mounted in metal loops, length $\frac{8}{10}$ in.; diameter $\frac{9}{10}$ in. These do not appear to be very ancient, and are said to have been used as ear-rings.

"14. A bead very recently obtained through the kindness of W. Edkins, Esq. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. It was found in railway cuttings in Somersetshire (Plate XXII. fig. 4.)"



BEAD IN THE SLADE COLLECTION.
Full size.

* The woodcut has been lent by Mr. Franks.

"The British Museum also possesses a portion of a rod of glass from which such beads could be made, a section of which is shown in Plate XXII. fig. 1. This belonged to the collection of Sir William Hamilton, and probably therefore was brought from Southern Italy. In the manuscript catalogue of the Hamilton Collection by d'Hancarville it is noticed among the antique glass as follows: "Le cylindre, No. 72a, composé de fleurons peints de bleu, de blanc, de rouge, et de vert, concentriquement posés, était fait pour être divisé en diverses tables que l'on appliquait ensuite à differens ouvrages." The rod has been broken, but is $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. long and about 1 in. in diameter. It is not at all oxidised. Douglas alludes to it in the *Nenia Britannica*, p. 87.

"Besides this rod, there are in the collection two transverse sections of a similar rod or bead 1 in. in diameter, which were presented by Dr. J. E. Gray, F.R.S., and one of which is reproduced in the accompanying plate (Plate XXII. fig. 2).

"It should be added that in the Slade Collection is a large pattern-book of Venetian beads, among which are some that recall the beads in question. There are thirteen varieties (Nos. 646 to 658) of the same general construction, but differing in colour; two of them exhibit the same succession of colours as the beads under consideration, excepting that the inner layers of clear glass are replaced by opaque white. They vary in length from $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. to $\frac{9}{10}$ in. and in diameter from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in."

In the South Kensington Museum are two beads of this kind:—

1. Large bead of usual pattern, but much worn or worked down on the outer surface, so that much of the blue has been removed, and the ridges of the exterior white star have become visible, giving a striped appearance to the bead; in some places even the red layer is exposed; ends rounded; length $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.; diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. It is described as Antique Roman, and was presented by the Rev. Greville Chester, who believes that he obtained it in Italy.

2. A smaller bead with the ends facetted; length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Purchased in 1868 from Mr. John Webb's Collection.

In the Jermyn Street Museum is one bead $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. long and $\frac{9}{10}$ in. in diameter. It differs slightly in the colouring, narrow lines of opaque red being introduced between the opaque white lines. It is believed to have been presented in May, 1843, by the Rev. H. R. Lloyd, vicar of Carew, Pembrokeshire, as a "Druid's bead."

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are preserved five specimens. I am informed by Mr. Rowell, the assistant curator, that two of them were in the

original catalogue of the Museum, and that the three others were presented in 1829 by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who had purchased them from Mrs. Douglas, the widow of the Rev. James Douglas, author of *Nenia Britannica*.

These last three beads came originally from Dr. Stukeley, but we have unfortunately no information as to where they were found. Douglas, in the *Nenia Britannica*, gives a description of these beads, and engravings of two of them, pl. xxi. No. 2, figs. 2, 7. He speaks of them as follows :

"These beads are described by Bishop Gibson in his annotations on Camden as the *gleini-nadroeth*, or glass adders, of the Druids,* and which, he says, are found in Scotland, and by the people called by that name; wherefore a bead of this kind has been prized of inestimable value, and called the Druid Anguinum. See a foolish description of this Druid charm in Pliny, lib. xxix. c. iii.

"I have three of these beads which came from Dr. Stukeley's collection, fig. 7, and one considerably smaller than fig. 2. Figs. 2 and 7, I suspect, are the identical beads engraved in Bishop Gibson's Camden."

Mr. Brothers of High Street, Ashford, has the fragment of a large bead in his possession, said to have been found some years since at Tenterden. I have heard of another fragment found near Eastry.

In the Caerleon Museum is preserved a bead of this kind, of which an engraving may be found in the *Isca Silurum* (pl. xxviii. fig. 7, p. 53), of John Edward Lee, Esq. F.S.A. who informs me that it came from the collection of the late Mr. Hooper, and was probably found in the locality.

In the Liverpool Museum are three specimens and fragments of two others, acquired through the liberality of Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A.

1. A bead of slightly irregular form, 1 in. long, 1 in. in diameter, faceted. It is engraved in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. v. fig. 2, as found at Gilton, in Kent, where numerous Anglo-Saxon remains were excavated by the Rev. Bryan Faussett. It is not, however, alluded to in the text, and by the kindness of Mr.

* [Gibson's] Camden, p. 684. "These beads are cut from a similar rod of glass to that in the British Museum, from the collection of Sir William Hamilton, and found in Italy, I believe at Naples; and which evidently demonstrates the spot where was situated this glass manufactory, which by traffic was circulated among all the northern people, who with much avidity, like the islanders of the South Seas, received such baubles to please their fancy in dress, or to appropriate to some superstitious charms, which prevailed so much among them, and to favour which the dexterous Romans had invented every device of this kind which could possibly serve their traffic. Beads exactly similar are now manufactured in England for the African slave-trade, one of which, before mentioned, had been conveyed among a cluster of beads, in a grave which the author was opening at Ash, by a very worthy friend, who was desirous, for the sake of the jest, to surprise him with the discovery of the celebrated *glain nidr*."

C. T. Gatty, of the Liverpool Museum, the original MS. of the inventories has been examined, and it is not there alluded to or drawn. If, therefore, found at Gilton, it must have an accidental discovery, not connected with the Anglo-Saxon graves. Mr. Faussett informs me that it was always kept separate from his father's collection. It is numbered in the Mayer Collection 6363.

2. A bead, $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. long, of the usual type, without locality. Mayer, 6679.

3. A very small bead, said to have been found with seven other Anglo-Saxon beads at Ozengell, in Kent, Nov. 1846 (Plate XXII. fig. 3). Rolfe Collection. Mayer, 7338.

4. Fragment of a large bead $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, said to have been found at Gilton. From the Rolfe Collection. Mayer, 7187.

5. Another fragment, locality unknown. Mayer, 6688.

There is also preserved in the Liverpool Museum a string of beads comparatively modern, which comes from the Faussett Collection. It is labelled as being found in a ditch at Elham, in Kent, in 1767.

To these may be added a bead which belonged to the late Mr. Jesse King, of Appleford, Berks, and of which an engraving has appeared in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, iii. p. 328. It is $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. long and $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, with facettled ends. It is stated to have been obtained at Southampton, and believed to have been found near that town. Mr. King's collection was dispersed, and it is not known where this specimen is now preserved.

A fragment of a bead in the late Mr. B. Nightingale's collection is engraved in the *Archæologia*, xxxiv. pl. v. fig. 10.

Another bead, stated to have been found at Maes-y-Pandy, Merionethshire, was published by Bishop Gibson in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (ii. 832), reproduced in Gough's *Camden*, 1789 (ii. pl. xviii. fig. 18, 19), who considers it to be a specimen of the Glain-nadroeth, or glass adder-beads, of the Druids. The Bishop asserts that these beads have been found in Scotland.

Such are the specimens which I have met with in England, although there may be others in private collections of which I have obtained no account.

I have addressed letters, with drawings, to the Directors or Conservators of continental museums, with the following results:—

Our honorary fellow, Abbé Cochet, that indefatigable investigator of ancient remains, now deceased, informed me that in the museum at Rouen, containing very numerous Roman antiquities, no bead of this type is preserved, nor had he ever met with a specimen in Normandy or in the departments of the Seine.

M. Parenteau, of Nantes, wrote to me that he had seen a bead of this description, found at Pornic, in Brittany.

M. Martin-Daussigny, director of the museum at Lyons, stated that there is no bead of that kind in that museum; and M. Alexandre Bertrand has informed me that there is no specimen identical in the museum at St. Germain.

M. Boncoiran, writing from Nismes, has forwarded me letters from the distinguished antiquaries, M. Révoil, of Nismes, and M. Edouard Flouest, to both of whom he had communicated my letter; from which it appears that no such beads are known at Nismes or in that neighbourhood.

The only bead of which I have heard in France is in the Egyptian collection of the museum of the Louvre, which M. Ravaisson, director of that museum, writes was obtained from the collection of Clot-bey, and came from Egypt. It measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length.

In the remarks on ancient beads published by Mr. J. G. Akerman in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. he notices the fragment of a bead of this description in the collection of Mr. B. Nightingale, who, in the description which he has furnished Mr. Akerman, states that perfect beads, equal in dimensions to what this has originally been, are frequently found in the countries bordering on the Rhine, and the local museums of Rhenish towns, especially Mannheim and Baden, are full of such specimens.

This statement led me to make inquiries from Baron A. von Bayer, of Carlsruhe, who in answer informs me that "no glass beads corresponding to the drawing sent exist in the collection of which I am conservator, nor in any collections in these parts."

Dr. Ladner, writing to me from Trèves, states that no such beads are to be found in the museum of that city.

With regard to the North of Europe, I have ascertained that two specimens are preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, which have been noticed by M. Morlot, in his memoir "*On the Date of the Copper Age in America*," where they are both engraved. M. Herbst (keeper of the archives), of the museum at Copenhagen, has most kindly sent me drawings of the beads; they are of the usual type. The first is a fragment of a large bead with faceted end (No. 5211), which was found in a tumulus, but of what age is not stated, in the parish of Skjörpinge, in the bailiwick of Aalborg, Jutland, and was bought in 1839 at the sale of the late Bishop Münter's collection. The other (No. 12,390) is perfect, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and 1 in. in diameter, and was bought at the sale of Colonel Sommer's collection in 1852. It is noticed in the sale catalogue of the collection among antiquities of the Iron Age, No. 222, "*Perle en mosaïque très-grand et belle, trouvée près de Stockholm (rare).*"

In North America several beads of this kind have been found or preserved.

Dr. L. G. Olmstead, of Fort Edward, New York, who has taken great interest in these beads, writes that there are three in the Egyptian Collection of the Historical Society of New York, forming part of the collection of Dr. Abbott, by whom they are stated to have been taken out of a tomb at Sakkara, in Egypt. Another, he states, was ploughed up more than fifty years since on the south shore of Lake Erie, in Pennsylvania, on land formerly occupied by the Erie tribe of Indians. It is of large size, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. in diameter.

In Schoolcraft's great work on the Indian Tribes^a five beads of the same description are engraved. They vary in length from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{10}$ in. and in diameter from $\frac{6}{10}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$. They were found about 1837 in old Indian ossuaries at Beverley, twelve miles from Dundas, Canada West, together with shell beads, clay pipes, glass bugles and smaller beads, eight amulets of red pipe-stone, teeth, &c. Schoolcraft says of the beads, "they are believed to be of European origin, and agree completely with the beads found in 1817 in antique Indian graves at Hamburg, Erie, N.Y."^b In another passage^c he seems to attribute the introduction of these beads to the French settlers in Canada. I am informed that other specimens are in the collection of Professor S. S. Haldeman, of Pennsylvania.

As a general rule the American specimens are smaller than those found in Europe, but the succession of colours appears to be identical.

M. A. Morlot, a distinguished Swiss archæologist, has communicated to the American Philosophical Society a memoir "On the Date of the Copper Age in the United States," printed in their Proceedings for 1862, pp. 111-114, in which he has engraved one of the Beverley beads as well as the specimens at Copenhagen, and he endeavours to prove that the Copper Age of America was synchronous with the Phœnicians.^d

Such are the materials that we have at our disposal for investigating the origin and age of the beads under consideration. Unfortunately most of the specimens have been found under circumstances that do not afford any clue to their age.

The principal sources from which they may have been derived are as follows: 1. Eastern, that is, Ancient Egyptian or Phœnician. 2. Celtic, either British or Gaulish. 3. Roman. 4. Teutonic, viz. Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, or Scandinavian. 5. Mediæval or Venetian.

^a Vol. i. pl. xxiv. figs. 7-11. As represented, the colours seem to be transposed, the red forming the outer coating. This does not, however, agree with the end views of the same beads, and it is probable, therefore, that the lithographer has made a mistake. M. Morlot has corrected this in the work referred to in the text.

^b He refers to second part of Lead Mines of Missouri, New York, 1819.

^c Vol. v. p. 110.

^d See some remarks on this subject in Proceedings Soc. Ant. 2d S. ii. 334.

I have inserted the last class because I am aware that Mr. Franks has expressed an opinion as to the comparatively modern origin of these beads, based partly on the continuance of similar patterns in the modern workshops of Murano.^a My own belief is that most of them at any rate are more ancient.

As to the Anglo-Saxon origin, it rests chiefly on the Gilton bead, the history of which however seems doubtful, not being alluded to in the text of the Inventorium, so that if from Gilton it may have been accidentally found, and not associated with any grave. At any rate the excavations of Mr. Akerman, Mr. Wylie, Lord Braybrooke, myself at Sarre, and other explorers, did not lead to the discovery of any similar bead in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, nor did the explorations in contemporary cemeteries by Abbé Cochet in Normandy, M. Baudot in Burgundy, or Dr. Lindenschmit at Selzen, lead to the finding of any such bead.

As to Roman origin, we have the negative evidence of the French archæologists already mentioned, as well as of Dr. Ladner of Trèves, and Baron von Bayer, of Carlsruhe, all acquainted with localities very fertile in Roman remains, and none are to be found in the museums with which they are acquainted. Dr. Collingwood Bruce, Mr. John Clayton of Chester, and the late Dr. Kenrick of York, all deny having observed such beads. I must however observe that Mr. J. E. Lee, F.S.A. and Mr. Herbst, of Copenhagen, and the late Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A. incline to a Roman origin. These gentlemen are high authorities, but we have no evidence that a single specimen of the bead has ever been found connected with a Roman interment, which I think is decisive that they are not of Roman origin.

Of the Celtic origin of these beads we certainly have no proof; only a vague impression derived probably from Bishop Gibson's Additions to Camden's Britannia; where, as already mentioned, is engraved one of these beads as the *glain nidr*, or adder-bead, of the Druids. This opinion seems derived from a mistaken reading of Pliny, who in his description of certain magical beads, "the product of the saliva of serpents or snakes when twisted or convoluted amongst themselves," seems rather to refer to rings than to beads, especially as he further states that the bubble formed like a ring round the heads of these reptiles passes down the body and comes off the tails.

^a The glass-works of Venice claim to have taken their origin in the seventh century, and were, at any rate, in full activity in the thirteenth, and they still supply the bulk of the beads exported to uncivilised countries.

Doubtless there was an old superstition connected with the "adder-bead" or "snake-stone," and I think it not at all unlikely that the "cor anguinum," an encrinite in its fossil state so called, had a value attached to it through superstitious observances.

These fossils somewhat resemble a bead, and I have found in ancient graves two specimens buried with relics belonging to the deceased, one from Sarre and the other from Faversham.

These graves were not Celtic, nevertheless the practice might have descended, as when in other respects we find that the Anglo-Saxon who practised interment by inhumation buried an urn or two after the custom of the Romans, whose remains were generally deposited according to the rites of cremation.

I am not aware that these beads have ever been found with British or Celtic remains. The Copenhagen bead, said to have been taken from a Danish grave, could hardly prove their Scandinavian origin. It is an isolated case if correct, and as the great rivers of Northern Europe were once the chief highways for the transmission of Eastern manufactures into Sweden and Denmark, as in the instance of the Arabic coins found in Scandinavia referred to by Mr. Akerman, so one of these beads might have been derived from the East, and been placed as a valuable relic in the grave of its Danish possessor, in the same manner as these Northmen, in their expeditions to North America in the eleventh century, might have obtained specimens of the polychrome bead, and carried some of these objects to Canada; there after a time they became the spoil of the victorious aborigines, when the Scandinavian settlers were overpowered and destroyed. However, we are here attempting to elucidate a discovery which it is difficult to explain. The structure of the bead itself, and the artistic skill required for its manufacture, seems to negative the idea that it belonged to these primitive peoples.

Nothing in glass has been produced by the Celts and Scandinavians analogous to it.

In M. de la Villemarqué's "*Chansons de la Bretagne*"^a (Barzaz-Breiz) there are allusions to the mythical serpent's egg, "*L'oeuf rouge du serpent marin, dans le creux du rocher*," which the Merlin of the Bretons is supposed to be constantly in search of. The snake-stones were used as charms and amulets amongst the Druids of Brittany. They might be the "cor anguinum," though the colour is against this idea ("*L'oeuf rouge*"), or chance specimens of our polychrome bead, the fabrication of

^a Tome i. p. 59.

some ancient people, trading with the Celtic tribes of the north-west coasts of France. The remarkable fact connected with these beads is that they are always found in isolated spots, singly, and never with other antiquarian relics. Thus we have scarcely a clue to lead to the discovery of their origin.

Although a solitary specimen found in a Roman, Danish, or Anglo-Saxon grave, would hardly settle the question, except perhaps as regards their antiquity, I do not consider that they can be of modern origin—I mean the productions of the last three or four centuries; my views incline to the opinion that they are objects of great antiquity. Possibly they may be old Venetian, but against this supposition we have the facts that no specimens of them have been found in Italy, and have no instance of the Old Venetians trading to the British Isles.

Where all seems to be uncertainty we must fall back as regards their origin on the few authorities we *can* quote, or the supposed facts relative to them which we possess, and which are in favour of an Eastern origin, Egyptian or Phœnician.

Thus I find it reported that the beads in the museum of the Louvre were brought from Egypt. One of the British Museum beads was obtained by the Rev. Greville Chester from Dakkeh, in Nubia. The beads in the museum at New York were brought by Dr. Abbott from a tomb at Sakkara, in Egypt, and lastly, whilst giving the final revision to this paper, Dr. L. G. Olmstead, of Fort Edward, N.Y. informs me that he has just seen at Boston one of the Chevron beads in the Museum of Fine Art in that city, which is also said to have been brought from Egypt.

Now, if all or even one of these statements be true, the original type of these beads must be ancient, and the specimens themselves of Eastern if not of Egyptian origin.

This is the conclusion to which I arrive, being ready, however, to admit that where a certain sort of uncertainty prevails an opinion should be advanced with caution, and that the question may still lie open, hereafter to be more satisfactorily solved by some discovery or circumstance which shall conclusively demonstrate the origin of these beads.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my great obligation to Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A. in many ways for the assistance he has rendered me in the elucidation of my inquiries, and the valuable suggestions he has made in regard to the facts and authorities which I have collected.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have since received from Mr. Franks the following additional information :—

On looking over my note-books I have found a few mentions of the bead with chevron patterns which you may like to add to your communication.

In the *Antiquarium* of the Berlin Museum is a specimen 1 in. long, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter; as usual it has no history. In the Austrian Industrial Museum at Vienna are two beads and a fragment; one of the beads is of large size; they formed part of a collection purchased at Rome. In the Museum at Hanover are two, which are said to have come from Lüneburg. There is a specimen in the collection of our friend John Evans, Esq. F.S.A. but without history. Mr. C. T. Gatty, of the Liverpool Museum, informs me that Miss Lovell has one, about 1 in. long, which she found in the garden of Catherington House, Horn Dean, Hants.

The Rev. Greville Chester has obtained, for the British Museum, a very pretty little specimen from Egypt, only $\frac{1}{10}$ in. long. It is of the usual pattern but cut square, with only four facets at the ends. In the Egyptian section at the Paris Exhibition, 1878, was a very large bead, mounted in bronze at each end. It was among the Arab objects, but I was unable to obtain any information concerning it.

Professor S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Pennsylvania, has kindly sent me one of the little beads from North America, and informs me that a large bead $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long has been recently sent to the Smithsonian Institution. This last was found in a mound in Florida.^a He has also called my attention to the *Journal* of the Museum Godefroy at Hamburg, in which is an account of the Pelew Islands, where certain ancient beads pass as money and are much treasured up. Among these are four chevron beads, considered by the natives to be varieties of their most valued coin, the *Kalebukubs*. These four, the only ones known to them, ornament the necklace of the King's youngest daughter. They seem from the engravings to be rounded, like the North American beads, from $\frac{5}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and if correctly drawn have more than twelve points in the stars. The King stated that he believed this kind of coin to have come from the north-west. The ancient beads constitute the principal wealth of the families and cannot be purchased. One small black and white bead belonging to the King is considered to be worth a complete war-canoe.^b The whole account is exceedingly curious, and is accompanied by the legends of the natives as to how they became possessed of the various kinds of beads, some of which they attempt to imitate by melting fragments of European bottles.

Another remarkable discovery is that beads of exactly the same pattern as the chevron beads, but very small, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves at Ancon. Two of them are in the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin. Others, also found in Peru, and likewise very small, have recently been acquired for the Liverpool Museum.

^a Smithsonian Report, 1877. On a Polychrome Bead from Florida, by S. S. Haldeman; where is engraved another, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, from Santa Barbara, California.

^b *Journal des Museum Godefroy*, Heft 4, p. 52, and pl. 2, figs. 8, 9. 1873.

XII.—*On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II. and Henry III. in Westminster Abbey.* By the Very Rev. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., F.S.A.,
Dean of Westminster.

Read June 26th, 1873.

TOMB OF RICHARD II.

The tomb of Richard II. has a triple interest: for Westminster Abbey; for English History generally; and for the Society of Antiquaries.

(1.) For the Abbey, Richard II. must remain, in spite of all his faults, one of its most familiar and consecrated personages. His coronation is described in the only volume handed down from mediæval times to the custody of the successive Deans of Westminster: namely, the *Liber Regalis* of Abbot Littlington, of which a reprint has lately been made for the Roxburghe Society by the munificence of Lord Beauchamp. The event was further marked by the first appearance of two features in the coronations, both especially connected with Westminster, the Champion, and the Knights of the Bath.

He was one of the three English Sovereigns married in the Abbey, the two others being Henry III. and Henry VII. His affection for it is proved by the colossal badge of the White Hart in the Triforium, and by the portrait which long tradition has ascribed to him, and which, after its marvellous restoration by Mr. Richmond, has now returned as nearly as possible to its original place in the choir.

So anxiously too did he desire to be buried by the side of the Confessor, that, overleaping the precedent set by his father, the Black Prince, he cleared for himself and his Queen a place in St. Edward's Chapel by transporting the coffins and tomb of his two relations, the children of Humphrey de Bohun, to the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

He also, unconsciously perhaps, but not the less effectively, was the originator of the series of illustrious interments which began with his two favourites, John of Waltham, the first of the statesmen, and Robert Waldeby, the first of the men of letters, who were laid in the church, thereafter to receive the long line of graves of distinguished men in Church and State.

In the case of none of the Plantagenet tombs have we a more complete account of its building and of its ornaments; in none did the Sovereign himself take a keener interest during his lifetime. From none was any king kept away by such strange vicissitudes: carried away by his successor to King's Langley,

as if to avoid the occasion of pilgrimages or demonstrations by his numerous adherents; then brought back years afterwards by the youth whom he had himself knighted; or perhaps, as the Scottish chronicler would have us believe, laid in the church of the Preaching Friars at Stirling on the north side of the altar.

(2.) Again, for the history of England his tomb marks the close of the first Plantagenet dynasty. The Lancastrian monuments which follow, whether in Westminster or elsewhere, are of a different type; and from this watershed of history the stream of events henceforth flows in a new direction.

In this tomb at Westminster the bones of Richard II. were laid, under circumstances so peculiar that no other like interment has occurred amongst our kings. No other royal death or burial is enveloped in so fearful a mystery as that occasioned by the threefold account of his death. The doubt was entertained in his own time whether the body brought from Pontefract, through London to King's Langley, was not that of his chaplain Maudelyn; and again, whether he was not long afterwards living a state prisoner in Scotland; and then there arose the pertinacious belief of his followers that he was still living like a Prince Henry of Portugal, or a King Arthur of Brittany, in the fortresses of the usurping successor.*

The tragedy of his life is centered in his grave, and has been felt alike by poets and historians. The contrast between his portrait and his tomb close by is the same which so deeply impressed the contemporary chronicler of the fourteenth century, and is the same also which no less deeply impressed the poet of the eighteenth century.

"I saw," says Froissart, "two strange things in my time, though widely different, one was the rejoicings at Bordeaux on Richard's birth, the other was the funeral, when some pitied him, but others did not, saying that he had for long since deserved death." And so Gray in his great historical ode:—

Fair laughs the morn and soft the zephyr blows
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
In gallant trim, the gilded vessel goes;
Youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm,
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That, hushed in grim repose, expects his living prey.

* Those who desire to examine the existing evidence and opinions upon this obscure question will do well to consult the following works:—*Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy dengleterre*, by B. Williams. English Historical Society, 1846. P. Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland*. English Chronicle, Camden Society. Froissart's *Chronicles*, chap. 118-119, 121. Fox's *History of Pontefract*, p. 135-140. Devon's *Pell Records*, pp. 275-6.—"Paid for carriage of the king's body from Pontefract to London, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 314; vol. xx. pp. 220 and 428; vol. xxv. pp. 394-397; vol. xxviii. pp. 75, 85, and 95.

And is it not almost as with the feeling of his love for Westminster Abbey, and of the ghastly or ghostly interest that was to linger over his own tomb, that Richard II is described by Shakespeare :

For Heaven's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of kings.

Richard II. Act iii. Sc. 2.

(3.) This brings me to say, thirdly, that no assembly could be more interested in these questions than the Society of Antiquaries. The exhaustive discussion of the stories of Richard's deposition and death, by the Rev. John Webb and others, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. xxiii. xxv. xxviii. shows the keenness with which this Society entered into the matter; and it was Mr. King who, in the same work, vol. vi. (p. 315), gave the most formal account of that very irregular investigation which the antiquaries of the last century made by thrusting their hands through the vacant holes in the side of the tomb and pulling about the royal bones. The Dean of that day, Dean Thomas, very properly closed the holes, and from that time there has been no further exploration possible. But when by the courteous attention of the present First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Ayrton, to the repeated suggestions that he should follow in the course so well inaugurated by his predecessor, Mr. Layard, with regard to the royal monuments of the Tudor dynasty, the process of cleaning the Plantagenet tombs was undertaken, the opportunity was once more offered, and the grateful thanks of the Dean as well as of the public are due as heretofore to the Society of Antiquaries for the ready assistance which its distinguished members were able to render even at the dead season of the year when these investigations were conducted. In matters of such delicacy it is a rare advantage to be able to refer to a recognised oracle which could say, with the tact acquired by long experience and varied knowledge, where it was necessary to advance, where to withhold further research.

There is, in Mr. Nichols's very interesting account of the tomb of Richard II., in the *Archæologia* (xxix. p. 57) a very true, perhaps one might say a very severe, account of the state of the effigies. "For many generations," he says, "the gilding and pounce-work have been obscured by a thick varnish of indurated dust, until at last they were entirely forgotten, except for the tradition of the successive authors who have described the Abbey and its monuments." He takes the Government and the Dean and Chapter to task for this neglect. It was

to wipe away this reproach that, in pursuance of the successful results of cleaning the tomb of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and of cleansing and partly repairing that of King Henry VII., similar operations were set on foot in relation to Richard II.'s tomb.

From the appearance of the effigies and the great discoloration of the metal bed, as well as of the marble covering slabs, it was at first thought that the tomb had been entered in recent times, but it soon became evident that, although the effigies and their adjuncts had all been displaced, first through the dislocation gradually caused by the corrosion of the iron cramps in the sub-structure, secondly by the violence which had been used when the missing portions of the metal work had been abstracted, and thirdly by the circumstance that casts of all the metal work have been of late years taken for various exhibitions, &c., yet the marble slabs forming the covering had certainly not been removed since the time when Henry V. finally placed the remains of his predecessor within the tomb.

An examination of the masonry also showed that the structure had been originally made as far as possible air-tight when the Queen was buried, for all the joints of the marble work were filled in with a resinous cement, technically called "grain," made of resin, wax, and stone dust; and this, having been thrust whilst hot into the open joints after the parts were fixed, had rendered all the junctions impervious. This precaution cannot have been repeated when the tomb was opened and again closed after the deposition of the King's body, as the evident use of mortar in the pointing would preclude the more careful treatment which had been adopted at the first interment.

This is of importance, as an additional proof that the tomb of Anne of Bohemia was already completed in the reign of Richard II., a fact indeed which was sufficiently clear from Richard's Will (see Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 192 *et. seq.*), and from the indentures for the work, printed by Neale (vol. ii. pp. 111-113), from Rymer's *Fœdera* (vol. vii. p. 797). But as Dart^a (vol. ii. p. 45) and others had maintained the opinion that it was built after the interment of Richard II. in the reign of Henry V., it is satisfactory to find that the argument from the structure is in entire accordance with the argument from the documents.

The metal work, which is of considerable weight, was first lifted up by means of pulleys and ropes into the Triforium, in order to permit the operations of cleansing, &c., to be carried on without any disturbance.

Two of the three marble slabs which form the covering of the tomb were

^a See also Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, p. 174.

then examined, and it was ascertained that four iron studs had been inserted at the four corners to secure the parts of the old metal work which had disappeared. The corners of the marble have all been more or less strained by the force of the corrosion of these studs, the north-east corner was broken quite off and splintered, the other three were all cracked. There was also a wooden wedge found underneath the slab. It is evident that this belonged to the time when the slab was finally laid down in the reign of Henry V., and this fact, with the other indications just mentioned, is decisive that what is somewhat obscurely called by Mr. Amyot^a the accidental opening of the tomb was only the peeping and thrusting in of the objects through the holes before mentioned in the side of the tomb.

It was not till the slab was lifted up that the actual nature of the tomb was disclosed.

The examination which followed, beginning on 3rd August, 1871, was carried on by the Dean, Canon Jennings, Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr. Doyne Bell, Mr. Richmond, Mr. George Scharf, Mr. Chance, Mr. C. Knight Watson, Mr. Sangster, Mr. John Scott, and Mr. C. S. Perceval.

The interior of the tomb consists of a chamber immediately under the marble slabs about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, having the floor of the grave about 2 feet 6 inches below the floor of the Confessor's chapel, and about 1 foot 6 inches above that of the Ambulatory.

The lower part of the chamber is the grave, which is about 7 feet long and 5 feet wide, and over it is a space traversed longitudinally by an arch formed at about mid-height, so as to carry the two long slabs above, and dividing that space into two parts $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and each about two feet wide.

The discovery that this low chamber was the actual vault is doubly interesting: It at once dispels the doubts which are expressed by Neale (vol. ii. p. 110), as to whether the bones seen in the last century through the apertures could really be the remains of the King and Queen; as it was more natural to suppose that they were interred in the upper portion of the tomb. It now seems that they were not, and this fact is also important, as indicating the transition from the custom followed in the earlier Plantagenet tombs to that adopted by the Tudors of interment in a separate vault.

On looking in, there were seen on the floor the broken and rotten boards of coffins, and bones, apparently in great disorder, especially two skulls which lay towards the foot of the grave. The Dean was at once summoned, and he directed

^a *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 428, quoting Mr. King's account in *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 135.

and superintended a closer examination. It was found that the contents had been subjected to much interference, and it was evident that they had been reached through the five holes formerly existing in the lower panelling of the south side, thus confirming the accounts given by historians of the Abbey, which state that these five holes, caused by the displacement of so many metal shields, were used by visitors to pass in their hands, and thus the contents were felt and disturbed, and many portions abstracted and other objects introduced, as was soon proved.*

On the 3rd of August, the Dean, Canon Jennings, Mr. Doyne Bell, and Mr. C. Knight Watson proceeded to examine the contents of the tomb.

The rotten elm boards of the coffins were first lifted out, and then the remains of the King and Queen were more visible; those of the King were lying chiefly on the north side, whilst those of the Queen remained on the south side as she had been placed by the King himself. These bones and the other contents of the grave were then all carefully handed out and examined by those present.

It was evident that several portions of the skeletons were missing, for instance, both the lower jaws;^b and the crowns of copper said to have been seen through the holes on the south side were also not found. After all the bones that could be found had been removed, it was determined to sift the dust, and indeed the entire contents of the grave, so as to bring to light any minute objects which might otherwise escape observation. This was accordingly done, and the result was

* "From the side next the area," writes Dart (vol. ii. p. 45), "the arms are stolen, in the holes of which putting my hands, I could turn the boards of the coffin."

^b The following is an extract from a letter recently received by the Dean.

"Wouldham Rectory, Rochester,

"30 June, 1873.

"It may be interesting to you to know that my grandfather Gerrard Andrewes, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, saw a Westminster scholar poke his hand into the tomb of Richard II. in the year 1766, and fish out the lower jaw-bone of the King. My grandfather received the jaw-bone from the boy, and it is now in my possession. I have often shown it to medical men, who say it is the jaw-bone of a man in the prime of life. There are two teeth remaining in the jaw. On a card attached to the bone is written (the handwriting is my grandfather's, Gerrard Andrewes), 'the jaw-bone of King Richard the Second taken out of his coffin by a Westminster scholar 1766.' My grandfather was himself a Westminster scholar at that time, sixteen years of age, having been born in 1750.

"(Signed)

CHARLES GERRARD ANDREWES."

A report by Mr. Sangster upon the human remains, together with letters upon the subject from Dr. Ogle and Professor Busk, will be found in Appendix (A).

the production of several other objects, an entire list of which is given in Appendix (B). Mr. Doyne Bell made notes of all these proceedings.

Several articles found in the grave had undoubtedly been thrown in at various times through the holes already mentioned. But one remarkable object was found lying on the north side by the King's leg-bones and out of reach of the holes, namely : a large pair of plumber's shears, about $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 4 inches wide,



PLUMBER'S SHEARS OF IRON. LENGTH $15\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES.

very nearly similar in form to those now in use. They are of great age, as shown by the amount of corrosion, and also by the trade stamp of a Plantagenet fleur-de-lis; this is of elegant form, and stamped on the flat surface near the swivel. It is very likely that they were forgotten and left in the grave by the plumber who assisted at the interment in 1413. The leaden covering in which the body with the exception of the face was enveloped must have been removed, as only a very small piece of sheet lead was found in the grave. The leg-bones of the King, which were lying in correct position, and this pair of shears, had never been disturbed, and this is again an additional proof that the tomb had never been previously opened.^a

The conclusions which are to be drawn from an examination of the skull of the King are not without interest. First, that it agrees with his well-known character, and with the general appearance of his portrait in the Abbey. This, however, supposing Maudelyn to have been exceedingly like him, proves nothing as to the identification of the bones as those of King Richard. Secondly, If these are the King's remains, then the story of the murder by Sir Piers Exton is, as has been long suspected, a mere legend. There is no mark of the battle-axe on the skull.

The iron cramps were all removed, and cramps of copper substituted for them,

^a Mr. Doyne Bell has suggested that the leaden envelope might have been removed in order to enable the remains of the King either to be placed in the same wooden coffin or in immediate contiguity to the Queen ; in accordance with the same sentiment which prompted George II. to order the sides of his coffin and that of Queen Caroline to be removed. The boards which were thus removed were, in July, 1871, seen placed against the east wall in the Georgian vault in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

and, photographs having been taken of the skulls and the other bones, &c., arrangements were made for closing the tomb. This was accordingly done on the 18th September, in the presence of the Dean, the Canons in residence, Mr. Doyne Bell, Mr. G. Scharf, and others. The bones of the King and Queen, being arranged as nearly as possible in their proper position, were inclosed in a chest with a division to separate them. On the lid of the chest the following words were inscribed, "The remains of Richard II. and his Queen." The objects which were believed to be connected with the original interments were placed in another chest and marked "Accompaniments of the interment of King Richard II. and his Queen." The articles which had evidently been intruded at a later period were likewise inclosed in a chest, and inscribed "Later insertions into the tomb of King Richard the Second."

Upon these three chests was laid a wooden tablet face downwards, in order that the inscription should remain clear as long as possible, inscribed as follows: "This tomb was opened during the repairs undertaken by the Office of Works in July 1871, and the contents of the tomb were then arranged by order of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster."

Many portions of the bronze work belonging to this and other adjacent royal tombs are wanting, but no attempt at restoration has been made except by supplying cushions for the heads of Richard II. and his Queen, and of King Edward III. This was done at the suggestion of Her Majesty the Queen, who, upon the occasion of a visit to the Abbey, expressed regret at the neglectful and distressing appearance of these effigies being left without support to their heads. Careful models, adopted from contemporaneous forms, were prepared for these cushions, and these, after approval, were cast in bronze and water gilt; and they were also engraved with the diaper and heraldic devices of the King and Queen which are upon the effigies, table, and canopies, and which, now that the dirt of centuries has been removed, are again visible. These cushions have restored to the effigies that dignity and repose, the want of which had been so long lamented.

After the operations on the tomb had been completed, attention was directed to the wooden canopy above it, which being thickly incrustated with dirt and dust presented little hope of any improvement; although traces of the original paintings on the panels were discernible. One of the cross mouldings of the panels was missing, and the two adjacent panels were thereby much sunk and twisted. These defects were, however, remedied, and the sunken ceiling was corrected and strengthened. On the top boarding of the ceiling were observed very consider-

able droppings of wax, from the wax lights which had formerly been placed above the tomb, and several of the boards were found to be much charred, as if they had been once on fire.

The paintings on the three panels are doubtless of the best art of the period. In the centre is a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, with two graceful figures. The panels to the east and west have two angels on each of them, supporting shields of arms of the King and Queen. The outlines were still well defined, but the colours had much disappeared. The background of these paintings is on gesso and gilt, and most of this remains; the colouring on the mouldings and the gilt ornamentation is also in a fair state of preservation.

Mr. G. Richmond, R.A., kindly took in hand the restoration of these paintings as far as was possible, and with considerable success, as can be seen by all those who remember their former condition.^a Towards the south side of the lower face of the tomb there are two splays which seem to have belonged to some erection antecedent to the present tomb of King Richard II. They are of firestone, and have a cavetto and bead moulding on the top, and something of the same character running northward, though both are carelessly placed. This recess may have contained a tomb which was removed to make place for that of the King: the concrete under the Queen's coffin and the portion of wall under the King's seem to indicate something of this nature. It may very probably have been the site of the beautiful early-English tomb of the two children of Humphrey de Bohun, now so awkwardly placed on the north side of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

TOMB OF HENRY III.

As there would have been considerable difficulty in cleansing the effigy and table-bed of the tomb of Henry III. in its place, it was decided to remove them into the Triforium, where the work could be carried on quietly and uninter-

^a These paintings are described by Malcolm (Lond. Redivivum, 1802, vol. i. p. 96). He says, "One hundred years past it is probable that these pictures were tolerably perfect. If they had then been taken down and cleaned and preserved, and had last winter been put for Guido's, I am persuaded the deception would not have been discovered; now indeed the ravages of time have seized fast on them, and they will shortly owe their remembrance to works like mine."

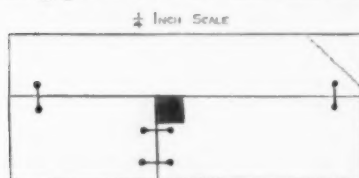
ruptedly. On the 24th October, 1871, they were therefore carefully displaced, and by means of powerful hoisting apparatus and strong scaffold work lifted up to the Triforium.

The effigy is in one entire piece, and the casting is of remarkable excellence, indeed it appears faultless. The thickness of the metal is considerable, measuring in some parts between 3 and 4 inches; it weighs about 12 cwt.

The metal table is of equal excellence, and, like the figure, is in one piece, and very truly cast. Its length is 7 feet 6 inches, and breadth 2 feet 9 inches, and its nearly uniform thickness is 1 inch; it weighs about 8 or 9 cwt. The united strength of nine men, with the help of pulley blocks, was required to raise the effigy and table, and they were successfully removed to the Triforium floor, there to undergo the process of cleansing.

The Purbeck marble bed on which the metal table is laid is in fair preservation; the exposed edges only have suffered some partial disintegration. There were no fastenings whatever to connect the effigy and its bed with the marble beneath, nor with each other; indeed the weight of each part was quite sufficient to make them immovable without the use of some special appliances, and there is no sign whatever in any of the parts to indicate that they had ever been displaced. Nothing was found under the effigy or metal table. They were so truly fitted to each other and to the marble, that there was hardly room for any insertion; and everywhere round the edges the junction was rendered almost airtight by the indurated dust which had lodged there.

The marble bed consists of one long and two short pieces, making up a length of 7 feet 11 inches, and a width of 3 feet 2 inches, as shown in the woodcut. The long piece lies on the north side, and at its north-east corner there is a fracture



PLAN OF MARBLE BED.

as shown, but the piece is only very slightly dislocated. There are four cramps, one of them loose and corroded at one end; the others are sound, and have suffered but slightly from corrosion. The surface of the marble immediately under the metal is as perfect as it was at first,

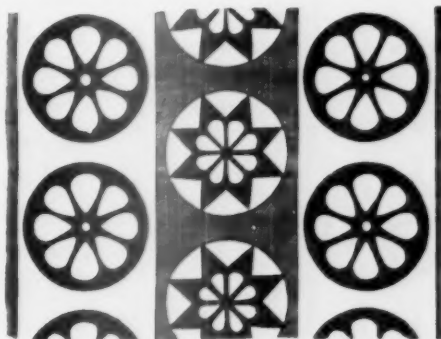
the small covering of dust which had insinuated itself, and was spread over it having tended to preserve it from the action of the air. At the junction of the three pieces of marble there is a neatly cut rectangular hole or notch. On looking through this hole into the space beneath, a flat surface about a foot below the marble bed was observed. This surface was at first thought to be a leaden box or coffin of perhaps a quarter of an inch in thickness. The smallness

of the hole, and the distance to the lead, would not admit of the hand being inserted; from the same cause, the extent of the flat surface beneath could not be ascertained.

On Monday, the 6th of November, a strong light being thrown into this aperture of the tomb, and some of the black dust on the coffin being blown away, a tissue of cloth of gold was discovered in a condition of high preservation, and underneath it was perceived a sound and hard surface of *wood*, so compact that the touch and sound might easily be mistaken for those of lead, as was at first suggested.

On Tuesday, the 14th of November, the Dean having returned to London, directed the two small stones in question to be removed in his presence; Mr. Doyne C. Bell was also on the spot. The four cramps conjectured at first to be of iron were found to be only strips of lead run into cramp-shaped grooves, and the stones themselves were quite free to move. They had no intervening bed of mortar or plaster, but were so truly wrought and fitted together that no such bed was needed.

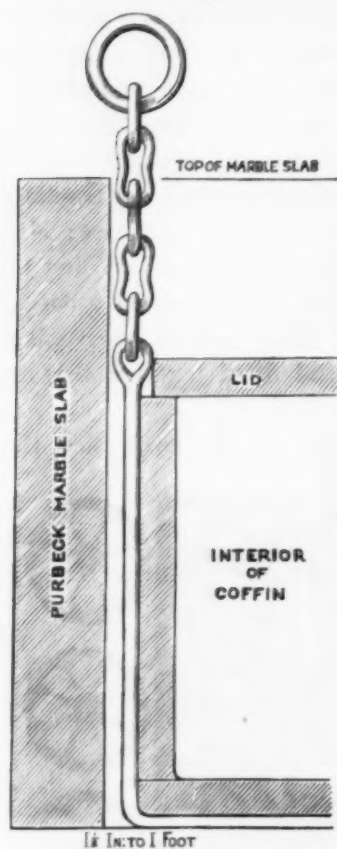
The two short stones being lifted on to the long one on the north side, the whole chamber or grave, with its coffin, became exposed, the latter nearly filling the space. It was now manifest that under a thin coating of black dust the coffin of wood was covered all over, top, sides, and ends, with cloth of gold, the warp of gold thread similar to that now used by our arras weavers; the weft being only of silk. It is woven in two alternating patterns of great beauty, consisting of striped stars and eight foils. (See woodcut.)



DIAPER OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD ON THE COFFIN OF
HENRY III. SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$ LINEAR.

The cloth is in one continuous piece extending over the top, sides, and ends; the four corners not cut away but folded. This cloth, although at first sight in a good state, soon lost, from the action of the air, so much of the strength of its woof of silk and of the silken core within the gold twist that the force of wind from a small pair of hand bellows was sufficient to blow away both dust and silk. Yet, with the exception of a slight disturbance of that part immediately under the small hole in the slab, caused by the first endeavour to discover what was beneath, the whole surface was nearly intact. The colour of the silken fibre was far gone, but some portions of it retained a crimson hue.

The wood of the lid, which is oak, is remarkably sound. Its upper surface is slightly decayed in some parts to the extent of about a quarter of an inch. The under surface appears to be quite sound, and this difference of the two surfaces seems to have caused a warping upwards, so that there is an opening of an inch at the middle of the head, where the fingers may be inserted, and the lid was therefore found to be loose, and only held in position by its own weight.



ARRANGEMENT OF CHAINS TO LET
DOWN THE COFFIN.

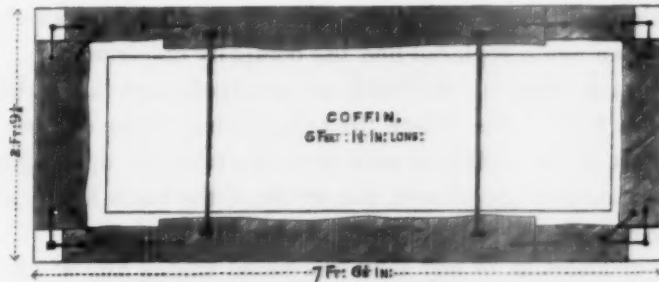
The iron chains at the head, foot, and sides, whereby the coffin was carried and lowered into its chamber, yet remain. They are neatly made of wrought-iron bar, about half an inch in diameter. They terminate with rings 4 inches in diameter, large enough for the hands or for poles to be passed through them, so as to carry and lower the coffin. These rings and a few links of the chain were lying loose between the sides of the coffin and the marble tomb. The rings, when drawn out, rise a few inches above the edge of the tomb. These had been coated with a black resinous substance, which remained tolerably bright and smooth.

The construction of the sides and ends of the chamber with the coffin inclosed is here shown; this latter measures 6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the head, and 1 foot 9 inches wide at the foot. Its top is at the head $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the floor, and at the foot about 2 inches less. There is a recess of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep at the foot wrought in the block, made apparently to receive the foot of the coffin, but it is not wide enough, and therefore the forming of the recess has been of no practical use.

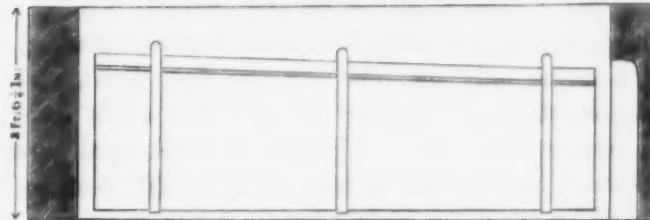
It will be seen on the plan on the next page that at each corner there are four iron cramps, and two long ones across to bind the tops of the side-slabs. All these cramps are corroded, but not extensively, as in most of the other Royal Tombs. There is no evaporation arising from below, owing to the impervious nature of the marble slab forming the floor of the chamber.

On the conclusion of this investigation, the Dean directed the marble covering

to be replaced, and the tomb to be reopened on the following Thursday at four o'clock, requesting Mr. Doyne Bell to communicate with Mr. C. Knight Watson



LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF TOMB SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE COFFIN, AND THE IRON STRAPS AND LOOPS FOR CHAINS.



PLAN OF THE TOMB.

and Mr. Scharf, and directing Mr. Poole to inform Mr. Douglas Galton, of the Board of Works, so as to secure their attendance on the occasion.

On the 16th November there assembled the Dean, the Right Hon. A. S. Ayrton, First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Douglas Galton, Mr. C. Knight Watson, Mr. George Scharf, Mr. Doyne C. Bell, Mr. C. S. Perceval, Mr. Buckler, and Mr. Robertson. The two marble slabs covering the south side were again removed and accurate observations made of the structure, the cloth of gold, and the coffin; the dimensions of the various parts were recorded, and several notes and sketches were taken by Mr. G. Scharf. The separation of the cloth of gold at the head of the coffin-lid, caused, perhaps, partly by the warping there, enabled the cloth to be turned over at that point so that the surface of the wood beneath could be examined. It was then seen to be a beautiful slab of hard oak, smoothly wrought to almost a polish, thus showing that the apparent decay under the rectangular hole in the slab of marble was of but very limited extent.

After a most minute inspection of every part that could be thus seen, it was

determined to reassemble on Monday the 28th inst., that the coffin-lid might be removed and the contents seen and carefully investigated; preparation was made for new copper cramps to be substituted for those of iron, and it was arranged that the final closing should take place immediately after the examination. The two slabs were then again replaced and the company dispersed.

The meeting took place on the 28th as arranged, and the slabs were again removed, when a feeling was found to prevail that there did not seem, upon historical grounds, to be sufficient motive to warrant the opening of the coffin. The project was therefore abandoned, the whole of the tomb finally closed in, and the effigy and bed replaced in their position over it.*

No fragment or insertion of any kind was found among any of the parts of the tomb that were removed or exposed, but during the cleansing of the bronze bed of the effigy an engraved outline was discovered in the metal; it is an unfinished group of three figures, composed of a robed and crowned female,^b standing in an attitude of devotion, and turned towards a figure of greater stature, also standing, but incomplete, showing only the robe and the right hand, while behind is a smaller female figure, also erect and devotional. The whole group is evidently the work of an accomplished artist. It may be some royal personage with an attendant in presence of a saint. It may be (although, perhaps, the crown is against the supposition) that the stately female figure represents the Abbess of Fontevraux receiving the heart of Henry III. on the occasion of his final re-interment, as described in the document discovered by Mr. Burt in the archives of the abbey. A cast was made from the engraving, and placed in the Chapter House. (See Plate XXIII.)

* The only question which could arise was as to whether the King was buried in the sarcophagus of Edward the Confessor. It was evident that the wooden coffin in which he lies was made for him: the polish, the perfect state of the work, the ample folds of the pall, all proved this: and the Confessor's coffin was probably of stone.

^b This figure is about 10 inches high.

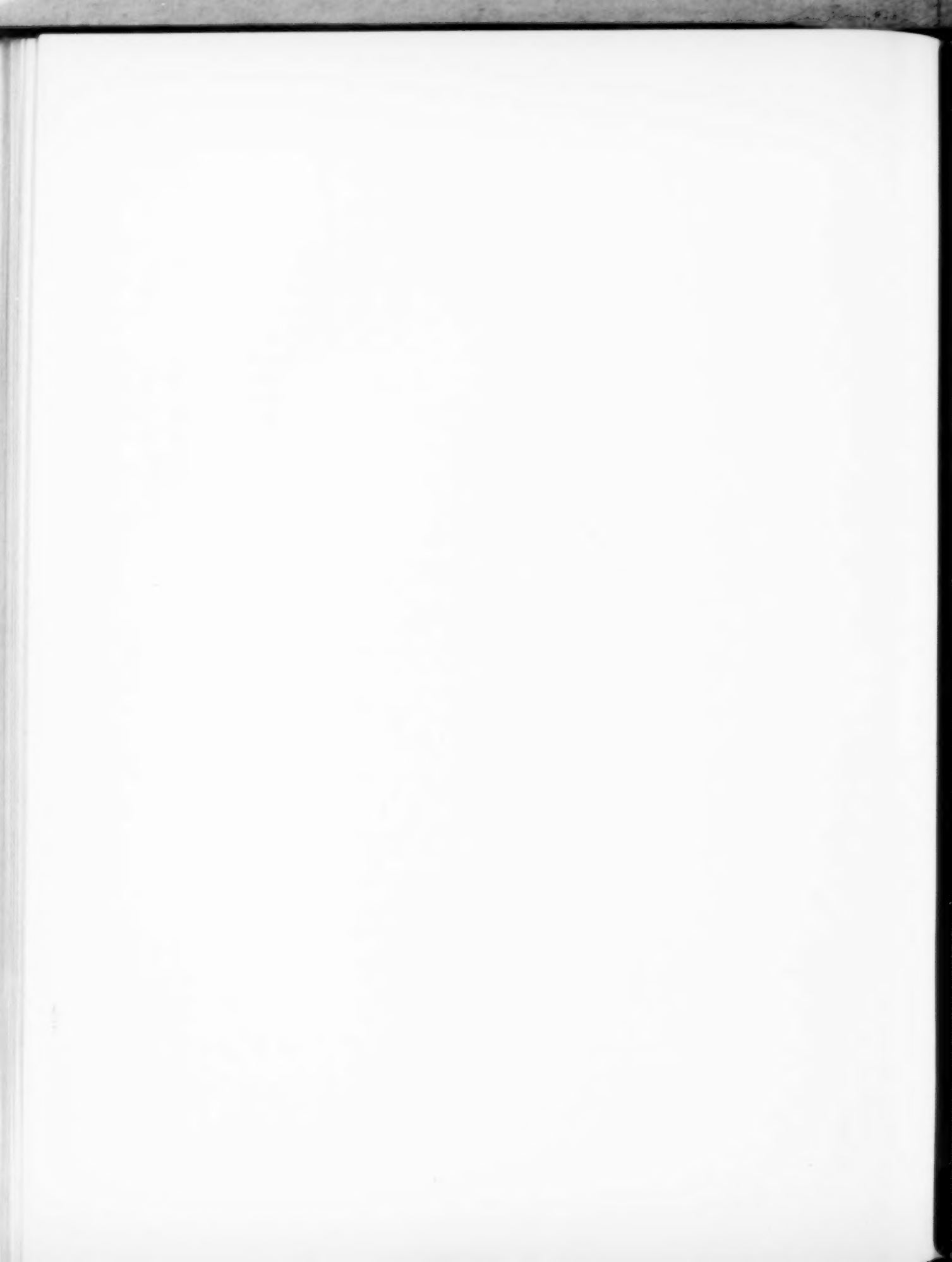


ENGRAVING ON METAL TABLE OF THE TOMB OF HENRY III.

SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1879.

W. GREGG, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON &c.



APPENDIX (A).

MR. SANGSTER'S REPORT UPON THE HUMAN BONES FOUND WITHIN THE TOMB OF RICHARD II. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The examination of the bones led to the conclusion that one skeleton belonged to a male and the other to a female.

Judging from the length and size altogether of the male bones, there can be no doubt that they belonged to a man nearly six feet in height.

The male skeleton was nearly perfect, the bones being all separate, very dry, and in a good state of preservation; the only ones which presented any decay were the right femur and the upper part of the sacrum.

Only the upper part of one scapula (right) was present, consisting of the head, two-thirds of the spine, together with the acromion and coracoid processes.

There were two upper pieces of the sternum. There was only one bone of the sacrum, which was much broken and decayed.

The following is a complete list of the male bones.

Skull

Right scapula and clavicle

„ humerus

„ radius

„ ulna

„ os innominatum or

„ ilium, ischium and pubis

„ femur } yellower and more

„ tibia } corroded than

„ fibula } the left

„ patella

„ astragalus and os calcis

Left humerus

„ radius

„ ulna

„ ilium, ischium, and pubis

„ femur

„ tibia

„ fibula

„ astragalus

The missing bones were the following:—

Left clavicle

„ scapula

„ patella

„ os calcis

the lower jaw, some few vertebræ, ribs, small bones of the hands and feet and os coccygis.

The skull was large. The superciliary ridges were very small. The sutures were all perfect, and the only one which was gaping was the coronal (connecting the frontal and parietal bones), the edges being sharp and well defined, showing that the bones had separated quite naturally.

The posterior part of the skull presented a very distorted appearance, and, instead of the occipital bone being convex externally, it was flat; and the lines (to which the strong muscles of the neck were attached), which usually curve outwards, were very prominent, and ran directly outwards. The base of the skull was perfect, excepting the styloid processes of the temporal bone, which had been broken off. The right mastoid process appeared to have been destroyed. In the upper jaw there was only the remains of one old stump; the teeth had fallen out by reason of the decay of the alveolar processes. Immediately under the left eye (in the superior maxilla or upper jaw), and continuous with the orbit, was a large circular piece of bone broken out.

The pelvis was perfect with the exception of the lower part of the sacrum. The remaining bones of the arms and legs were entire.

The bones which were recognised as belonging to the female skeleton were but few in number, belonged principally to the left side, and were very perfect.

They were the following:—

Skull, second cervical vertebra, two pieces of sternum and pelvis.

| Left scapula | Right tibia |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| „ humerus | „ fibula |
| „ ulna | „ patella |
| „ femur | |
| „ fibula (tibia wanting) | |
| „ astragalus | |

The skull was small; and, with the exception of the left temporal bone and styloid processes, was entire. The teeth were all missing. The lower jaw was wanting. The pelvis was large and well-formed, and measured from anterior superior spinous process on one side, to the same point on the other, 10 inches, from sacrum to pubis $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the transverse diameter was 5 inches.

Common to both: Twenty-nine ribs, beside fragments. Thirty-six vertebræ, more or less perfect, beside fragments. Metacarpal, metatarsal, and phalangeal bones, sixty-one in all. Seven tarsal bones.

There were ten teeth in good condition, five of which were double-fanged. One tooth was much decayed.

CHAS. SANGSTER, Surgeon.

15, Lambeth Terrace, 2nd September, 1871.

Memorandum by JOHN W. OGLE, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A.

“There were two skulls, one much larger than the other, with a retiring forehead, very full and broad at the back of the head; the other, apparently that of a woman, having more forehead and much less preponderance behind. No lower jaw to either, and no teeth in the upper jaws. The large skull had the frontoparietal suture partially separate, and the other one had the left temporal bone almost quite wanting. No mark of injury otherwise on either. Bones of every part of the human body; also leg-bones, and a scapula of other animals. Curious, dark, very light-

weighted mass, said to have come out of the skull ; this was reddish-brown, very friable, something of the shape and size of a patella, smooth and concave on its inner surface, very rough and fissured, and elevated on its outer surface. Query—Dried blood, or brain, or bone."

Letter from PROFESSOR GEORGE BUSK, F.R.S.

32, Harley Street, 8th March, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. SCHARF,

I have measured the seed with which you filled the male skull found in the tomb of Richard II., and find that it occupies about eighty-nine cubic inches.

This capacity is below the average of English skulls, and very considerably under that of the more ancient inhabitants of Britain. The mean capacity estimated from the data given by Thurnam and Davis in "*Crania Britannica*" of ancient Britons, as they term them, appears to be 96·3 cubic inches, of those in the Roman and Romano-British barrows 92·8 inches, and of the so-called Anglo-Saxons 91·2 inches.

I am unable to refer to satisfactory data respecting more recent skulls, but I fancy the mean capacity for men in this country may be taken at from 90 to 92 cubic inches. It would seem, therefore, that if this skull was filled as full as it would hold of the rape-seed, and that the seed has not shrunk since, King Richard the Second was not distinguished by the size of his brain. What its quality may have been is quite another question.

Yours very truly,

GEO. BUSK.

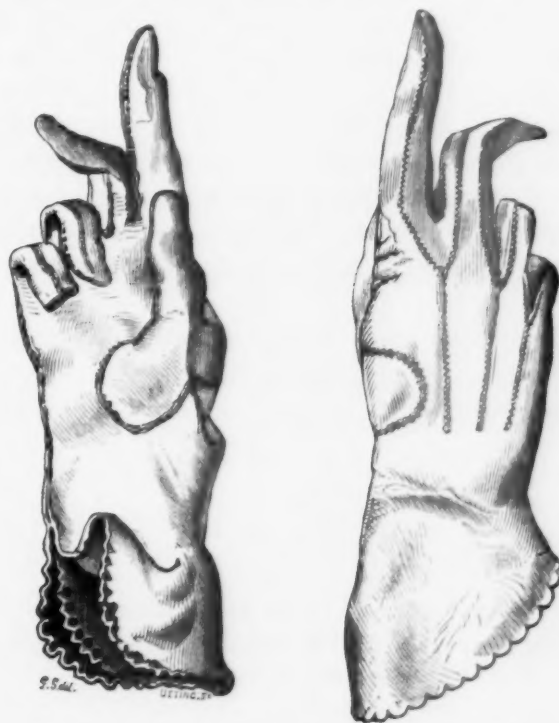
APPENDIX (B).

LIST OF OBJECTS FOUND IN THE TOMB OF KING RICHARD II. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

1. Plumber's shears with fleur-de-lis mark.
2. Wooden staff, query bow or part of a sceptre.
3. Brown leather riding gloves, one pair. The fingers of the right hand bent, those of the left quite straight. They are of flexible leather, without lining, gilding, or indication of the former attachment of precious stones. They are sewn with leather of the same colour, and appear by their creases to have been worn. (See woodcut.)
4. A smaller pair of leather gloves, much more rotten, about seven inches long.
5. Double rose in lead, the same pattern on both sides.
6. Four small fragments of green porphyry slab, smooth, flat surface.
7. Small fragments of wood, like twigs.^a One piece of very light yellow colour, shaped like a reel, having black lines round it.
8. Pieces of linen, leather of shoes, binding, and plugget of tow.
9. Four pieces of shaped cork.
10. A handful of toy marbles.
11. Three tobacco-pipe bowls, one with stem five inches long.
12. Seventy-two copper coins and tokens.
13. Alabaster carved flower, with green centre, outer leaves gilt, a fragment.
14. Two segments of a common leather ball, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches from apex to apex.
15. Gilt wooden finial, perhaps part of a sceptre.
16. Fragments of window-glass, plain and wrought.
17. Decayed pieces of Parbeck marble.
18. Small square piece of cedar-wood.
19. Iron buckle.
20. A Jew's harp.
21. Leaden round buttons, dog's bell for collar.
22. One flat button of copper gilt, with basket pattern on it.
23. Bird's bones.
24. Two long pieces of corroded steel, query weapons, one of them was 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long.
25. Ten human teeth found in sifting the dust, in good condition, five of them double-pronged.

^a The bark upon these was perfect when they were first found, but they almost all crumbled to dust when touched. These had doubtless been placed there as a precaution against witchcraft. Similar twigs were found on opening Henry IV.'s tomb at Canterbury Cathedral. See "A brief account of the examination of the tomb of Henry IV. 21 Aug. 1832," by J. H. S. [Dr. Spry, then canon of Canterbury.]

26. Three broken knives with handles, one of them a small table-knife.
27. Iron nails of the coffins.
28. A paving-tile, painted with a shield bearing three lions.
29. Seven silver coins (a harp on one).
30. Fragment of wood, possibly of a sceptre.
31. Small fragment of a stone cusp or spandril.
32. Fragments of red glazed pottery, like of a pipkin.
33. A small piece of corroded sheet-lead.
34. One iron square-pointed nail, seven inches long.
35. Nine fragments of iron nails, seven with heads, and the longest measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, were found among the human bones.
36. A peach-stone. Splinters of wood.
37. Bottle-stamp, Dr. Blair, 1763. [Dr. John Blair, prebendary of Westminster, 1761-1782.]
38. Two cut pieces of glass and crystal, apparently from a ring.
39. Small lump of uncertain matter formed like a patella.
40. Some fragments of the silk pall with a spotted pattern.



ONE OF THE LEATHER RIDING GLOVES FOUND IN THE TOMB OF RICHARD II.
LENGTH $8\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

XIII.—*Notes on the Keep, the Roman Pharos, and the Shafts at the Shot Yard Battery, Dover Castle.* By LIEUTENANT W. EMERSON PECK, R.E. Communicated through Her Majesty's Secretary of State for War.

Read June 27th, 1872.

I.—THE KEEP OF DOVER CASTLE.

TRADITIONALLY the erection of the Keep of Dover Castle is ascribed to Bishop Gundulf, the brother-in-law of William the Conqueror; but, while the absence of ornaments and the severe simplicity of the interior mark its early character, the style of the exterior, in which the flat pilaster, so typical of the early Norman castle, has developed into the protruding square turret, seems to denote a later date.

As the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. record the large expenditure of 1,085*l.* on Dover Castle, it is possible that the exterior was remodelled at that time, a surmise which derives support from the discovery of a second string-course beneath the present one, during the repairs of the upper part of the south-west tower.

The following records of expenditure are derived from *The Architect* of May 27, 1869.

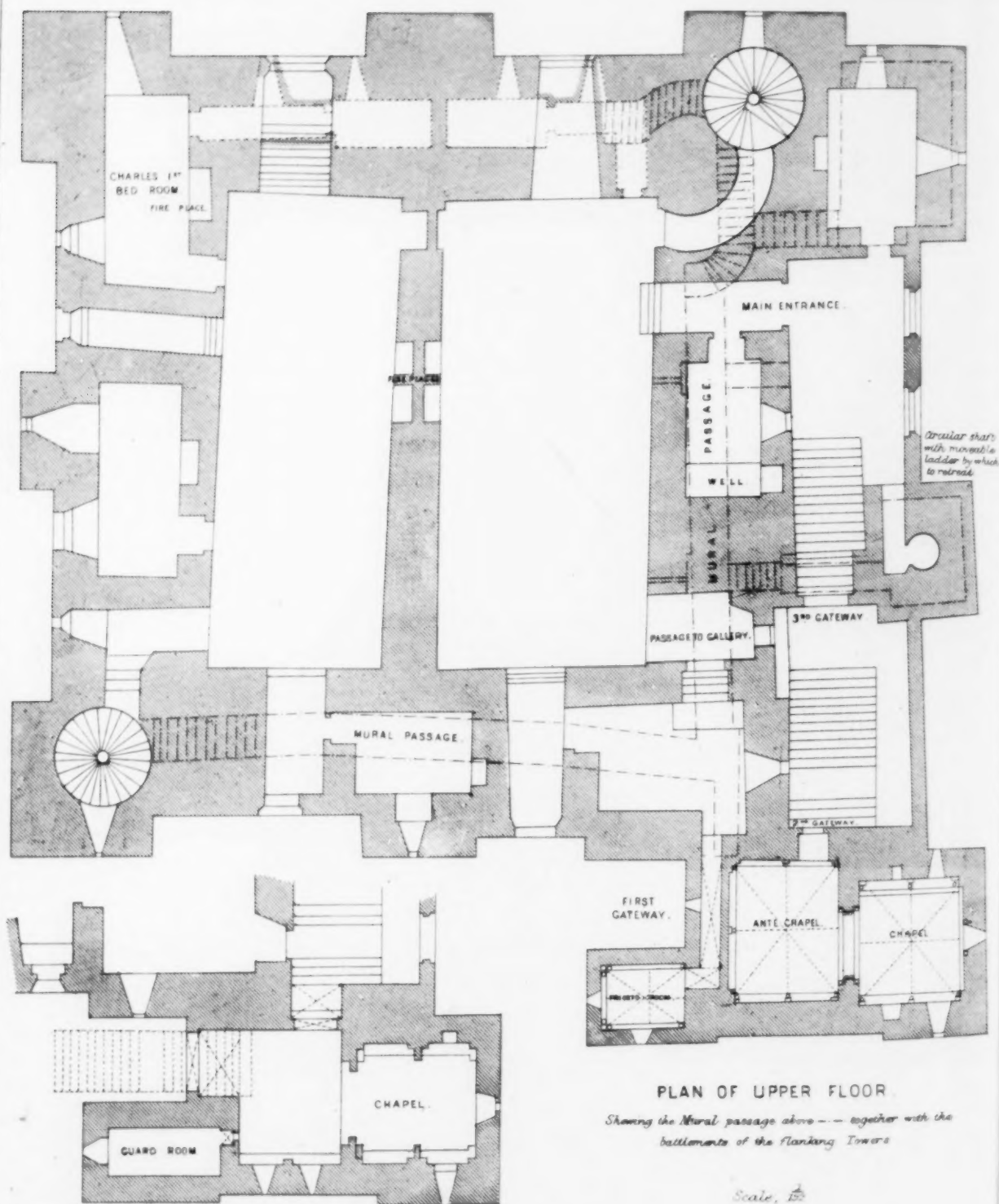
The Pipe Rolls of 1160 allude to the castle being repaired, and notice the various repairs and additions to existing buildings.

The castle was nearly rebuilt under Mauricius (Engeniator) at an expenditure in—

| | | £ | s. | d. | |
|-------|----|-------|----|----|---------------------------------|
| 1180 | of | 165 | 13 | 4 | |
| 1183 | „ | 129 | 16 | 11 | |
| 1184 | „ | 171 | 8 | 10 | |
| 1185 | „ | 299 | 2 | 1 | on <i>turris</i> alone |
| 1186 | „ | 207 | 9 | 0 | on the keep and <i>cingulum</i> |
| Total | | 1,085 | 16 | 0 | |

exclusive of architects' fees. (As a means of comparison it may be observed that Orford Castle was built in 1163 at a total cost of 323*l.*)





FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF CHAPEL &c.

PLAN OF UPPER FLOOR.

Showing the Mural passage above — — together with the battlements of the flanking Towers

Scale, 1/50

W. E. Peck del.

C. F. Hall Ltd. London E.C.

DOVER CASTLE.
PLAN OF THE KEEP SHEWING KING JOHN'S CHAPEL.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879

In an entry in the Close Rolls of 1223, Henry III. orders the church to be repaired at the same time as the castle.

From 1223 to 1239 a sum of 2,923*l.* was spent on works, principally the outer bailey walls.

In Henry III.'s time, A.D. 1232, an item is charged for making the great gate at the going out of the great barbican; also for repairing the King's apartments and chapel in 1239.

The spur passage was built in 1229 at a cost of 100*l.*, "*in una volta facienda ad exeundum de castro versus campum.*"

The total expenditure by Edward IV. amounted to 10,000*l.*

Disregarding the external approaches and staircase, the Keep may be approximately described as a square pile about 90 feet long by 95 feet broad, divided by a central party-wall into rooms of unequal size.

Three floors, the basement for stores, the first floor for the garrison, and the upper floor for the banqueting hall and palace apartments, including a gallery at the south end, bring one to the battlements, a total height of 80 feet, or 88 feet in the angle towers, the whole being surmounted by a wooden roof.

The only original entrance to the building was on the upper floor, whence circular stairs in the north-east and south-west turrets communicated with the other floors. No provision appears to have been made for lifting heavy stores from floor to floor through a shaft as at Rochester, unless, indeed, the fireplaces and flues in the north-west corner be subsequent modifications of the original shaft.

On the lower floor, the external walls of which were solid and 18 feet thick, a fine specimen of one of the old loopholes with the steps leading to it is preserved.

In addition to the two principal rooms four dungeons are formed in the solid basement, two of which under the chapel do duty as a reserve tank, the other two as powder magazines; an opening or recess in the eastern wall has still to be explained.

On the first and upper floors sleeping accommodation is provided in small closets formed in the thickness of the walls, and the narrow loopholes are replaced by small windows, the comfort of the occupants being proportionately increased as the danger from missiles decreased.

The well from which the garrison drew their supply of water opens on the upper floor, originally 300 feet in depth; it has been partly filled up with rubbish

thrown in by the French prisoners of Blenheim and Ramilies who were confined here in 1705, and whose names are inscribed on the walls of many parts of the building. The tradition of this being the well which Harold swore to deliver up with the Castle of Dover to William of Normandy may be dismissed as unsupported by sufficient evidence, it being probable that the disused well near the Married Quarters, over which stood the old well-tower, was the only one in existence at that date.

In the party-wall of the upper floor large plain semicircular arches serve as relieving arches to small fireplaces, two in each room; it is possible, however, that they may, as at Rochester, have been originally open, and the whole banqueting floor have thus been one room.

At the south-east angle steps in the thickness of the wall lead to a small chamber, whence access was gained to the gallery, as well as from the mural passage above; a narrow passage also leads from this point to the upper floor of the chapel and the adjoining priest's room.

On the outside of the Keep, and open to the sky, a wide flight of stairs (no doubt interrupted by drawbridges) starts from the middle of the south-east side, and gives access to the upper floor near the northern angle. Three massive gateways, finished above with battlemented parapets, spanned the approach, which was commanded by a flanking tower at its highest point.

Strong walls connected these gateways, and inclosed as many separate courts, inaccessible from below.

A passage in the thickness of the wall above the upper floor, communicating with the circular staircases in the angle turrets, ran round the building, and opened on the tops of the flanking towers, which were (with one exception) otherwise inaccessible.

As the enemy therefore attacked each successive gate, not only were they exposed to a flanking fire, and to missiles and stones hurled from the tower attacked, but also to a fire in reverse from the parapet of the gateway last passed. And, when these difficulties were surmounted and the assault on the main doorway commenced, the defenders could, by descending a circular shaft in the last tower, join in hand-to-hand combat, and, if worsted, by withdrawing their ladders after them, retire unmolested into the upper portions of the building.

On the completion of the outer bailey walls the defensive arrangements became less essential, and for the convenience of the important residents of the Keep, as well as to dignify the approach, the first courtyard was converted into the ornate suite of rooms now known as King John's Chapel.

An octopartite vaulting of tufa was thrown over the open space, supported partly on the partition wall, and partly on an inside casing of ashlar, which also served to carry an intermediate floor of red tiles, bedded on fine concrete, and resting on massive square oak beams.

The mixture of Norman and Early-English forms, and the evidence afforded by the identity of the mouldings with some of those employed at the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral by its second architect, English William, fix the date of this alteration at about 1180.

No signs of an altar remain in the so-called chapel on the basement floor, but the fact of the two lower courses of ashlar on the east side being replaced by rubble suggests that a raised step or footpace for the altar to stand on may have at one time existed. A mutilated piscina is built in the wall on the south side of the east window, as well as an awmry on the north wall. From chases cut in the stone-work it appears that shelves have been fixed in the south-east angle, about a foot above the floor, and also across the first recessed arch in the south side. Raised benches or sedilia were formed under each of the recessed arches on the sides, and the imposts in the centre which divide them are marked by an attached shaft terminating at the under side of the floor joists. Semicircular-headed loopholes admit light on the sides, as also larger windows at the east end; but at some subsequent period stone lintels were inserted in place of the arches. An extra thickness of ashlar was used on the north and east sides, in the former terminating at the upper floor, but in the latter carried about three feet higher, with an additional course immediately under the window, in which is to be seen a small hole as if for the drain of a piscina. From the fragments of stone and mortar on the middle of this course, and the remains of three cramps in the window above (which was partly blocked up), it may be surmised that a reredos or something of a similar nature has been added to the structure. An awmry is constructed in the north side. The opposite window is incomplete owing to its opening coinciding with a quoin of the external wall.

The semicircular chevroned arches on both floors between the two apartments are of a bold span, and richly ornamented; the outer or hood moulding is repeated at the east ends, and in the upper floor as a pointed arch; the latter moulding had been hacked away at some period, and it was only by the coincidence of the very small portions of the deep-cut hollows which remained that the section was ascertained.

Vaulting ribs embellished by a dog-tooth ornament spring from the triple capitals in the corners, the central shaft of which is tapered off, and loses itself

in the wall. The bosses at the intersections of the ribs are restored from a mutilated portion of the original one which was found in the building.

The first bay on the north side of the outer room on the upper floor has been cut through and made good with brickwork, a four-centred Tudor arch being introduced into the opening as if to form a doorway which would communicate by a temporary staircase with the steps to the main entrance, and it is to be remarked that near this point a doorway of a similar character has been broken through from the main staircase into one of the side-rooms so as to give access to the first floor of the Keep.

The priest's room, or, as it is popularly termed, the confessional, was a portion of the original defensive tower (the room below with its rude wagon vault being probably used as a guard-room). It has been ornamented with clustered shafts and capitals, and has plain vaulting ribs; owing to the original door being close to the side-wall, and the consequent want of space for the complete set of shafts on that side, these ribs are distorted, and present an unsightly appearance.

The vaulting ribs of the chapel are also irregular though to a less degree, owing to the manner in which the walls were originally laid out of unequal lengths on the two opposite sides, obliging the architect to vary slightly the position of his shafts so as to divide the distances. This peculiarity is a strong argument that the present ornamental interior is only an addition to walls already existing.

From the raised footpace and the piscina it might appear that, contrary to the custom of church architects of having no occupied rooms above a chapel, the lower floor was at one time used for purposes of worship, though with the old church so near it would not appear to be much required; at all events it may have been of subsidiary use for state receptions in time when religious ceremonies formed a large part of all set pageants. As regards the upper floors, whatever may have been the original design, there appears to be little doubt that in later times, on account of the convenience of a direct entrance from the palace apartments, and the temporary one from the first floor for the use of servants, divine service was held there, as shown by the remains of the reredos and piscina.

II.—THE ROMAN PHAROS, DOVER CASTLE.

The Pharos consists of a mass of masonry, varying in thickness from 12 feet at the bottom to about 7 feet at the top. Internally a square tower with sides 13 feet 7 inches is carried up perpendicularly to a height of 42 feet ; the outline is on the outside altered to an octagon gradually diminishing in circumference towards the top.

From the inclination of what appear to be portions of the original external face it is probable that the outside was carried up in one uniform batter, and not in a series of perpendicular faces, set back on each story, as in the case of the Roman Tower at Boulogne.

The height was divided into five different stories, each of which was lighted as a rule by four semicircular arched windows two feet wide. On the upper floor the width was increased to four feet, while on the ground floor one opening towards the south, four feet wide, served as a doorway. What may have existed on the east and west faces is obliterated by the mediæval alterations. A variety is given on the south face by the omission of the windows on the alternate (second and fourth) stories compensated by an increase to three feet in the width of the centre window ; the object of this change is not apparent unless we suppose that the existence of a staircase on this side may have accounted for it.

The masonry throughout is tufa, similar in character to that still found in the valley below, at different places, and amongst others near the Buckland Schools, the facework being composed of small squared blocks. The whole is bonded together with two or three courses of Roman tiles at intervals of four feet ; and with a view perhaps of drying the mass a number of air-holes are carried through at irregular intervals ; these can be traced in greatest numbers on the south side and towards the ground, a little distance above which a triple set leads from each internal angle to the three nearest external faces.

An excavation on the north-east side showed the external foundations to consist of several courses of tiles in three sets-off, the edges of which following the lines of the octagon prove that this form was a feature of the original design, and not a consequence of the injury resulting from lapse of time to the courses of a square tower, or the alterations carried out by the individual architects, as has been suggested.

The tile-arches of the windows are a few inches wider than the opening between

the tufa jambs, the junctions being marked by an abacus of two projecting courses of tile.

One window, that of the upper story on the south side, retains its sill of tile, and a low dwarf parapet wall of the same material, across the external opening, as if to prevent accidents, and with a view perhaps of obviating the awkward appearance which would result from the meeting of the perpendicular jambs and the sloping external face; the window is terminated abruptly about a foot back from the front.

Not much can be deduced from the building itself as to its object, but there is little doubt, from its commanding position at the narrowest part of the straits, that it served the double purpose of a watchtower and a lighthouse or landmark to point out the position of the Roman port of Dubris. Whether the masonry to be seen at the Drop Redoubt formed portion of a similar structure in connection with it cannot now be determined.

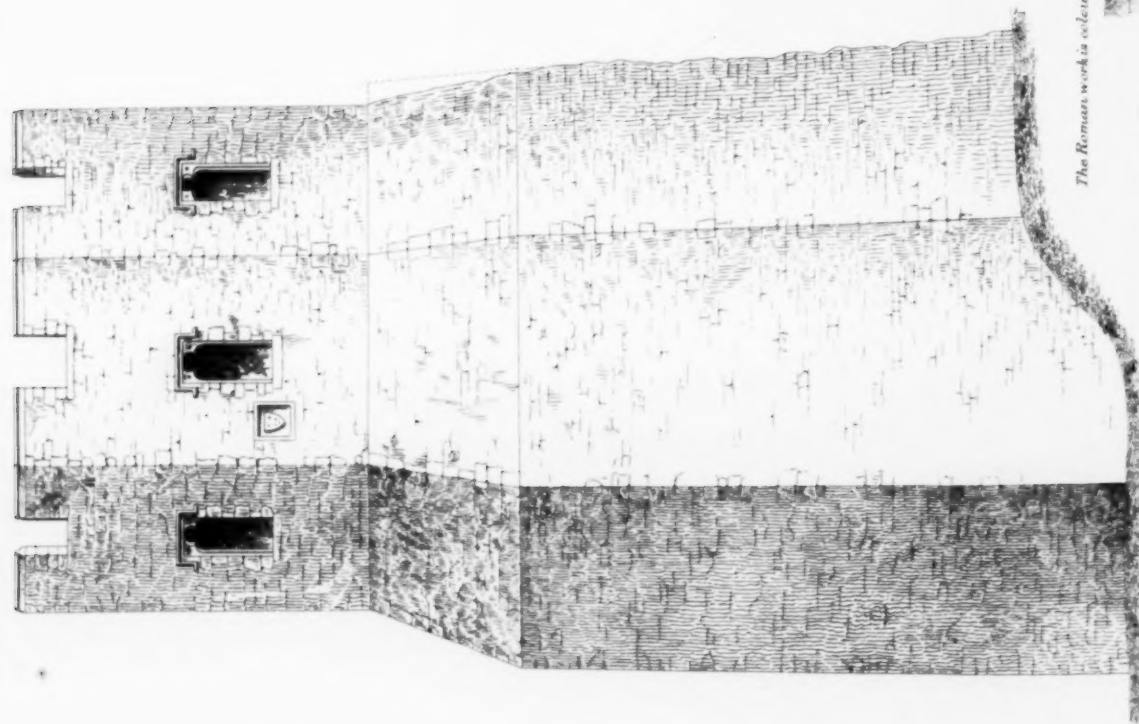
Its use as a watchtower seems to be indicated by the fact that its southern face is turned directly on Cape Griznez, the nearest point of the French coast, and as a consequence its eastern and western sides, though not directly in view, look towards the nearest Roman castles, those of Rutupiæ and Portum Lemanis near Sandwich and Hythe respectively.

In the remodelling the Pharos underwent at the hands of Constable Burjent, the principal objects seem to have been to reconstruct the exterior so as to be in keeping with the belfry which it was intended to add on the top, while a secondary motive may perhaps have been to provide a building in connection with the adjoining church, where the bodies of persons brought from a distance for burial in the graveyard might await the ceremony of interment.

Some points of resemblance have been suggested between it and the curious "Lanternes des Morts" found in Brittany, but the primary object of the latter, viz. maintaining an elevated light over the cemetery, could not have been carried out here without danger to the wooden roof.

The alterations effected consist in blocking up all windows and inclosing the original lines of the Roman work with a casing of stone and squared flints, thus leaving a darkened tower divided into two stories by a wooden floor, the access to which was gained by a large archway immediately opposite the west door of the church. Two splayed recesses were found on the west and north sides, but are so mutilated as to give little clue to their object.

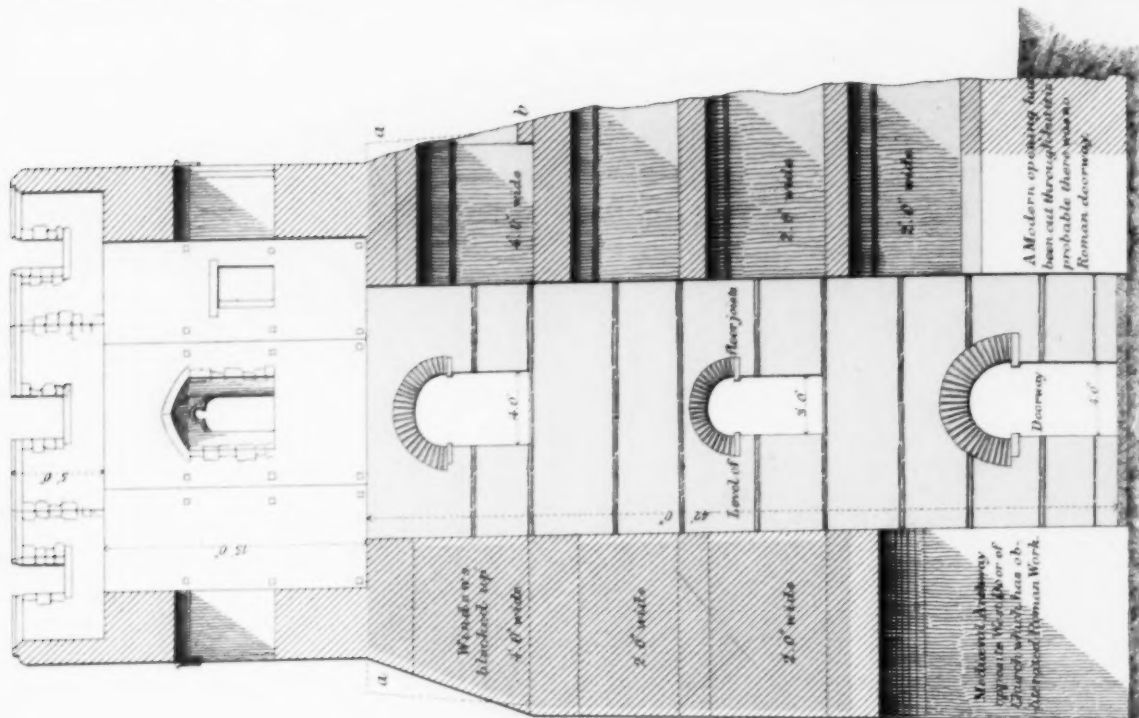
The sudden decrease in size towards the top may be accounted for if we suppose that the upper edge of the Pharos would have suffered most from the



The Roman work is coloured

EXTERNAL ELEVATION ON THE NORTH SIDE

Scale 8 Feet to an Inch.

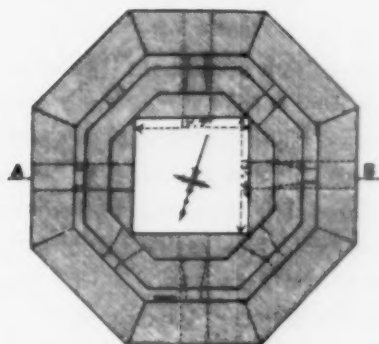


SECTION ON A B

action of the weather, and, being considered unsafe to carry the weight of the superstructure, was cut away by the architect.

The addition on the top consists of an ornamental octagonal room, 15 feet high, lighted on each side by a well-proportioned Perpendicular window, except on the east and south-east faces, which on account of the proximity of the church were left blank, and the south-west side, where a small opening with a flat lintel served some unknown purpose.

Three tiers of holes, five feet apart, two to each side, marked the place where a strong wooden framework for carrying the bells had been fixed, and above the roof a light parapet wall pierced with one embrasure on each face terminated the whole.



GROUND-PLAN OF PHAROS, DOVER.

Scale 18 feet to 1 inch.

III.—NOTES ON THE SHAFTS DISCOVERED AT THE SHOT YARD BATTERY, DOVER CASTLE.

In excavating the sites for the two 10-inch guns and their magazine about ten deep shafts were discovered sunk in the solid chalk. Rectangular in form with the corners slightly rounded off, and averaging four feet square, they reached a depth of from 16 to 20 feet below the surface. The contents consisted principally of a light friable earth much resembling decayed matter, with occasional layers of charcoal, containing large numbers of the shells of oysters, limpets, cockles, and whelks, together with bones of many kinds of animals, those

of the horse, ox, and pig mostly predominating; intermixed were great quantities of coarse broken pottery, similar in character to the Roman cinerary urns, often blackened by fire, and occasional fragments of vessels for holding liquids, both in a red and a black ware. Flints were of common occurrence, some unmistakeably fashioned as cutting instruments and arrow-heads, and numerous iron nails; a few spear-heads and knife-blades were also found, besides a stirrup-iron and a very perfect iron spur with fixed rowel, the surface of which had been first bronzed and then gilded; also an ivory ornament probably used as a brooch.

In form and contents these shafts closely agree with those opened by the Hon. R. C. Neville at the Roman station of Chesterford, as described in *The Archaeological Journal* for June 1855, and also by Charles Warne, Esq. F.S.A. at Ewell, in Surrey, alluded to in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries^a in January 1861.

Their use and object have been a subject of much discussion; the commonly received opinion, that they were intended as *cloacæ*, is hardly in accordance with the fact that no discolouration of the chalk can be traced; while the unnecessary labour involved in excavating them as receptacles for rubbish, when their site is within a few feet of the edge of a then sea-washed cliff, is equally against this supposition. No evidence exists to identify them with the underground receptacles for grain still in use in the East.

From the character of the pottery it seems more probable that their object was sepulchral, in which case the presence of the bones would be explained by a reversion to the earlier British sacrificial rites in connection with burial, though it would still be difficult to account for the mutilated condition of all the pottery; this peculiarity, however, may perhaps be the result of some local causes, as the graves at Chesterford supply many unbroken specimens of ware.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE XXIV.—Plan of the upper floor of the Keep of Dover Castle; and a portion of the floor beneath, showing the chapel and guard room.

PLATE XXV.—External elevation and section of the Pharos. The section is taken on line A B in the ground-plan on the previous page. The Roman work is coloured yellow. At *a a* the angles of the Roman work had been worn away before the mediæval octagonal belfry had been added. In the upper window on the right-hand side of the section, at *b*, are remains of a dwarf wall of Roman times to protect the window opening. The courses of Roman tiles are indicated by black lines.

^a Proc. 2d Ser. i. 309; see also Proc. i. 218, for an earlier account.

XIV.—*On Flint Workings at Cissbury, Sussex*, by ERNEST HENRY WILLETT, Esq.

Read April 8, 1875.

IN 1868 Colonel A. Lane Fox, F.S.A. contributed a paper to this Society, on the Sussex Hill Forts, and on the principles of castrametation which a most careful examination of the whole series led him to conclude had been adopted by the tribes who had constructed them.^a

In the course of his inquiry, and in the description of the seventeen earth-works that line our Sussex downs, he mentioned the occurrence, in several places, of various pits in and about the camps. The instances are at Wolstanbury, Highdown Hill, Mount Caburn, and Cissbury—most notably the latter.

This paper was shortly followed by another, giving a detailed account of the extensive excavations carried on by him at Highdown and at Cissbury.^b In this communication he dwells at length on the pits situate within the latter camp, their character and contents; the flint implements especially are elaborately classified and fully described by him. The examination of about thirty pits resulted in the following information,—to which I may be permitted briefly to refer in order to be intelligible. That they were from 20 to 70 feet wide, and of a depth of from 5 to 7 feet below the surface. That they contained a great quantity of flint implements, a few bones, dead land-shells, charcoal and fragments of coarse pottery distributed in layers of red clay and chalk rubble, the pottery being only found immediately beneath the turf.

In considering the object and use of these pits, Colonel Lane Fox states that he believes them to have been for the purpose of obtaining flint for manufacturing implements, and subsequently to have been used for habitations.

I hope to add confirmatory evidence of both of these theories.

I believe that the exploration of Grime's Graves in Norfolk first gave an idea of the labour necessary to procure the flints for manufacturing implements in the Neolithic age, and very great was the amount of information contributed by

^a *Archæologia*, xlii. 27—52.

^b *Archæologia*, xlii. 53—76.

their patient investigator, Canon Greenwell.^a The question being once started, fresh discoveries have been, and will I hope yet continue to be, made in other parts of the country; and it is the endeavour to link together the facts elicited by Canon Greenwell, with those already noticed by Colonel Lane Fox at Cissbury, by means of fresh evidence obtained quite recently, that is my excuse for making this communication.

In March 1873, when on a visit to Canon Greenwell, I received from him a description of his excavations at Grime's Graves, when he expressed his belief that the Cissbury pits were of the same nature, and advised a deeper search to be made in them.

In the autumn of the same year I examined one of the pits which had been previously explored, and found that what on first sight had appeared to be the chalk bottom, was not solid, but composed of large blocks, their interstices filled in with rubble. On moving these, it was found that the pit, which had been left undisturbed by its first explorers at a depth of 6 feet, was in reality much deeper, and it was not till 14 feet from the surface of the ground that the solid chalk bottom was reached, through *débris* of chalk rubble and blocks interspersed with flint implements, charcoal, and red-deer bones.

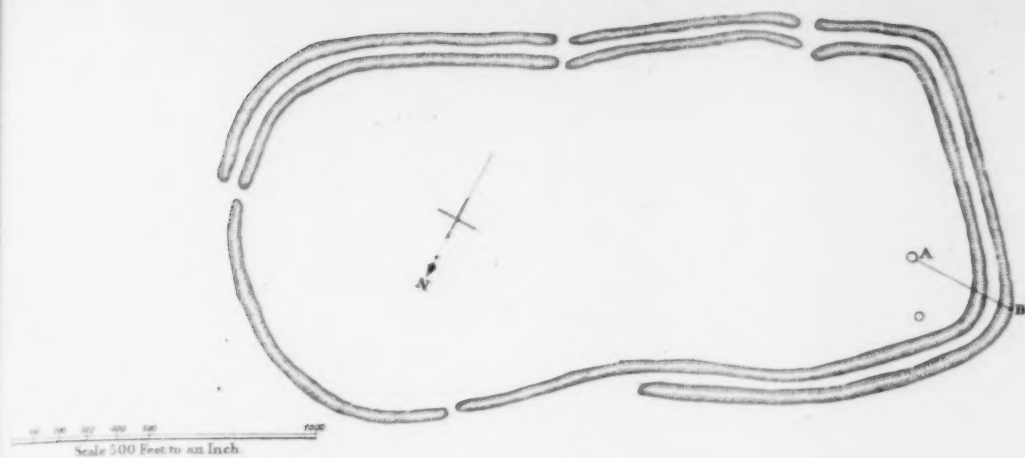
Leading from this open shaft were small chambers of about 5 feet in diameter, connected with one another; of these I took careful measurements and memoranda, but unfortunately, owing to the loss of the note-book containing them, I am unable to record them with accuracy.

I then determined to open one that had not been previously disturbed, in order to examine the contents from the surface to the base, and I selected the pit of which the position is shown at A on the plan. (Plate XXVI. fig. 1.) The opening was commenced last August, in the presence of Professor Boyd Dawkins and myself. The site was indicated by a depression of about 16 inches from the slope of the hill.

The result of the excavation showed—first, surface soil similar to what is found over all this side of the camp, containing chipped flints, flakes, and broken implements, land and oyster shells, numerous water-worn pebbles, a few pieces of bone, and fragments of coarse pottery. Below this, to a total depth of 5 feet, came a layer of small chalk, rubble, and loam, of a yellowish colour, containing a few flint implements, one or two fragments of bone, and deposits of charcoal surrounded by calcined chalk. This stratum seems to extend beyond the area of

^a See a memoir "On the opening of Grime's Graves, in Norfolk," by the Rev. William Greenwell, M.A., F.S.A. in the Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, 1870, vol. ii. p. 419.

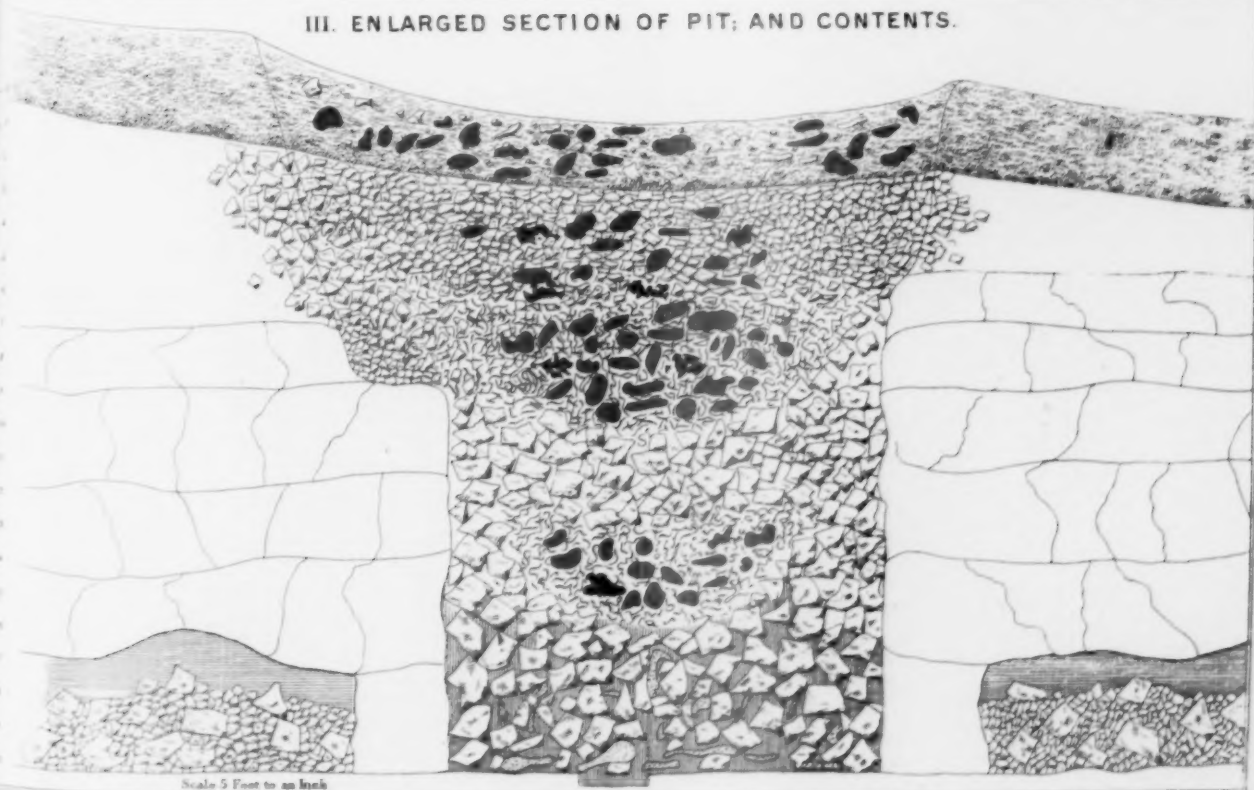
I. PLAN OF CAMP.



II. SECTION ON LINE A.B.



III. ENLARGED SECTION OF PIT; AND CONTENTS.



C. E. Hall Lith. London, E.C.

the shaft's mouth in north, south, and westerly directions, and dead land-shells also occurred in this layer, of which by far the greater portion were *Cyclostoma elegans*; but specimens of *Helix nemoralis*, and one of the rare shell *Helix obvoluta* (now very local, and nowhere abundant) were also found. At 5 feet (the depth at which the solid chalk at the edge of the pit commences) the filling-in alters, being now composed of a moist red earth full of flints, worked and unworked, numberless chippings, a fragment or two of stags' horns, and several patches of charcoal.

This ferruginous deposit was much thicker in the middle than at the sides: it seemed trodden and worn, and the implements were mostly huddled together at the centre, but unworked or merely broken flints occurred all through the layer. At ten feet it was replaced by large blocks of pure chalk (in some cases roughly squared) loosely thrown in, the interstices not filled up by smaller material.

No change was observed for about 3 feet, but at that depth, viz. at 13 feet from the surface, came a repetition of the red earth before mentioned, with the same characteristics, but not so thick as the one above, 3 feet being the greatest depth at the centre, and thinning out to 6 inches towards the circumference, and this did not extend to the sides by 18 inches.

The remainder of the *débris* surrounding the last layer, and from 16 feet to the bottom, was pure chalk, but it differed from the layer above in that the blocks, though loosely thrown in, had their interstices filled with small chalk-rubble and loam. Throughout this layer were distributed the bone implements, to be hereafter more fully described, consisting of broken pieces of antlers of the red deer (which show more or less marks of usage and manufacture), four scapulæ of *Bos longifrons*, and one of the common pig, one or two flint implements, and a few broken flints. The thickness of the last deposit makes up a total of 20 feet from the ground (see Plate XXVI. fig. II.), which is tabulated as follows:—

| | Feet. | | Feet. |
|--------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
| Surface soil - - | 2 | Chalk blocks - - | 3 |
| Chalk rubble - - | 3 | Red earth, &c. - | 3 |
| Red earth, &c. - - | 5 | Chalk blocks - - | 4 |
| | | | — |
| | | Total - - | 20 |
| | | | — |

At a depth of 17 feet from the surface in the north-west corner, we, not altogether unexpectedly, came upon the mouth of a cave. I say "not altogether unexpectedly," because I had previously seen similar caves in the other pit, though on a much smaller scale, and as the workmen proceeded a series of eight

caves were displayed to our view one after the other. These caves, of which a ground plan is exhibited (Plate XXVII. fig. v), run laterally in all directions, and were filled up before our excavation to within from 1 foot to 2 feet from their top with loose blocks of chalk, partly converted into a kind of stalagmite from the percolation of rain-water through the chalk above: it was exceedingly hard, and required a considerable blow to detach the pieces it was necessary to remove.

This hardness was not so observable at the entrances, and a few feet from the mouth inwards was distributed some red earth, containing some pieces of bone and an implement or two.

The galleries are of an irregular height (owing to the roof giving way more in some places than in others), but the variation is from 3 to 5 feet; the width of each is undetermined, as in some instances the separation of one from another is merely effected by a barrier of stalagmite, and, had it been considered safe to remove this, we should probably have found that, with the exception of a block of chalk left here and there for support to the roof, the whole series is in fact very nearly one large cave with several openings. This is not the case in every instance, and, where we were enabled to measure from side to side, the width of the actual chamber was about 4 feet. Cave No. 2 was explored to a length of 19 feet, at which the solid chalk was not reached, for the wall here was still composed of blocks of stalagmite, and, on placing a lighted candle to a chink, the effect of a strong draught was observed.

Now on the surface, at a distance of 20 feet, there is the indication of another shaft, from which I think it may be inferred that the pits communicate one with another.^a A similar case occurs in cave No. 6, but with this distinction, that in this instance we did clear the chamber to the solid wall, where an aperture of a few inches square was found.

Part of a layer of undisturbed flint, of an exceedingly fine quality, lies at the bottom of the galleries; this, I suppose, did originally extend over the greater portion of the area now occupied by the shaft and chambers, as instances of where flints had been extracted from their matrix were to be noticed.

Another layer of flint, of an inferior quality, is to be seen in the west side of the shaft, at a depth of 10 feet, and two vertical veins strike through the pit, one running north-west and south-east, the other nearly due east and west. The latter dips to the south at an angle of 63 degrees.

At a spot nearly in the centre of the open space forming the bottom of the

^a The communications between this pit and those around it have since been demonstrated by the subsequent excavations mentioned in the Supplemental Note at the end of this communication.

pit there was a small hole, 1 foot deep and wide and 2 feet long. It was filled with chalk-loam, but did not contain a trace of charcoal or of discoloured chalk, or anything else which might indicate the presence of a fireplace. It is difficult to conjecture its probable use, unless it can have been experimental to see if another layer of flint was to be met with at an easy distance under the first.

Before continuing this description, I ought to add that in January of last year Mr. Plumpton Tindall, F.S.A. (who, I regret to say, is lately dead) opened another pit within a short distance of the one under consideration. Had he lived, I hoped he would have been present to-night to give a personal report of his labours: as it is, I deem it not an unfit opportunity to give a brief account of what he discovered.

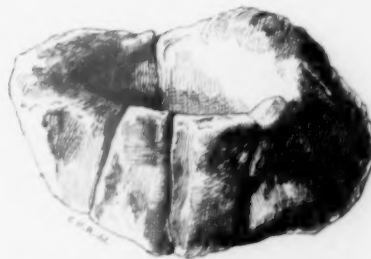
I was not present at the opening of the pit, but received an account of it from himself, which, as far as my memory serves me, was as follows. He stated "that until the depth of 15 feet was reached the pit contained hardly anything but chalk rubble, with a few fragments of chipped flints interspersed; but at this distance from the surface he began to find pieces of broken antlers and single tines of red deer. At about 28 feet two remarkably fine and perfect skulls of *Bos urus* occurred, and with them, and in the rubble a few feet beneath, a quantity of bones of this animal, with those of other species, to which reference will presently be made.

"Flint implements occurred all through the deposit below the 15-feet level, and one tool was found made from an antler, and pierced for the insertion of a stone. He also found four large pear-shaped lumps of chalk, pierced at the smaller end, and a broken cup, or lamp, shaped out of a block of chalk." (See woodcut.)

All these things are, I believe, removed to Lord Rosehill's collection, deposited in the Art Museum at Edinburgh.

As the account of the Grime's Graves was not communicated directly to this Society, I now purpose to draw attention to the chief points of resemblance between the flint workings of the two places, and to remark upon the differences that are apparent: the latter, with one exception hereafter mentioned, are unimportant, consisting simply in the minor details that might be expected in similar work carried on by two tribes dwelling in different parts of the country.

2 z 2



CHALK CUP FOUND AT CISSBURY BY
MR. TINDALL. (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

I cannot think the most scrutinizing critic would allow that these trivial differences militate against the general similarity of design and purpose traceable in both works; and therefore I propose to assume this general similarity as granted.

I have arranged the inquiry under two heads, viz. : 1. The Similarity of Form ; 2. The Similarity of Contents.

Under the first are included the Plans, Elevations, Mineral Characteristics. Under the second—*α*. General Character; *β*. Special Character of the Stone Implements, Bone Implements, and Miscellaneous Objects; *γ*. Animal Remains.

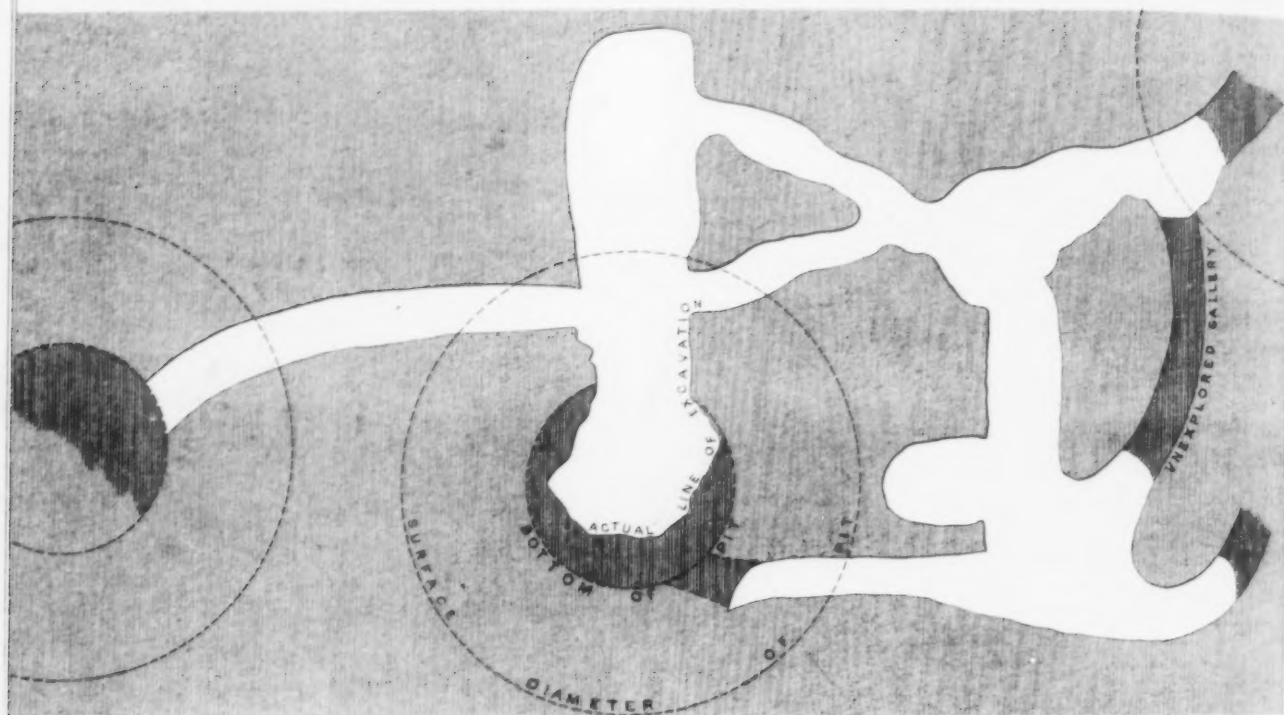
Plan.—Plate XXVII. represents the ground-plans of each place drawn to the same scale, and I think there will be few to whom the resemblance is not obvious. They show that the mode of reaching the much-coveted flint was the same, viz. by sinking a series of shafts, and running galleries from them as far as it was convenient to work. The only difference that exists (which is quite unimportant) is, that at Cissbury they seem to have worked in a more compact area, and not in so continued a line as the plan of Grime's Graves shows its workmen to have done. The latter are larger, and extend further underground than any galleries I opened, though, from the apparently insecure state of the chalk, I did not explore four of the largest caves.

Elevation.—The elevation is slightly different. At Cissbury the central shaft is nearly perpendicular. At Grime's Graves the pit decreased from a diameter of 28 feet at the surface to one of 12 feet at the base.

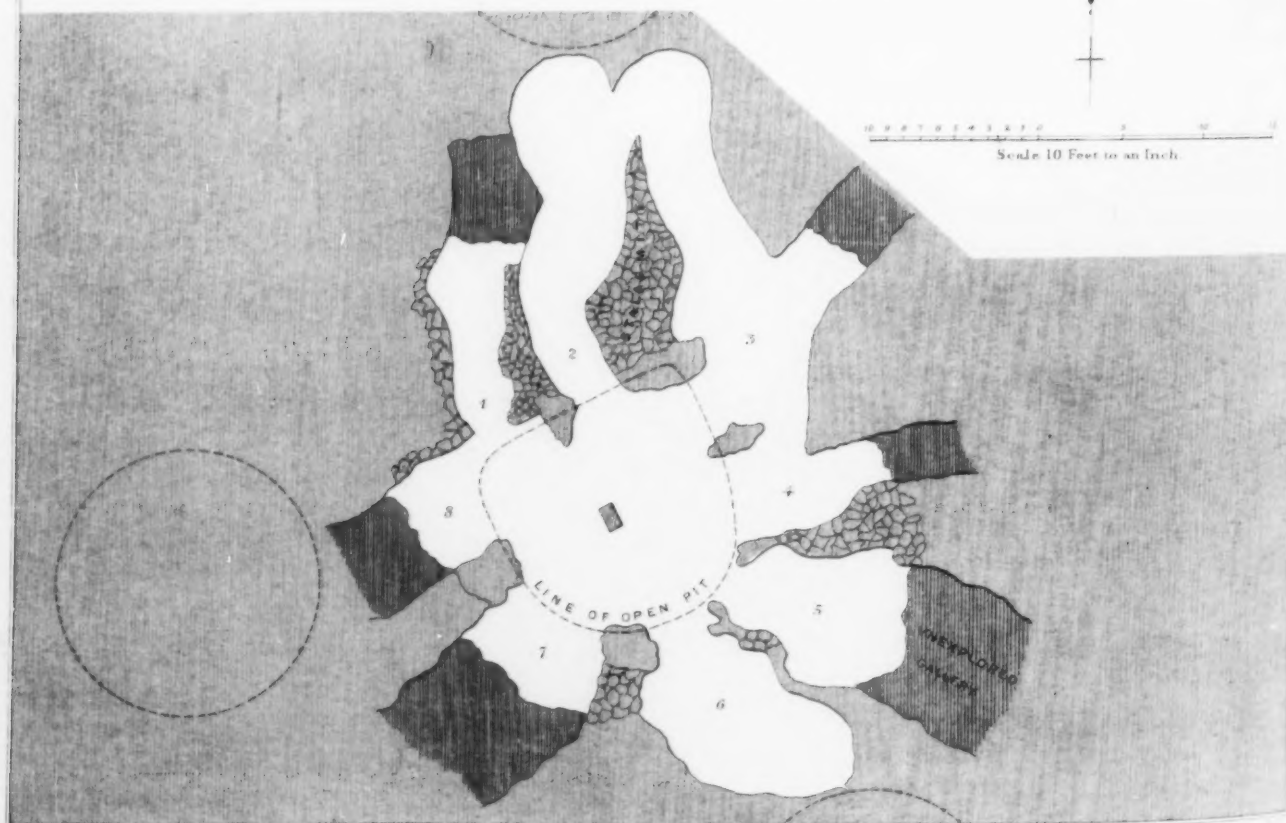
The galleries seem to be about the same height, nominally 3 feet, though in some places, as I have already mentioned at Cissbury, the irregularity with which the chalk roof has given way increases this height to 5 feet. This variation was also observed at Grime's Graves.

Mineral Characteristics.—In both cases the layer of flint, which was the object of search, was not the first from the surface. One of an inferior quality—in the Cissbury instance much stained by iron—had been passed through at a considerably less depth. This upper layer is also met with at Brandon, near Grime's Graves, where flint is still quarried for the flint-gun trade; it is there called "wall-flint," as from its unfitness for knapping it is used for building purposes.

IV. GROVND PLAN, GRIMES GRAVES.



V. GROVND PLAN, CISSBURY.



EHW del

CP Nat. Lith. Co. Lith. of Engrs.

α. GENERAL CHARACTER OF CONTENTS.

I have already briefly described the general character of the contents of my pit. A short extract read from Mr. Greenwell's paper will show how great a similarity there is between them.

"The filling-in for about 18 feet from the bottom was pure chalk taken from that part which lies between the two beds of flint. Above that was a considerable thickness of sand intermixed with flint nodules and some pieces of chalk, then came a deposit of chalk and flint chippings, in some parts of which the flint chippings very much preponderated; after that was chalk rubble, then sand, at the top chalk rubble again. All these various deposits were so irregular that they could not be measured with any exactness; and in many cases a mass of chalk rubble at the centre did not extend so far as the sides of the pit, whilst in others it only reached from the side to near the middle. The whole appearance favoured the opinion that the pit had been gradually filled in, the operation being a work of considerable time.

β. *Special Character of Stone Implements.*

In all 90 flints more or less perfectly fashioned by man were taken out of the pit at Cissbury, and may be classed as under:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 45 rough cores. | 5 hammers. |
| 12 hatchets. | 12 wedges. |
| 7 scrapers. | 12 used flakes. |
| <hr/> | |
| Total - - | 93 |
| <hr/> | |

Though none are new forms, I have adopted this simple classification as more easy for use than if I had included each stone in one or another of the twenty-five types into which Colonel Lane Fox has divided the implements found by him at Cissbury.

I have little fresh information to record about the character of these implements, they have been so ably described before; but I would draw attention to the hammers and wedges, which were found for the most part in close proximity, and which in their correlatively battered ends suggest the use to which they have been applied, and for which, indeed, they seem eminently suited, viz., for breaking down the blocks of chalk.

Whilst at work we incidentally obtained a number of good implements from the surface at various parts of the camp, and among these turned up a hard piece of quartzite, of which one of the sides is ground smooth.

This seems, at least, to suggest that the polishing and grinding, as well as the chipping, were carried on within the confines of the camp, and, scanty though the evidence be, it is just probable that such was the case.

It is also worthy of remark, with reference to the dehydration, oxydation, separation of the silica into two forms, or whatever cause may have operated to produce the alteration of colour in flints exposed on or near the surface of chalk soil, that in the first few feet all were patinated to a depth varying from the thickness of a sheet of paper to an eighth of an inch; and that the lower down the shaft we found them the less they were whitened. For instance, those occurring in the red earth deposit were no more than just discoloured, whilst the few found at eighteen feet and below were nearly as fresh as the day they were fashioned from the natural flint. All the stones, however, in the red earth deposit were covered with a crust of carbonate of lime, which is easily detached by water and scraping.

This alteration in colour seems to take place generally on the side which is exposed uppermost; as, in picking up implements and other stones, I have observed that the lower side invariably exhibits, on fracture, a thinner dehydrated layer than the upper.

I will mention an instance in confirmation of this. I have twice found the two halves of a broken implement lying in conjunction, and in each case one had turned over as it fell, so that the reverse side of this half became patinated. To refit the pieces it was, of course, necessary to turn one half with the surface that had not been exposed uppermost, and the stone then presented a mottley appearance.

Implements of Bone.

These consist principally of pieces of antlers of the red-deer, variously manipulated. There are, in all, fragments of about ten, more or less, I regret to say, in a poor state of preservation. The largest is the most perfect representative of the tool of which so many were found at Grime's Graves, and this from its appearance seems to have been but little used; it is the deer's horn stripped of all its tines except the brow tine, which is generally much worn; thus fashioned, it must have been a powerful weapon for extracting the flint from its bed. Grime's Graves was very rich in this shaped tool, Canon Greenwell obtaining no less than seventy, some in a splendid state of preservation, and many showing the prints of the workmen's fingers encrusted on by chalk.

The other form of pick, viz. the antler entirely stripped and drilled for the insertion of a thinly-fashioned celt, was not found, though at 15 feet I picked up

a celt which would be admirably adapted for fitting in such a handle, and Mr. Tindall in his pit found a good antler so stripped and pierced; showing that this form of tool was in use at Cissbury.*

There is also a tool manufactured from the top end of the antler, and which exhibits marks of an attempt to cut it through; whether this was intended for a pick or a drill is conjectural: the handle is much worn at the cup end.

After this we must notice the tines, which, broken off, as they were, to enable the workmen to use the pick more comfortably, became in themselves convenient implements. An example of their use occurred in Cave 6, where, at the entrance, was a block of chalk partly detached, and the hole bored, evidently by a tine, to prize the block down, is still visible.

Associated with these are the remains of five scapulæ, which Professor Flower has kindly identified as *Bos longifrons* and pig. In three cases the large anterior spine has been cut away, and this fact, together with the scratchings on them, and the absence of any other bones or animal remains has led to the idea that they may possibly have been used as shovels. One of them is represented in the accompanying woodcut.

Miscellaneous Objects.

Several small objects turned up at the Norfolk workings, most notably fragments of what may have been a human figure carved in chalk, which degree of art culture our Cissbury inhabitants do not seem to have attained; also, one or two small lamps cut out of blocks of chalk; these when filled with fat or oil, and supplied with a floating wick, would serve to illumine the galleries for the workmen, some such contrivance being most certainly necessary, as daylight does not penetrate sufficiently to give light at the extremities. Canon Greenwell found, I think, four in all; I found none, though a broken one occurred in Mr. Tindall's



BLADE-BONE USED AS A SHOVEL.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

* It will be remembered by those who heard Canon Greenwell describe his labours at Grime's Graves, or who have since read that description in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, that he therein states that "the workmen at Brandon engaged in extracting the flint use the same form of tool in wood and iron at the present day."

pit at a considerable depth (see engraving in page 341); the edges are somewhat blackened. That gentleman also found the four curious pear-shaped blocks to which I have alluded; they weigh about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. each, and are drilled at the smaller end, and about this hole are signs of thongs or strings having cut into the soft chalk by fraying.

γ. *Animal Remains.*

It is remarkable that in the shaft and galleries which I have been describing no other animal remains were found but those already noticed, which were worked into tools. But, fortunately, evidence is not wanting as to the character of the animals which served as food to the Celtic race of this district, for Mr. Tindall discovered a quantity of bones belonging to *Bos primigenius*, stag, otter, wild boar, and roe deer. The heads of *urus* are unusually fine and perfect, the horn-cores being almost intact. The skull of a wild boar too had its tusks in a very good state of preservation, the enamel on them being almost as hard as on the day the animal was killed.

These remains are nearly all those of feral animals; and when this is taken into consideration, with the facts that the deer-horns are mostly not shed, but from slain animals, that there are no signs of pottery (except from the surface layer) or any other of the earlier traces even of approaching civilization, and that some of the flint implements are similar to certain forms found in the drift,—it suggests, I think, that the period of the working of these quarries at Cissbury was earlier in the Neolithic age than that of the Grime's Graves, at which latter place the animal remains were principally domesticated, such as *Bos longifrons*, sheep, pig, goat, dog, and the horns of the red deer for the most part shed. From these two latter facts Canon Greenwell argues that the occupants of Grime's Graves had passed beyond the hunting stage, and were probably not unfamiliar with herds and flocks.

I have now briefly dwelt upon the main points of interest that have come under my notice relative to ancient Flint Workings in Sussex, and have alluded to their connection with those in another great chalk-bearing county.

But I ought to mention, in corroboration of my having come to this conclusion concerning the Cissbury pits, that I have not ignored the possibility of another explanation, viz. that of their having been places of habitation or of refuge; but

I think that the absence in them of all traces of prolonged residence negatives this as the primary purpose for which they were constructed. It does, however, seem to me probable that when the pit had been discontinued in use as a quarry, and the refilling from a neighbouring shaft had partly taken place, advantage of it was taken as a place of shelter where workmen might shape their tools.

The occurrence of the greater portion of the flint, both worked and unworked, with numberless chippings, and also of patches of charcoal in connection with the red-earth layers, are the facts on which I base my opinion; and, further, the sides of the shaft, on a level with the lower of the two layers, show signs of abrasion and wear not noticed above or below this depth from the surface.

I am in hopes of some day seeing one or more of the depressions outside the camp opened, as perhaps this may throw some light upon the yet obscure question as to the relative ages of the pits and the vallum. I know that Colonel Lane Fox considers that the pits are subsequent, but I believe he grounds his argument on the finding of a few flint implements at the bottom of the trench, a circumstance which I cannot bring myself to think conclusive evidence, and in the presence of an opposite opinion suggested by the continuity of the series being abruptly severed by the fosse.

I have now but to add that my own thanks, and I think I may say those of all interested in the subject, are due to the owner of Cissbury, Major Wisden, who so courteously afforded every facility in his power for the prosecution of the work, and who has kindly consented to the deposit in our local museum of the objects discovered.

I must also express my personal obligations to Canon Greenwell for having in the first place prompted me to undertake the excavation, and for the assistance I have derived by the free reference at all times to his valuable experience during the preparation of this paper.

NOTE.—Partly in consequence of the discussion that arose when this communication was read to the Society, further excavations were undertaken by Colonel (now General) Lane Fox and Mr. Park Harrison, acting on behalf of a committee of the Anthropological Institute, which have demonstrated the greater antiquity of the series of pits for flint-working to the camp-ditch and wall. Two skeletons with dolico-cephalic skulls were discovered in the shafts, proving that the pits were at one time worked by these long-headed people, a race that had certainly been displaced in the district at the time of the Roman invasion by round-headed inhabitants. Both these circumstances support the theory of the

comparatively great antiquity of the Cissbury flint-workings, at first suggested by the resemblance of the forms to some of the drift types, and by the absence (as already stated above) of all remains of domestic animals in the refuse heaps.

For details of the results of these later excavations the reader is referred to the articles by Colonel A. Lane Fox, F.R.S. F.S.A. Professor Rolleston, F.R.S. F.S.A. and Mr. Park Harrison, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.^a In vol. vii. of that *Journal*, plate x. is a plan of the excavations made in 1876 and 1877, which gives their position and connection with those that form the subject of my communication.

^a Vol. v. p. 357 ; vi. p. 263, 430; vii. p. 413.

XV.—*Note on the Milites Stationarii of the Romans.* By HENRY SALUSBURY
MILMAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read March 18, 1876.

THE Home Office of Imperial Rome, as working through the *milites stationarii* and leaving their indelible mark on our country, was exhibited by Mr. H. C. Coote, in a paper read before us on December 5th, 1872. The novelty of the subject, whilst adding to its interest, rendered it difficult of worthy discussion at the hearing. I have now the permission—nay, the encouragement—of the author to offer some further illustrations of it.

According to this paper, the *stationarii*, like all other *milites*, were organized in *centuriæ* and *decuriæ*. They were the local constabulary, and, by their officers, the criminal magistracy of first instance. They were invented by Augustus, improved by Tiberius, for Italy, and thence extended throughout the Empire. Every *centuria*, every *decuria* of them, had its *statio* and district, to which it gave title. Their duties were to put in operation the criminal law. A private *stationarius*, or several under their *decurio*, arrested the suspected. Their *centurio*, if a case were made out, caused a *notoria* (indictment) to be drawn, and committed him for trial by the *præses* (circuit-judge). Such was the institution. As the Empire declined in power and contracted in extent, it drew in the soldiers of every kind from the provinces. The provincials, recognising the value of the institution described, retained the districts with their titles, replaced the uniform paid soldiery by multiform unpaid bodies of men, every nation in accordance with its own customs and legal ideas. In our country the district-titles were translated into hundred and tything. After a few generations the origin of these titles was utterly forgotten. A pre-Conquest attempt to account for them, which has been handed down to us, was as complete a failure as are the attempts made in our current legal histories.

Three points, by way of further illustration, have occurred to me. First, that the application of the words *centuria* and *decuria* as district titles was in conformity with old Roman precedent; secondly, that certain soldiers mentioned in the Gospels were clearly *stationarii*; thirdly, that, in later times and throughout Europe, the entitling of districts from personal offices has been the rule rather than the exception.

1. The word *tribus* was derived from numbers, but very early lost sight of them, and ceased, in the mind of a Roman, to involve a numerical idea. It also very early ceased to involve even a personal idea, for it was applied by Servius Tullius to his divisions of the Roman soil; so *centuria* and *decuria* seem, apart from numerical and personal ideas, to have been applied by Augustus and Tiberius to constabulary districts.

2. In the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel is recorded the ministry of John the Baptist in the desert of Jordan in the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius. Three classes of persons—the people, publicans, and soldiers—asked of him rules of conduct. The people were the Jews of every grade; to them was given universally applicable advice. The publicans were officers of the Roman Government, authorised to collect the taxes, which they farmed; to them was given advice specially applicable to their besetting temptation. But who were the soldiers?

Let us learn this from the advice given to them, which was:

In the Greek original:—Μηδένα διασείσητε μηδὲ συκοφαντήσητε καὶ ἀρκείσθε τοῖς ὀφωνίοις ὑμῶν.

In the Latin Vulgate version:—"Neminem concutiatis, neque calumniam faciatis; et contenti estote stipendiis vestris."

In the English authorised version:—"Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages."

Two words, διασείσητε and συκοφαντήσητε, demand notice.

Σείειν and its intensive διασείειν had, as equivalents in Latin, "quaterere, concutere;" in English, "to shake, to shake thoroughly." They often bore a metaphorical sense, to stir, to harass the mind, and especially by legal process. The Basilica have a chapter, "περὶ διασείσεως," representing a chapter of the Digesta, "De Concussione."^a

Συκοφαντεῖν had, as equivalent in Latin, "calumniari, calumniam facere;" in English, "to accuse basely, to act as a base informer." It implied baseness in the agent, and the base often use falsehood.

^a B. lib. lx. tit. 24. D. lib. xlvii. tit. 13.

Διασεύσις and *συκοφαντία* alone were but moral crimes. It was only after extortion by their means that they came within the grasp of law, often of the *Lex Cornelia De Falsis*.

That *διασεύειν* bore here its metaphorical and special sense is clear from its being coupled with *συκοφαντεῖν*. So, in an oration of Antiphon, "*ἐτέρους τῶν ἰπευθύνων ἔσειε καὶ ἐσυκοφάντει*," "he was harassing at law and basely accusing others of the accounters," *i.e.*, the men who were under account for administration of office. The two verbs appear to form one phrase.

The Vulgate version of the Baptist's advice is perfect, and not only confirms the universal testimony borne by antiquity to the great linguistic learning of St. Jerome, but also shows that he was acquainted with the legal literature of his day.

The English version misses the metaphorical and special sense of the first verb, and somewhat narrows the sense of the second. I would suggest as more accurate, "Harass no man at law, neither accuse any basely; and be content with your wages."

Now, publicans were of course to be found in every part of a Roman province; but how came there to be soldiers actually serving (*στρατευόμενοι*) in the desert of Jordan during time of peace? History being silent, we may not invent a camp in the neighbourhood, a garrison in Bethabara, or Ænon, or Salim. Scarcely would discipline have permitted or curiosity have induced soldiers of any Roman camp or garrison to stray far after a Jewish preacher. That these soldiers were of an army of Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch of Galilee, halting on march against Aretas, King of Arabia, is a very ingenious conjecture of the commentator Michaelis, but nothing more.

Besides, what had soldiers of a camp or garrison to do with harassing at law or with basely accusing? Why should they be urged to be content with their regular pay?

The answers supplied by Mr. Coote's paper are clear and forcible. These soldiers were *stationarii*, local constables of the district where the Baptist was preaching. They, like the publicans of the same district, were led by leisure and curiosity to mingle with the Jewish crowds, understood the local language (for such must have been that used by the preacher), were conscience-stricken with his earnestness, and asked his advice.

As in the cases of the people and the publicans, the Baptist passed by legal duties, for his mission was not political, and touched moral duties only. He knew

the besetting temptations of *stationarii*, the same temptations which assail local constables of all ages and countries, and which are chiefly three, namely, to domineer over those under them, to court favour of those over them, to covet irregular gain. To domineer over the subject people was wrong, so far as it consisted in harassing by legal process; to court favour of the government was wrong, so far as it consisted in making, for show of zeal, charges which without breach of duty might be omitted; to covet irregular gain was wholly wrong. This third temptation lay at the root of the two first.

Bribery appears to have been so frequent at this period, as between the Jews and their masters of every grade, that if not offered by the former it was expected by the latter. The chief priests "gave large money unto the soldiers, saying 'Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the governor's ears we will persuade him and secure you.' So they took the money and did as they were taught." Here is shadowed forth a plan of bribing the Roman constabulary or garrison of Jerusalem upwards from private to commandant, so well established that the lower ranks, in faith of its success, readily ran the peril of military capital punishment. The same vice was found in a higher place, affecting a higher person—the place Cæsarea, the Roman seat of government; the person, the supreme Roman officer of the province. Felix "hoped that money should have been given him of Paul that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener and communed with him."

The three moral precepts corresponding to the three temptations were :—Harass no one at law. Act not as base informers. Be content with regular pay. The whole duty of man as a local constable could scarcely have been better summed up.

This event took place in the Roman province of Judæa; but we can refer the institution of *stationarii* in the same and neighbouring regions to a period many years before Judæa became a Roman province, when the Emperor Augustus was administering the yet undivided kingdom of Herod the Great; and we can assert its continuance in the four governments into which that kingdom was parted; for we find *stationarii* in Galilee while yet a tetrarchy.

In the eighth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and in the seventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, is recorded the miraculous cure of a centurion's servant at Capernaum. This centurion, who had dwelt with his family in the town long enough to be known for his kindness to the Jewish inhabitants, to have built them a synagogue, and to have formed intimate friendships with the chief of them, and who had, also, a definite status in a legion, a commander over him and

soldiers under him, he and those soldiers must have been the *stationarii* of the constabulary district or hundred of Capernaum. Otherwise we must conjecture that the cautious Augustus, or the suspicious Tiberius, had entrusted an unreliable Jewish tetrarch with a most dangerous instrument, a moveable Roman legion.

We may fairly conclude that the Roman emperors, from Augustus downwards, organised *stationarii* in every territory falling under their control, and, consequently, in Gaul and Britain simultaneously with the Roman occupation of each.

3. Titles of districts derived from those of personal offices, surviving even the memory of their derivation, and then applied to new districts of the same class as the old, are widely prevalent.

Let us take two instances, *parochia* and *comitatus*.

Early in the Christian era the originally Greek but adopted Latin word *parochus* acquired an ecclesiastical sense, as signifying a provider of things spiritual, a Christian minister. As Christianity became locally settled, a ministerial district was assigned to a *parochus*, and called *parochia*. The primary Christian *parochus* and *parochia* were a bishop and his diocese. *Parochia* in this sense was used by St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century. At first the bishop and his clergy dwelt together about the church of the *parochia* or diocese, the latter ministering as visitors to distant congregations. Next subordinate churches came to be built, the ministers visitant became resident near them, and subordinate *parochiæ* were constituted, which in process of time exclusively appropriated the title. Both *parochus* and *parochia* entered the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, as *paroco* or *parroco*, and *parochia*, *parrocchia*, or *parroquia*, in the limited senses of a curate and his cure. *Parochus* scarcely retained its place in official or legal Latin, but *parochia* appears in documents of several ages and countries.

The *comes* or count of an English or Norman king was originally called by his Christian name only, as Comes Haroldus, Comes Ricardus. When he received a district to hold and govern under his superior, such district was called his *comitatus* or county, and its proper name sometimes became part of his ordinary description. The Norman kings of England, warned by continental examples, checked the overgrowing power of their counts by reducing the connection of count with county as such to a mere receipt by him of a portion, the third penny, of its revenue, and placing every county under a vice-comes or sheriff, an annual officer immediately accounting to the Crown. Yet they not only retained the convenient title of county for these districts which had actually been ruled by

counts, but also gave the same title to new districts of the same class which had never been so ruled.

Thus in *parochia* and *comitatus* we have two classes of English districts, one ecclesiastical the other civil, bearing titles derived from titles of office, which are in that connection long obsolete. Both words have so long flourished apart from their roots, that those roots and the modes of growth therefrom have been utterly forgotten. Of this kind is, doubtless, the relation of hundred and tything to *centuria* and *decuria stationariorum*.

XVI.—*An Account of Researches in Ancient Circular Dwellings near Birtley, Northumberland. By the Rev. G. ROME HALL, F.S.A., Vicar of Birtley.*

Read March 11, 1875.

THE district with which these researches are connected lies in North Tynedale, in Western Northumberland. Until recently, when the North British Railway opened the Waverley route into Scotland, it formed an isolated portion of a remote valley, being shut in by the rivers North Tyne and Rede. Situated a few miles to the north of that remarkable monument of the Roman power, the Barrier Wall of Hadrian, and directly connected with it by the old Roman road, the Watling Street, on its eastern side, the district around the ancient village of Birtley, formerly *Birkley*, was still more secluded by the rivers bounding it on the north and west sides. This isolation, however, together with the fact that these wind-swept uplands, rising in places to about 1,000 feet above the sea, have never been under the plough, except for a short time in the beginning of the present century, has tended to preserve many vestiges of very ancient occupation. Primitive entrenchments or camps abound wherever such simple castrametation was possible, thrown up on the summit of the rounded hills, on the bare escarpments, or on the level plateaux beneath these higher positions, that characterise the lower series of the carboniferous formation. Even the great "craggs," the occasional protruded faults of columnar basalt, were made available as "coigns of vantage" by the early inhabitants. Associated with these ancient towns are many remarkable examples of terraced slopes, found chiefly on this eastern or sunny side of the valley, which were probably used for the cultivation of corn or other cereals in suitable clearings made in the primeval forests. Numerous single and family barrows, tumuli of earth or "cairns" of stones, also exist; and much information respecting the early vale-dwellers has been gleaned from the stone-lined chambers or "cistvaens" and their contents, which these burial mounds have yielded up to modern research.

Detailed descriptions by the writer of a portion of these various relics of antiquity, and of the remarkable heaps of scoriæ of iron of ancient but uncertain date scattered throughout the district, have been read at different times before the British Association (1863) and the Ethnological Society of London (1863-4), and published with illustrative plans and engravings of objects discovered in the *Archæologia Æliana*^a and the *Natural History Transactions of Northumberland and Durham*.^b

But hitherto nothing had been effected in the way of an exploration of the circular dwellings, the foundations of which can still be traced within the numerous early fortified towns or ancient entrenched camps, nor in the few isolated or clustered hut-circles that exist near Birtley or elsewhere in North Tynedale, especially in the Keilder district, and which are not defended by an external ditch and ramparts. Among the Cheviot Hills, to the north of the county of Northumberland, the late Duke Algernon had earned the thanks of archaeologists by causing the extensive British towns of Greaves Ash and Yevering Bell to be carefully examined, and the results to be recorded by the late Mr. George Tate, F.G.S. for the Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club.^c

The late Mr. Albert Way, F.S.A. in one of his communications to me, expressed his belief that in North Tynedale, as in other districts, there are various types of the hill-fortress, which might perhaps be reduced to chronological series by the efforts and friendly combination of different careful observers. He did not so much refer to their form, which he imagined to have been purely conditional as regards the exigencies of site, &c. as to their general strategic character. It was Mr. Way's impression also that many of these early camps or hill-forts may have been occupied, especially the "camps" close to the Anglo-Scottish border, as these are, down to a very late period; that the Celtic site may have been a town not only in Saxon but in earlier and later medieval times. For the hut-circle, he thought, was not distinctive of a period, and he considered that "bee-hive" dwellings were commonly used even so late as the days of Queen Elizabeth, the old Celtic type lingering long under the same local necessities or constructive convenience.

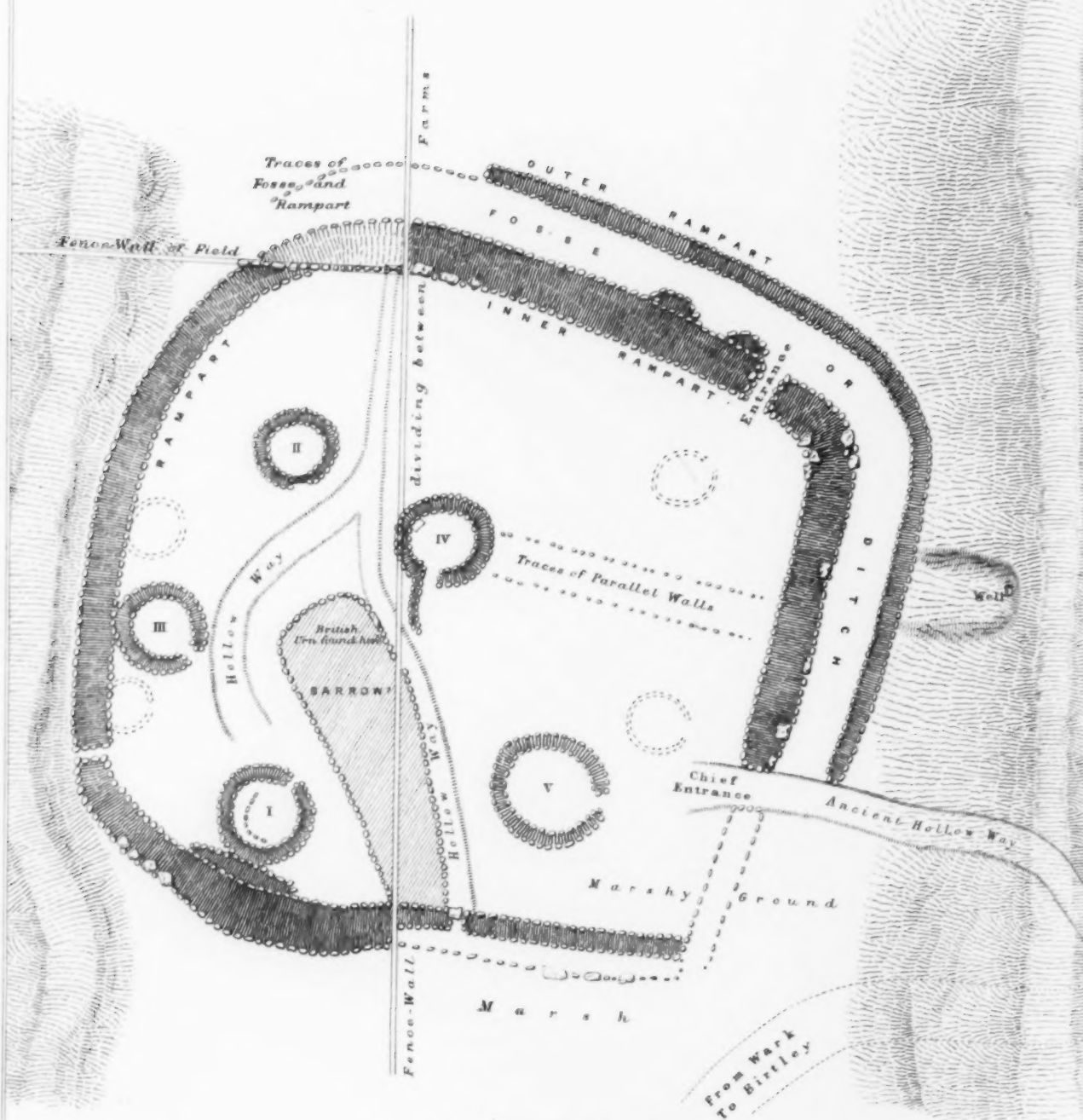
It was partly in order to test the interesting conclusions of so competent an authority that I began some time since, with the permission and sanction of the noble proprietor, the Duke of Northumberland, to make explorations within the

^a New Series, part 21, 1866, pp. 3-17.

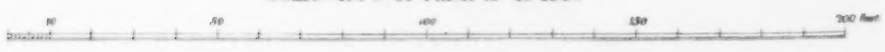
^b Vol. i. part ii. pp. 151-167, and vol. iii. part i. pp. 32-53.

^c "Transactions" for 1861 and 1862.

ANCIENT BRITISH TOWN WITH CIRCULAR DWELLINGS,
NEAR BIRTLEY, NORTHUMBERLAND.
Surveyed and Explored by G Rome Hall, F.S.A. 1873.



Scale— $\frac{1}{4}$ or 1 inch to 40 feet



L. F. Hall, Lith.

circular dwellings, whose foundation walls are still existing, in one of the smaller British towns near Birtley. In prosecuting these researches I have had the great advantage of the aid and co-operation of the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. of Durham, who has sometimes been engaged with myself in the excavations; and my thanks are also due to Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A. for valuable help which he has recently afforded me.

I regret that both from the lack of time and means to carry on the work properly the explorations have been intermitted of late. Instead of being engaged with ancient buildings, however interesting, my time has been fully occupied with the more pressing necessity of attending to modern buildings, in providing a new parsonage and school for the parish of Birtley, which once formed part of Chollerton parish, from which it was separated in 1865. This has now been happily accomplished, so that I hope in future to prosecute these researches with fewer hindrances.

CARRY HOUSE CAMP. (Plate XXVIII.)

This ancient entrenched town or camp, which appeared to me the most promising and was also easy of access, about one mile north-west from Birtley Village, lies, like some others in this district, on a level plateau of the freestone, sheltered on the east by a cliff which rises within a bowshot from its vallum and ditch.^a The western rampart has no fosse, but is defended by the ground sloping rapidly towards the river North Tyne. It is near an old farm-house, one of our smaller but still massive border *peles*^b or "bastell-houses," the name of which, *Carry* House, is not improbably of Celtic origin, referring to the *Caerau* or adjacent British towns. It may be here observed, as is more fully referred to hereafter, that both the earlier and later migrations of the Celtæ seem to have left their traces in the local names. This Carry House camp, though not so large as some in the neighbourhood, is remarkable for several peculiarities; for the number of

^a A copious supply of water would be obtained from a well at the base of the cliff, now obliterated by recent draining.

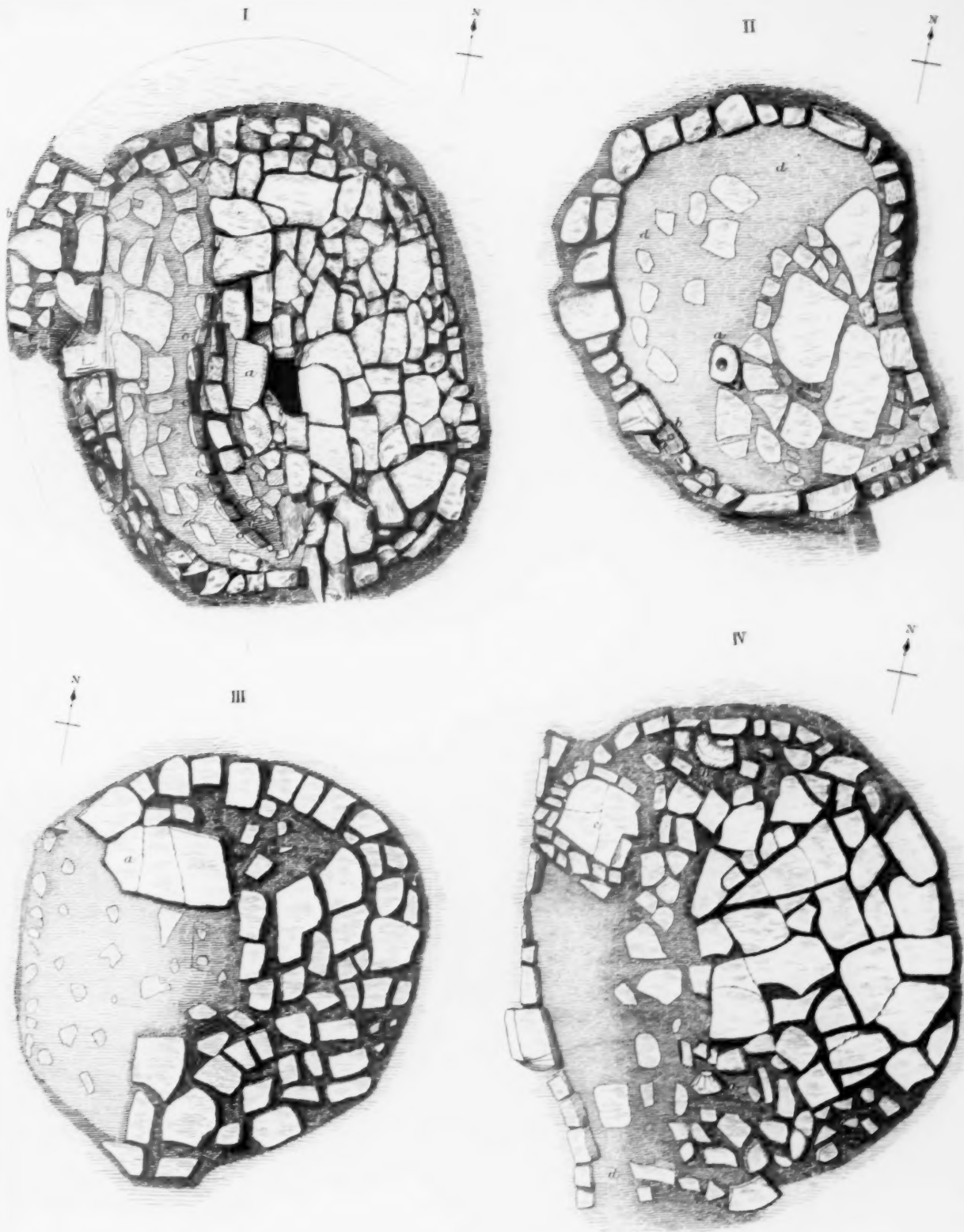
^b The larger peles or peel-towers, fortified baronial residences, are chiefly found in Tynedale, the earliest and most imposing being Chipchase Castle, near Birtley, the seat of Hugh Taylor, Esq. for a memoir on which see Nat. Hist. Trans. of Northumberland and Durham, New Series, vol. v. p. 295, *et seq.* by the writer; *Sax. pil. moles*, low Latin *pela*, *pelum*, a pile, fortress, originally applied to defences of earth mixed with timber, strengthened with *piles* or *palizades*, like the fortresses of the Britons, described by Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. v. 21.

hut-circles existing in the limited area which it incloses of about an acre, and which are chiefly grouped against the circumference of the fort westward, like those of a camp on Croydon Hill; also for the discovery, in draining the site a few years since, of a small cist, under a large tumulus within the town itself, which contained a cinerary urn; and further, for a fence-wall, nearly bisecting the whole inclosed space, which separates between two ancient farm-holdings, a proof that this camp has been a well known "march" or boundary—a landmark for many generations. Its form is nearly circular, and the rampart is about three yards in average width, formed of the rude and massive masonry of unhewn stones, placed in position without mortar, and sometimes called Cyclopean or Pelasgic, having large boulder-stones outside and set on edge inside for a foundation, smaller stones being placed above them in tiers, and the wall still remaining three or four feet high in portions of the circumference.

CIRCULAR DWELLING, NO. I. (Plate XXIX. fig. 1.)

We began an examination in a well-defined hut circle at the south-west of the camp. When the first spadeful of soil came to the surface, nearly at the centre, traces of oxydised bronze and iron mingled with the earth appeared to encourage the diggers. Carefully removing the sward and soil to the depth of about a foot, we came to the floor of the ancient dwelling, which had been laid down carefully with freestone slabs; being, in fact, in better condition than the floors of many of the old thatched cottages of the neighbouring village, as I remember them many years since, before they were entirely rebuilt by the late and present Dukes of Northumberland, on whose estate almost all these numerous remains of ancient occupation are situated.

Lying along a crevice between flagstones, close to a large centre slab (*a*) of ripple-marked sandstone (very similar to one which I have lately observed resting under the picturesque Countess Park "clints," or cliffs by the river side, from which it had fallen), was an ancient weapon, a long sword of early Saxon type, which had furnished us with the previous indications of the two oxides. Unfortunately it was not only much corroded by time and damp, but, from whatever cause (and many probable causes might be suggested, such as some sudden attack upon the town and dwelling, although no human bones were found near it to show that the former owner had come to a violent and untimely end), it was lying in broken fragments in a straight line. In its position, *in situ*, where it had fallen it was easy to give an approximate idea of its original length, which



C. F. Keil, Lith. London E.C.

CIRCULAR DWELLINGS NEAR BIRTLEY, NORTHUMBERLAND.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.

was about two feet nine or ten inches. Having dropped or been thrown down still sheathed in its scabbard of wood, tipped at the rounded point or chape with a bronze or copper plate for greater strength, there it had lain for centuries until it had almost entirely decayed away; and, except at the hilt and point, was greatly pressed out of shape, the wood and iron, and perhaps some extraneous substances, as it were, roughly amalgamating together. The sword-point yet remaining in its sheath, though in a sadly precarious condition, is worthy of notice. Its rusted hilt of iron, small and narrow in shape, no doubt had at first a perishable handle of ivory, horn, or wood, which has now quite disappeared.

The ordinary length of the early Saxon sword is stated to have been about three feet, and having been used only by cavalry, not being "the weapon of any one under the rank of a king's thane," it is no wonder that they are of rare occurrence, comparatively, in Anglo-Saxon interments. The Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A. found, with other Anglian relics, in a barrow in Kirby Underdale, Yorkshire, a similar but larger double-edged sword, with a longer and broader blade, being three feet long by two and a half inches wide. In the British Museum there is also a similar sword, but also a little larger, engraved in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*,^a which probably gives a close approximate representation of the original

^a *Horæ Ferales*, or Studies in the Archaeology of the Northern Nations, edited by Dr. Latham and A. W. Franks, 1863, plate xxvi. fig. 1. See also plate xxvii. and p. 202, *et seq.* where the Teutonic iron swords are well described. Here it is said that "Anglo-Saxon swords were of two kinds; one, the sword proper, was about three feet long, with a rounded point and perfectly flat; it had but little guard, and the handle was formed of ivory, horn, or some other perishable material; the other, the *seax* or *scramasaxus*, had a solid one-edged blade and a sharp point. The latter variety is rarely found in England, but frequently on the Continent." . . . "I assert that the sword was not the weapon of any man under the rank of a king's thane; that the spear was, as the representative of the spear—the bayonet—is to this day, the weapon of the common soldier; and that the swords found in the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and German graves, with skeletons, were broad swords, which could only be wielded by a horseman." He shows this by a reference also to the Anglo-Saxon law of *heriots*, especially in its revision under Cnut. Henry of Huntingdon, iv. A.D. 752, speaks of the *virī electi* of an army, or chosen troop only, having swords: "*Recentes quippe qui supervenerant, et virī electi erant, securibus et gladiis horribiliter corpora Brittonum findebant.*" Elsewhere he refers to the *proceres et fortissimi* as using both the sword and the double-edged battle-axe.

In the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* of the Rev. Bryan Faussett, edited by Mr. C. Roach Smith, 1856, plate xiv. fig. 6, is given one of the very few Anglo-Saxon swords found in Kent which has a pommel of globular form, similar in appearance to this Birtley example, but very small. At p. xxxv. *Introduction*, Mr. Smith says, "There is an extremely interesting representation upon a sepulchral monument at Mayence of one of the Roman auxiliary horsemen, armed with a sword, the very counterpart of the Anglo-Saxon weapon. It hangs by the side of the rider (fastened high upon the breast), who is spearing a prostrate foe; and behind the horse stands a foot-soldier with a couple of long spears like that used by the horseman," who belonged to an *ala* of the Norici, in the third century. Compare Tacitus, Agric. c. 36.

appearance of this North Tynedale sword of the same period. It was found in a Saxon grave at Battle-Edge, near Burford, Oxfordshire; is $36\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, with flat blade and broad tang, and retains several inches still in good preservation of the scabbard with the upper band of copper gilt and the metal edging of the chape.^a

In a hollow below the end of the centre slab and the adjoining flag-stone, as if secreted there, was found soon afterwards a bundle of short weapons of iron, also much oxydised, and adhering together, although the thong which bound them had perished. They consisted apparently of large and small spear-heads, as some had sockets for the ashen staves to be fixed in, besides two or three knives or daggers. Two of these iron weapons are in better condition than the others, although similarly corroded and broken. One spear-head is seven inches long, including the socketed part. If not also Saxon, and it is difficult to discriminate in such instances, they may probably be assigned to the late Celtic or Romano-British period, and are of the same kind as the spear-heads found in the Thames at Mortlake.

About four feet eastward from this hiding-place a small bronze ornament was discovered lying by itself on the surface of a flag-stone. It certainly had not the character of a fibula, and it was at first thought to have been attached to the scabbard or tang of the Saxon sword already described, or that it was perhaps a transverse projection from the iron strig for securing the wood or other perishable material which completed the handle or sword-hilt; or again, we supposed it might have been attached to the belt supporting the sword itself on the person of the Saxon thane or chief who once wielded it.

I am indebted to our Director, Mr. Franks, for pointing out to me the singular interest connected with the discovery of this antique relic. It seems undoubtedly to have been a portion of a British horse-buckle used for chariot trappings, the ring part being broken off or decayed away; and it is ornamented with projections that are of late Celtic, not purely Roman type. It is exactly like one of those buckles which are represented in the *Archæologia*,^b found in ploughing a

^a The swords found by Mr. Faussett in Saxon cemeteries of Kent, 1757-1773, *Invent. Sepulc.* Introd. p. xxxiv. are generally about 2 feet 7 inches in length, width near the handle $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and slightly tapering towards the point. The British glaive, still larger than the Roman *spatha*, is represented between three and four feet long. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (*Gladus*).

^b Vol. xiv. p. 90. In the Appendix to the *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. plate xxxvii. fig. 5, there is a similar buckle. Figs. 6 and 7 are also "rings probably for straps," and the various objects represented, found near Abergele, North Wales, formed, Mr. Franks thinks, p. 557, "part of the trappings of a horse." An ornamented ring of bronze and iron of similar "Late Celtic" type has been noticed recently by the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A. as found with chariot-wheels, &c. near Arras, in Yorkshire. See "British Barrows," p. 455-6.

field at Polden Hill, near Bridgewater, Somersetshire. They are described by Mr. C. J. Harford, F.S.A. and, if the ring portion had been preserved, fig. 5, plate xxi. would be almost a fac-simile. There the find included many buckles or perhaps bridle-bits, with the same characteristic projecting ornaments, and it was suggested that they belonged to some British chief in the Roman service. We may therefore permit ourselves to picture the use of this Northumbrian buckle, thus recently brought to light. If not afterwards used in securing the rude personal attire of some later occupant of the hut-circle, seeing that it was found alone, yet certainly it was first employed in securing the harness and horse-trappings of one of the earlier or later Romano-British war-chariots, which may often have passed for purposes of peace or war on its rapid course along the rough Celtic trackways or the neighbouring Roman roads of the Watling Street and the Wall of Hadrian, and of that supposed Roman cross-road which led from and through Birtley to Habitancum (Risingham) and Procolitia (Carrawburgh), which I have traced in local tradition and by portions of its pavement which still remain *in situ*.^a

The remaining objects which we found in this first circular dwelling were not of so much interest and value, although useful as indications of primitive occupation; one or two fragments of Roman pottery, the bottoms of vessels, the first being of a flattened form and of leaden-gray colour, produced by the "smother-kiln." This is of the same kind of ware which Mr. John Evans, F.S.A. has described in his "Account of Excavations in two Roman Villas at Box Moor, Hertfordshire;"^b and it is of frequent occurrence in the various stations on the Roman Wall in Northumberland and Cumberland. The bottom of the small vessel of light stone-coloured pottery resembles one or two examples in the British Museum which were discovered in the Roman kilns in the New Forest. It is no doubt part of a Roman cup, the ware of a rather less gritty or stony character than those New Forest specimens which are represented in the *Archæologia*.^c From a coin of Victorinus, who reigned in Gaul and probably in Britain,^d A.D. 265 to 267, having been discovered amongst them, they may be considered examples of later Roman

^a *Archæologia Æliana*, part xxi. 1866, New Series, vol. vii. pp. 19-21. Cæsar's description of the war-chariot, *De Bello Gall.* iv. 33, is well known. The Rev. William Barnes, B.D. in his "Notes on Ancient Britain and the Britons," pp. 62-67, compares the British *rhodawg* with the iron-chariots of the East.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 65. See Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," 3rd edit., p. 436.

^c *Ibid.* p. 91, plate iii. figs. 11 and 12.

^d Coins of Victorinus are very numerous in the remarkable and recently discovered Roman treasure-well of Coventina at Carrawburgh, the property of Mr. John Clayton, F.S.A.

fictile work. In the recently-discovered "Forum" of the Roman town of Cilurnum (Chesters), in which coins of the Constantinian family have been found, I picked up lately the bottom of a vessel of similar stone-coloured ware of a larger size.

Two other fragments also met with in this hut-circle, very thin and of a bright red colour, seem to be flakes from the inside of a Roman vessel of Samian ware. Besides these, the half of the upper stone of a quern of mill-stone grit, twelve inches in diameter by four in height, a fossil from the limestone formation, *Productus giganteus*, hollowed out, and probably valued by the primitive collector, some water-rounded pebbles, perhaps used as pounders, small pieces of surface coal-shale, and many stones reddened by fire, a proof of prolonged occupation, were met with throughout the floored space.

As to size and constructive arrangements this circular chamber or dwelling was nineteen feet in diameter, measuring within the walls, which were themselves from a yard to a yard and a half in width, and were formed with considerable care. Large binding-stones were inserted, (b) and the unhewn blocks were set up more carefully inside than outside, generally on edge, which is also, as we have seen, a characteristic of the external rampart-wall of the camp; and the hut-foundations still remain about two feet high. One peculiarity, suggestive, like the finding of the early Saxon sword, &c. of its having been the dwelling of the principal inhabitant of the ancient fortalice, was noticeable in the fact that it alone of the hut-circles which have as yet been opened out had been divided into two rooms or compartments. Close to the wave-ribbed centre slab was a cavity of about a foot square, into which, to judge from its appearance and position and traces of charcoal observed in it, there had been sunk at one time a substantial post or prop of timber, fitted to support the simple conical-shaped roof of thatch. From this central support ran in a kind of segment of a circle a double line of upright stones, (c, c) separated a few inches from each other, as if marking off the place of the rude partition, perhaps of finer wattled work of peeled withies, in which the ancient Britons excelled,* the upright posts of which could be inserted between them. The floor of this inner chamber was slightly raised above the level of the outer room, and, even if there were no partition, it may have served, when covered with the skins of animals, the spoils of the chase, as a kind of divan or couch for

* The Latin *bascauda*, as well as our word *basket*, is a form of the Welsh *basged* or *basgawd*, from the British *basg*, plaited work. Juvenal, Sat. xii. 46, ranks the imported British baskets among the precious possessions of the most wealthy Romans. Compare Martial, lib. xiv. 99, and *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. part ii. p. 367.

the inhabitants. It was also flagged throughout, though not so carefully, and the space thus inclosed gradually narrowed from its entrance, where it was five feet wide, till it coalesced with the outer wall of the hut-circle, being there only two feet in width.

CIRCULAR DWELLING NO. II. (Plate XXIX. fig. 2.)

The next primitive dwelling which we investigated was a smaller one on the north-west of the same British town, its shape being an irregular oval, thirteen feet six inches by about twelve feet. Here the entrance to the hut-circle was plainly marked, whereas the door-way of the first one could scarcely be traced; but this entrance faced towards the other circular dwelling. A curious arrangement was observed at *c*, four thin slabs being set up in a right line across the entrance, rising four inches above the level of the floor both within and without, as if to serve the double purpose of keeping out rain from the inner space and of propping up some rude kind of door. The part of the hut-circle nearest to this entrance was almost as well flagged as in the first dwelling, and with even larger stones, two of them measuring three feet by two feet six inches, and eight inches thick. The inmost space, which was of less extent, had merely a floor of clay, well beaten down (*d, d*), on which here and there a few slabs were resting, or were sometimes piled one upon another, having almost the appearance of being portions of a second floor or of primitive seats. Many small fragments of iron and charcoal, and several stones showing the action of fire, were scattered about. The upper stone of another hand-mill of hard freestone, ten inches in diameter by six high, was found built into the wall of the dwelling, at *b*, on the left of the doorway. No other implement of stone or metal came to light here.

But one important discovery, if I may so term it, rewarded our labour, in the form of a small freestone slab of an irregular oval shape (*a*), eight inches long by seven broad, and three in thickness, which has in its centre one of those mysterious cup-depressions or circular markings incised in the stone itself, which were first discovered by the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. on the rocks near Doddington, in North Northumberland. As we now know, similar artificial markings have since been found on many other rock-surfaces from which the conserving covering of turf has been removed; also on upright and prostrate monoliths and cromlechs; and, which is especially to be noted here, on the long-buried slabs of pre-historic cists or stone-lined graves of the Stone and Bronze age

and Neolithic period, sometimes with other associated cup-markings and concentric circles, in various parts of Great Britain from Argyleshire to Cornwall.

This remarkable incised stone, now in Mr. Greenwell's collection at Durham, was placed not far from the hand-mill on the outer edge of the regular flagging of stones, and rested upon the clay floor. It is of the first type represented and described by Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart. being of the most simple and common form, and its artificial character was proved by the pick-marks still plainly evident when closely examined. Though of frequent occurrence on rocks and monoliths outside of and not far distant from such ancient Celtic entrenchments, he remarks,* that "Within these archaic camps no lapidary circles and cups have yet, I believe, been found in immediate connection with the stones of their hut-foundations, circles, and pits—the dwelling-places of their olden inhabitants." Hence arises the interest that attaches to this cup-marked stone in the second hut-circle of the Carry House Camp.

The circular cavity itself is of the most usual size, that is, 3 in. by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, and over half-an-inch in depth. It is a singular coincidence that not long before this discovery Mr. Greenwell and myself had found an incised stone^b with a single cup-shaped depression, similar to this in every respect, in size, form, &c. in the hitherto-undisturbed centre of a cairn or tumulus in the parish of Kirk Whelpington, where we were making explorations on the property of Sir John Swinburn, Bart. The small incised slab was there discovered in an inverted position, and it gave secure standing-ground to a cinerary urn of British pottery of an early type, which was also inverted upon the stone. This urn, of which part of the rim had been broken by the fall of one of the protecting stones piled around it, contained the calcined bones of an infant, apparently only a few weeks old. In this same neighbourhood I accidentally found, among the *débris* thrown up in draining different fields, two other stones, small like these, with a similar cup-shaped depression incised upon each. One, now in my possession, which is of porphyry, had been subjected to the action of a very strong fire, perhaps during the process of the cremation of the body with which it may have been deposited; and upon it, in addition to the central cup, were the segments of two concentric circles. The remaining portion of the sculptured stone was wanting, having been broken off notwithstanding its exceeding hardness.

* *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, &c.* p. 125. See "*British Barrows*," p. 7, especially p. 342 and note, and "*Parish of Kirk Whelpington*," p. 433.

^b This stone has been since presented by Mr. Greenwell to the British Museum.

CIRCULAR DWELLING No. III. (Plate XXIX. fig. 3.)

The shape of the third dwelling examined in this ancient town was found to be more nearly circular than the last, and it was built against the western rampart of the fort. The entrance is not at present discernible, the wall foundations being very imperfect. In diameter it is about fourteen feet and a half, and the stone floor is here almost complete except at the upper side. It has a gentle slope downwards from west to east, towards the interior of the camp. The entrance was probably at the lowest level, and the marked inclination of the floor would have the effect of keeping the dwelling free from damp. Not so many signs of burning were observed here as in the other hut-circles. A little from the centre, on the north side, was found a large slab or hearth-stone(*a*), five feet long by four broad, and nine inches thick. Only a fragment of a hard sandstone quern, a quarter of the upper millstone, and a thin semi-circular fragment of another of gritty sandstone, were here discovered, the latter being the only portion which we had yet found of a *lower* mill-stone.

CIRCULAR DWELLING No. IV. (Plate XXIX. fig. 4.)

We now began our operations close to the centre of the camp, where the circular foundations, though indistinct, marked out a larger dwelling than the two last explored. Its diameters were, from north to south, sixteen and a half feet, and from east to west, seventeen and a half feet. The fence-wall, which bisects the ancient town, and had so long divided the two farms of Birtley Shields and Carry House from each other, is built upon its western rim. Many more traces of the action of fire appeared in this than in the other hut-circles, and were noticed throughout the whole inclosed space, leading to the supposition that it at least, if not the other dwellings also, had succumbed to the flames in some sudden onslaught of an enemy upon the fort, or by accidentally taking fire, as in the instance of an early dwelling whose destruction by the flames is graphically described by the Venerable Bede,^a perhaps occurring at the close of the latest or Saxon period of its occupancy.

^a Eccles. Hist. bk. iii. c. 10, p. 125, Bohn's edit. It seems doubtful from this legendary history whether the dwelling in question was British or Saxon, in which the pilgrim from the grave of St. Oswald,

The floor of flag-stones was here again very perfect, except for a little space near the entrance. The accretion of soil below the green sward was slighter than elsewhere in the camp, and made its examination easy. There was no difficulty in distinguishing the entrance to this dwelling(*d*), which faced the general entrance of the town itself at the south-east; and the doorway was protected by a projecting wall that flanked the approach on the west side of the hut-circle, just as in an adjoining early hill-fort a projecting flanking rampart exists at the entrance of the camp for additional defence. Here we obtained the upper half of a hand-mill of red granite,^a which was standing up from among the stones of the floor(*a*), about a yard distant from the doorway to the right, and was ten inches in diameter, chipped around the edges both at top and bottom; also a fragment of another granite quern, a segment less than one-fourth of the under millstone. Rising above the level of the floor on the other side of the hut, and near the wall, was a boulder of another kind of granite(*b*), a foot and a half high by sixteen inches in width and thickness. It was like the grey granite of Criffel and Ayrshire, of which, I believe, boulders are not infrequent in the superficial glacial drift of the neighbouring valley of the Liddell also, and which the same glacial action may have carried over the watershed under Peel Fell, and deposited in North Tynedale. Other fragments of the same species of granite, split up by hand, were lying close to this massive block, which had probably been brought and placed there for the purpose of being shaped into the upper and under stones of another large hand-mill, such as I have obtained elsewhere in the district, formed of the same material. Two or three smooth flat pebbles of felstone, used perhaps for hones or sharpening-stones, or for pounders, were near the quern first noticed. A small piece of the thin red Samian ware, a mere flake, and a portion of the rim of a vessel of the same Roman pottery, were observed, while fragments of charcoal or charred wood, and many reddened stones, as already remarked, existed in abundance over the whole area.

The peculiar arrangement of the large square hearth-stone in this hut-circle is worthy of notice. It consisted of a series of smaller stones set upright all around

"King and Martyr," of Northumbria, at Macerfield, took refuge for a night. (The site of the memorable victory of Oswald over the British Cadwalla at Heavenfield is about six miles south-by-east from Birtley.) The habitations of both Britons and Saxons would be made of similar perishable materials, although in form those of the conquered race, "*more Scottico*," would be readily distinguishable from the dwellings of their conquerors.

^a Probably from the Shap district in Westmoreland. The blocks or "boulders" of red and grey granite, frequently found in North Tynedale, prove that two currents of the glacial drift converged in the valley.

it, carefully fitted into their place, so as to stand a few inches above the level of the hearth. The stone itself (c), especially on the western or inner side, bears evident traces of the long-continued action of fire. The same peculiarity was also observed in opening out a hut-circle at the south-east of the Countess Park camp, a much more extensive and very perfect example of a British fort or town, three times the area of this, which lies about a mile further to the north.* Here a tempting field for exploration exists, in which we could only make a slight beginning, the whole space being thickly covered with trees and underwood. These, however, to a large extent, have been recently removed by the woodman's axe, so that in future the work of excavation would be less laborious. In this Countess Park hut-circle we found a rough stone floor almost complete, and against the wall near the entrance to the right hand was a well-arranged hearthstone, smaller than that of the Carry House dwelling just described, being only two feet by sixteen inches. This primitive fire-place, which also bore marks of long usage, was inclosed by seven slabs set on edge, one at the south and two on each of the other sides, and the stone itself was a ripple-marked sandstone, similar to the centre slab of the first dwelling opened in the Carry House camp. This "firing" is so little observable in the hearthstones of some other circular habitations, that, in order to account for it, we might surmise that the early dwellers used the other hearths in common, or preferred to do their primitive cooking *sub Jove*, outside their huts, like many savage and half-civilized tribes at the present day in various parts of the world.^b

Such is an account of the results of the researches, so far as they have yet been prosecuted, in the ancient circular dwellings near the village of Birtley in North Tynedale. That the Carry House Camp would repay further exploration I have no doubt, especially as there still exists within its entrenchments the

* *Archæologia Eliana*, New Series, vol. vii. p. 4. Since our partial examination here the hut-circles have been nearly obliterated by draining operations.

^b On a projecting spur of the Cross-Fell range, where it abruptly descends into the great basin or plain of Cumberland, close to the village of Castle-Carrook (which still retains its Celtic name), are several ancient circular pit-dwellings of undoubtedly British origin. They have not yet been properly examined, as they will be, I hope, ere long. But outside, upon this well-sheltered plateau, were found, in digging for lime, two earth-ovens, stone-lined circular pits of about a yard in depth, bearing marks of long-continued use by the primitive inhabitants of the adjoining dwellings in the reddened stones of which they were formed.

Sir Samuel Baker has described the similar modes of cooking food, and the excellent results obtained in this way, in Abyssinia. "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," ch. xxi. pp. 361-2, edit. 1872.

very singular feature of a large cairn occupying a considerable space amongst the once inhabited dwellings of the town. About twenty years since two men who were draining a marshy hollow in the camp came to a part of the barrow where a large stone obstructed their progress. Close to it they found the small cist and its inclosed urn already mentioned. As it contained only some dust, the ashes of cremation, instead of, as they anxiously hoped, coin of the realm of ancient or modern date, the urn, which might have helped towards the decision of some interesting questions if it had been preserved, unfortunately met with summary and immediate destruction at their hands. The mass of material in this cairn, which was once much greater and still stands about four feet high, being of oval form, almost like a long barrow of the earliest British period, has been much diminished, as well as the rampart of the camp and the walls of the circular dwellings; because from time to time they have been used as a quarry, ready to their hands, by the builders and repairers of the adjoining and intersecting fences of the two farms. In these modern walls many large stones, taken thence and often much reddened by fire, are plainly to be seen. It is quite usual in this district, as elsewhere, to find early burial mounds placed outside the chief entrance of an ancient British town, as on the neighbouring Gunnerton Crag; but it seems inconsistent with their feelings of reverence with regard to their departed relatives and friends, whose shades had already entered *Annon*, the Celtic *Sheol* or *Hades*, the Land of the Dead,* that an interment should be placed by the early date-folk within an inhabited site. An examination of this barrow might lead to valuable results.

Besides this there is a large field for further research in the other British towns which are so numerous in the Birtley, Gunnarton, and Keilder districts of the vale of the North Tyne. When time and means may permit I hope to examine into the circular dwellings of the Countess Park Camp, and on the Gunnarton Crag, where some of the hut-circles are on a larger scale than any others that I have met with in Western Northumberland.

In conclusion, I think we are certainly justified in inferring, from the results which I have already obtained and have now described, that there have been at least three periods of occupancy of these ancient dwellings by three different races, the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon. The relics of early occupation are few, and are valuable chiefly as indications. This is indeed usually the case, as *primâ facie*

* Davies's Celtic Researches, p. 175. It would be an interesting discovery if this tumulus proved to be the last resting-place of the last British chief of the ancient fort or town, or of the owner of the early Anglo-Saxon sword found in hut-circle No. I.

it is natural to expect to find but few relics of the far-distant past in such explorations of ancient habitations, even when made within such extensive towns, or rather closely-connected series of hill-forts, as Greaves Ash near Linhope, under the Cheviot, and of Yevinger Bell, overlooking the famous field of Flodden.

FIRST OR CELTIC OCCUPATION.

There seems no reason to disbelieve, however, that the first builders and occupants of these very ancient towns and dwellings were of the Celtic race, living in pre-Roman times. We need not enter here on the very difficult question of the aboriginal occupation of the country by the dolicho-cephalic and brachy-cephalic races, the long heads and broad or round heads, and the precise way in which they most probably succeeded the one to the other, or became co-occupants of the soil. But in the numerous unmistakeably Celtic names, some cognate with the Gadhelic branch, as "knock," "lough," "Glen-dhu," &c., and others with the Cambrian or Welsh, as "Caer" (popularly given to these ancient towns), "cairn," "linn," &c. we may perceive that the two great branches or migrations of the Celtæ from their Aryan home westwards have thus left their indestructible traces in the local nomenclature. The character also of the pottery, rudely scored and ornamented, is of the true British type, and they have been found in adjoining barrows. And, above all, perhaps, the cup-marked stone discovered in the second hut-circle of the Carry House Camp, as an example of primitive rock-sculpture, we, with the late Mr. Albert Way, F.S.A. may consider to be "an unique aboriginal indication" in Northumberland. These seem to be so many various proofs converging towards one and the same conclusion, namely, the primary occupation of these ancient dwellings and forts by the Celts or ancient Britons, it may be for centuries before the Roman conquest, even before the march of Agricola up the valley, by the Watling Street, or the building of Hadrian's Wall from the Tyne to the Solway.

No fragment of flint, I may remark, has yet been found within this camp or its inclosed hut-circles. But in a similar hill-fort near Pasture House, in the parish of Wark, and directly opposite to the Carry House fortlet, on the other side of the valley, numerous nodules and flakes of flint were discovered some years since, together with two granite querns, in ploughing over the site in a field then under tillage. A kind of manufactory of flint implements seems to have

been established there in pre-historic times, like a similar one noticed by the late Duke Algernon of Northumberland, near Rothbury; and the materials, if not found as boulders in the upper bed of the river, must have been brought as valuable importations from the Yorkshire coast—probably from near Whitby, whither they have been rolled by currents from the coast farther south.^a I found a thumb-flint and scraper near the cinerary urn of the eastern cist of a large barrow which I opened a few years since at Warksbaugh, in a field on the margin of the river, where many flakes and chippings of flint were known to have been picked up by the farm labourers. Mr. Way told me that he possessed a flint arrow-head from the valley of the North Tyne, and Mr. Tate, of Alnwick, informed me that he had found specimens of true flint in Lewis Burn, and a small boulder in the Whickhope Burn, near Keilder.

Celtic relics of gold have been discovered in the district near to Birtley; as, for example, a necklace of gold beads, now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which came to light on the demolition of a cairn at Four Laws, near Ridsdale.^b About ten years since a gold armlet was found near Bellingham, about four miles distant, but “under the pressure of the absurd laws regarding treasure-trove it was consigned to the melting-pot.”^c

Other interesting illustrations, though less intrinsically valuable, of the life of the West Northumbrian Celts of pre-Roman and Romano-British days, the race of which an inland sept and hill-tribe first constructed and inhabited these ancient dwellings and entrenched towns, have come into my own possession or that of my friends and neighbours in the beautiful valleys of the North Tyne and Rede.^d These may be briefly described. Two celts or axes of felstone, one unfortunately broken, were found last year in draining a field near Woodburn, and are whitened on the surface by weathering, like one found in Solway Moss, now in the British Museum, which is figured by Mr. John Evans, F.S.A. in his “Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain.”^e They are of the Neolithic age, being ground and polished. The broken celt is of more massive character than the perfect one,

^a Nat. Hist. Trans. of Northumberland and Durham, vol. i. part ii. p. 164, 1866. The Rev. John Thompson gave me a small javelin-head of flint, found on the Warksbaugh farm by a labourer in 1874.

^b See *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i. p. 1.

^c North Tynedale and its Four Graynes, by Edward Charlton, M.D. D.C.L. p. 8, 2nd edition.

^d Through the kindness of Mr. Hugh Taylor, Chipchase Castle, Mr. Hunter Allgood, Nunwick, the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. Mr. Arkle, High Laws, Morpeth, and Mr. Hall, Dunnshouses, Otterburn, several implements and weapons of stone and bronze were exhibited when this paper was read.

^e Fig. 91, p. 138.

and may have been perforated in the head portion which is lost. A very large and excellent specimen of the same type was also not long ago discovered in Redewater.

A bronze axe, of the winged celt or palstave type, like that engraved by Sir John Lubbock,^a and in excellent preservation, was found in 1865 in a peat-bog near Elsdon. There is a very interesting handle of wood for a similar bronze celt in the British Museum, found in the salt-mines at Hallein, in Austria. Another bronze axe of a more usual type was found at Bellingham. A beautiful bronze javelin-head of later type, looped at both sides, was discovered about twenty-five years since in cutting a drain near Otterburn. I am informed that it is very similar in size and shape to one found in the county of Tyrone, in Ireland, and another from Peel, in the Isle of Man. Two bronze spearheads, unsocketed, were brought to me by the mason who found them, thrust point downwards, eighteen inches below the surface of the soil, when he was uncovering the rock in the Park House Quarry, near Chipchase Castle. Within a few feet of the same spot, hidden in a cleft of the rock, two small socketed celts of bronze were discovered last year by another quarryman. It will be interesting to watch future operations in the same quarry in the hope that other ancient implements may be brought to light since so many have already been found there. A bronze leaf-shaped sword, discovered with another similar one in ploughing a field at Brandon, in the parish of Ingram, not far from the ancient British town of Greaves Ash, in the vale of the Breamish (of which there has been no notice hitherto so far as I am aware), may well illustrate the kind of weapon in use among the Celtic tribes or septs in North Tynedale and elsewhere in the flanks of the Cheviot range in the bronze period. In type it is considered to be more like the swords from Ireland than the English specimens such as those which have been discovered in the bed of the Thames. The late Dr. Thurnam^b gives a very similar example from Glamorganshire. Mr. Jewitt, F.S.A. also represents a bronze sword closely resembling it.^c In Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times* is a *facsimile* of this Northumbrian sword, the specimen there given, however, being from Ireland.^d The mark left by the handle, probably of bone or wood, which has perished, is still on the blade where it had been riveted to the metal, and, to judge from the appearance of part of the blade, the swords seem to have fallen across each other as they lay on the ground until their recent discovery.

^a *Pre-Historic Times*, 1st edition, fig. 2, pp. 13 and 15. See also *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. pl. xxiii.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. p. 480, fig. 176.

^c *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, fig. 299, p. 191.

^d P. 16, fig. 14, 1st edition.

These ancient implements or weapons, although not found in the course of our explorations near Birtley, are of special interest, being from the same locality and not previously described. They serve as representative weapons of the first, the aboriginal or Celtic, inhabitants of the old fortified town and its circular dwellings recently explored.

SECOND OR ROMANO-BRITISH OCCUPATION.

As it seems thus certain that some tribe or clan of the Celtic stock constructed and first dwelt in these North Tynedale hill-forts, so also we infer that their descendants of the pure British or else of Romano-British race continued with slight intermission to inhabit these primitive abodes, perhaps during all the centuries of the Roman rule in Britain, and even after the recall of the legions to the defence of the Eternal City. It may be that at first the Britons who lived to the north of the Roman Wall, entrenched in stronger positions, such as the *Gunnar* Heugh and *Mill-Knock* Camps, and in more numerous hill-forts and valley fastnesses, opposed themselves still more resolutely than their compatriots, who lived to the south of the Great Barrier, to the victorious legionaries of Agricola and Hadrian. In the Late Celtic bronze buckle used in the trappings of their chariot-horses we possess a remarkable proof of the existence, even among the Britons so far north as the vale of North Tyne, of the *Esseda*, *Rheda*, or *Corvinus* of the Roman writers, the travelling or war-chariot, whatever its name might be, that in these far-distant days used to pass in its rapid course along the ancient native trackways or Roman roads of the district, if not before, yet certainly during, the long period of the Roman supremacy. As in the barrows at Arras, near Godmanham, among the Yorkshire Wolds, the buried remains of more than one old British chariot have been found, interred together with its former possessor and his war-steeds,^a so here in the hut-circle of the Carry House Camp among the Northumbrian hills we have come for the first time in the two northern counties of England upon a slight but sufficient indication of the same kind of vehicle and the same mode of warfare, in which, like the ancient Greek heroes, the Britons of this age excelled. Their marvellous dexterity in the very

^a History and Antiquities of the County and City of York, in which see the account of the discovery at Arras, by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, in 1816-17.

turmoil of battle, as we all know, called forth Julius Cæsar's undisguised admiration.^a

But here, too, within these ancient circular dwellings, the Roman masters of the land, the second dominant race, also appear on the scene. They have left a few relics, faint but unmistakeable evidence of their civilizing influence, probably also of their presence, in the scattered fragments of stone-coloured and Samian ware, now first brought to the light of day after the lapse of so many centuries of dark oblivion.

THIRD OR SAXON OCCUPATION.

It appears to be equally plain, from the singular discovery of the Saxon sword of iron, still sheathed in its bronze-tipped scabbard, that a third race came into possession of the ancient town as conquerors in the land, like their Roman predecessors, and also of an alien stock. Teutons, not Celts or Romanised Britons, they drove out the original owners or the then inhabitants, who may have suffered before this from the fierce Pict and Scot, and who were apparently contented to live on in the self-same way and on the same site, within the same entrenched and strongly-palisaded camp, occupying the same circular dwellings, only renovated or repaired as to wattled wall and thatched roof, as circumstances required or necessity urged them, perhaps for hundreds of years afterwards, in medieval times and under Norman rule.^b

It is a remarkable coincidence, which I must not omit to record, that near the village of Barrasford, about four miles to the south-east of Birtley, we have an

^a De Bello Gallico, lib. iv. c. 33, already cited. This mode of fighting with chariots seems to have been limited to the Britons, and not to have been in use among the other nations of Europe in the Roman period. As we know from many references in the Old Testament and from sculptures on the ancient monuments, war-chariots were common among the Jews, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Trojans. Hence, Geoffrey of Monmouth argues that the Britons were of Trojan origin. Scythe-bearing chariots (ἄρματα ἐρετριφόρα) held a prominent position in the military arrangements of the ancient Persians especially. See Xenophon's Anabasis, bk. i. c. vii. §§ 10, 11; described Ibid. bk. i. viii. 10, on which is a note in Dr. White's edition. It is said that scythed-chariots were first introduced by Cyrus the Great, but, according to Diodorus, Ninus possessed one. Compare Josh. xvii. 18, where Gesenius (Hebrew Lexicon) translates "chariots with scythes;" occurring also Judges, i. 19, iv. 3, *et passim*.

^b This may be an allowable conjecture, but no proof of a later occupation of British sites than that of the early Saxon invaders, as in this Carry House Camp, has been discovered hitherto, so far as I am aware. Further explorations may throw light on this point.

instance of a similar Anglo-Saxon appropriation of a British work. This was a secondary (Saxon) interment, found in a Celtic barrow or cairn. The projecting part of the *umbo* or boss of an Anglo-Saxon shield, discovered there above the primary interment, was of extraordinary dimensions, and several ornamental discs of silver, varying in size, were found with it, which Mr. H. Maclauchlan, F.G.S. brought to London soon after they came into his possession, about ten years since, to show to our Director, Mr. Franks, and to the late Mr. Way. These silver discs had served in part to cover the rivet-heads which attached the boss to the wooden shield, and the relics are now in the museum at Alnwick Castle,^a with some fragments of an Anglo-Saxon sword which was found also above the site of the British interment in the same barrow. The primary interment was known to be Celtic from the character of the rudely-scored unglazed pottery, a broken urn which was brought to light at the same time in excavating the railway cutting that passed through the great cairn then standing on the brow of the deep ravine of the Swinburn, near the Barrasford Station.

And thus, without entering at present into any minute details connected with the primitive life and social customs of the ancient inhabitants, and whether or no we admit an early or later medieval occupation of the Carry House, and other adjacent camps and hut-circles, of which we have up to the present time obtained no decided indications, we may safely make some interesting deductions. From the data already ascertained and described in the preceding pages we have arrived especially at this one definite fact, which is of some historical and archaeological interest and significance, that the three earliest races of mankind of the Aryan stock, who possessed Britain one after the other, are represented, in the sure evidence of characteristic relics found *in situ*, as the successive occupants of the circular dwellings of this ancient British town.

^a The ancient weapons, &c. found in the course of these explorations in the Carry House Camp, near Birtley, have also found an appropriate resting place in the same museum.

XVII.—*On the Alban Necropolis, said to have been covered up by a Volcanic Eruption. Communicated through W. M. WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A. by PADRE RAFFAELE GARRUCCI, Hon. F.S.A.*

Read June 24th, 1876.

TEN years have passed away since the Duc de Blacas,* at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of France, discussed the question of the celebrated Alban Necropolis, discovered in 1817, by Giuseppe Carnevali, *beneath* an undisturbed mass of peperino, while nearly the same space of time has elapsed since the revival among ourselves of the question of the discovery of vessels anterior to the last volcanic eruption round about the crater of the Alban lake.

The Duke had no doubts as to the truth of this discovery, which, moreover, was strengthened by the legal document that Carnevali caused to be drawn up and duly attested. Among the attesting witnesses are certain workmen, who depose as to their knowledge of the frequent finding of nails, bits of iron, and like objects, *in* the solid mass of peperino.^b It is true there were complaints at the time on the part of Signori Fea and Valadier, but not of a nature to raise doubts as to the truth of the transaction. They only asserted that the discovery of the vessels took place in 1816, and was made by the labourers employed in levelling the road leading from the Albano highway, by the Pascolare of Castel Gandolfo, to the villa of Prince Giovanni Torlonia, so that from that time forth Professor Ponzi considered the fact proved beyond all doubt, since, as he writes, "the discovery was authenticated in legal form, and cannot, therefore, be controverted."^c

Then we read a similar opinion given by Sir John Lubbock, MM. Pigorini,

* *Mémoire d'une découverte de vases funéraires près d'Albano.* Paris, 1865.

^b Visconti, pp. 38-40. "Lettera al Signor Giuseppe Carnevali di Albano, sopra alcuni vasi sepolcrali rinvenuti nelle vicinanze della antica Alba Longa." Roma, 1817.

^c *Il Periodo Glaciale.* Roma, 1865.

Fiorelli, De' Rossi, Rosa, and Ponzi,^a who in 1866 made an excursion to the Pascolare di Castello. In the same tone also L. Ceselli refers unreservedly to the finding by Colonel Alessandro Gariboldi, at Fontana di Papa, between two beds of peperino, of a cist of the same stone, containing six vessels, with a bronze knife, all which were presented by him to Ceselli.^b Then comes Signor M. S. De' Rossi's account of other discoveries of a like nature, among which the most remarkable are those of Alberico Cittadini and a certain Evangelisti.^c So that it truly would appear an act of temerity to attempt opposition in the face of such and so many discoveries and witnesses.

Nevertheless, being here upwards of twelve months at Villa Torlonia, close to Castel Gandolfo and the Pascolare, I thought it well to occupy myself with these discoveries, and to make myself fully acquainted with them. This the more, since, in 1865, the Duc de Blacas had written to me that the Society of Antiquaries of France had not given credit to the statement of Signor Cartacci, of Genzano, that a melted *semis* had been struck out of a mass of peperino in blasting the rock. I must, however, confess that during all this time, notwithstanding my very close researches, I have not succeeded in discovering anything of the kind, so I betook myself to interrogating the workmen, who for many years have quarried the peperino, and broken it up for repairing the roads; as also the proprietors, who every year carry on works in their vineyards. I will now state the results of my inquiries.

The labourers, and especially a foreman of road works, who has been so engaged above twenty-seven years, and directs the quarrymen employed all the winter in breaking up the solid mass of peperino with wedges and hammers, as also those labourers whose duty it is to break the stone into small pieces for mending the road from Albano to Marino, by Castello, all agree in declaring that never, during the whole course of their works, have they found any kind of manufactured objects *in* the peperino--neither in the mass, nor when broken up for repairs of the road. And it cannot be said that they have not paid attention to

^a Notes on Hut Urns, &c. from Marino, near Albano. *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. p. 99-123.

It should be stated that an unfortunate error has occurred in the plates of this paper. The Etruscan vessels (pl. ix. figs. 1, 2, 3, and pl. x. figs. 2, 5) were found, not at Marino, but in the famous Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri. Four of these vessels are in the Vatican Museum and one at Parma. We owe the discovery of this error to Count Conestabile, of Perugia, who points it out in his work, "*Sovra due Dischi in Bronzo*," p. 29. Torino, 1874.

^b *Dell' Arte Ceramica Primitiva di Lazio*, p. 20. Roma, 1868. Also Notice by W. M. Wylie, in *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. p. 487, pl. xxxi.

^c *Secondo Rapporto*. Roma, 1868.

the point, for they are given to such inquiries—so much so, that they are apt to deceive themselves, and others also. Not long since they kept a piece of peperino for me under the belief that it contained a fragment of brick, but I had no difficulty in proving to them that it was but a red stone. So that, with regard to any object of human industry met with *in* the solid peperino, I have not been able up to the present time to obtain evidence from those who alone are in a position to furnish it.

We now come to such discoveries as apply to the vessels found *under* the strata of peperino, and which rest on evidence of both ancient and modern date. It was but natural on my part to begin my examination with the latter, as I should be able to interrogate the very witnesses who were quoted in support of the judgment pronounced. This done I could proceed with more confidence to examine the depositions of Carnevali, which are of more ancient date.

The first witness, therefore, whom I examined, was Alberico Cittadini, steward of his Excellency Prince Alessandro Torlonia, and who has resided in Castel Gandolfo for several years. Besides my own knowledge of his education and capacity, he seemed well qualified for the purpose by the honourable title of “intelligent proprietor,” which was bestowed on him by Signor Michele Stefano de’ Rossi, who, *on his authority*, relates the discovery of sixteen or twenty vessels “on the removal of the peperino when the vineyard was cleared, and he (Cittadini) collected, with his own hands, these ancient vessels.”^a But since De’ Rossi further asserts that Evangelisti, an adjoining proprietor, “while breaking the edges of the first stratum of peperino, in the usual yellowish volcanic sand,” had found, in March, 1868, fifty Latian vessels, together with many bronze fibulæ, and a knife, or lance, also of bronze, the greater part of which vessels were broken, or dispersed, and that such dispersion furnished the six vessels and the bronze knife in Ceselli’s collection, I begged Cittadini to obtain an authentic account of the discovery from Evangelisti, reserving to myself to examine Ceselli. The following is Cittadini’s reply, which I feel obliged to give here translated verbatim:—

“MOST REVEREND FATHER,

“Castel Gandolfo, 19th Dec. 1874.

“I feel it my duty to reply to your esteemed letter of the 17th instant, in which you asked me the following questions:

“1. Whether in clearing my ground, which fronts the Via Appia Nuova, precisely opposite the chapel of S. Sebastian, I had found some fifteen or twenty vessels, partly Latian, partly Etruscan, *under the peperino*, which I had to break up for the purpose of planting a vineyard there?

^a Secondo Rapporto, p. 29.

"2. Whether under any circumstances I had ever heard or known of vessels found *in* or *under* the solid peperino, or any other objects that would attest the presence of man during the period of volcanic eruption?

"So far as I am concerned I can say, that, in the course of the clearing, I found fifteen or twenty vessels, the greater part of which were broken, and I still have some of the fragments, but they were all *above* the peperino—*none* *beneath* it. I admit further that I was questioned some years ago on the same subject by a person well versed in archæology, and it may be that my replies were misunderstood; or I may not have explained myself as far as was required to clear up a fact so interesting to science, and the safe advance of history.

"At your suggestion I have also questioned Andrea Evangelisti respecting the discovery of certain vessels, and a bronze knife, during the trenching of his ground, which adjoins mine. Evangelisti affirms this, and states that he met with all these objects, not between two beds of peperino, or in the earth, but all beneath a volcanic substance, less solid than peperino, commonly called *cappellaccio*. I will conclude by saying that I have often heard people speak of antiquities found *under* the peperino, but I protest that I never saw them with my own eyes.

"Your humble servant,

"ALBERICO CITTADINI."

The clear result of this remarkable evidence of the "intelligent proprietor," Alberico Cittadini, is, that the two discoveries of vessels, which, according to De' Rossi, took place "when the peperino was cut," and "while breaking up the edges of the first stratum of peperino," are not verified. They never occurred except in the *cappellaccio*,^a or in the vegetal earth. To show, however, how little we can rely on such accounts, De' Rossi's further statement as to the vessels and bronze knife is incorrect. Ceselli assures me—as indeed he had before stated in print—that the aforesaid six vessels, and the knife, were found by Colonel Gariboldi at Fontana di Papa, in a cist of peperino. He further tells me his opinion is that this cist, which was found between two beds of peperino, had been inserted there from the road which passes in front.

After these statements it matters little when De' Rossi writes of the Ariccia find of *æs rude* and *æs signatum* as having been met with between two beds of peperino, and of the melted *semis* as issuing from *within* a solid mass of peperino. I am a contemporary of both discoveries, and the information I sought at the time, and obtained, was of very different character. Thus, the treasure of *æs rude*, above mentioned, was found while grubbing up the roots of a tree; and the

^a It may be well to explain that this *cappellaccio* is a substance composed of volcanic sand and the detritus of rocks, immediately overlying the actual volcanic peperino stone. Hence, perhaps, its name. *Cappellaccio*, though sufficiently solid, like a gravel stratum, is easily broken and worked with common field implements. Peperino has to be quarried like other stone. Padre Garrucci observes elsewhere that the only mode of reconciling the discrepancies in the accounts of finding the vessels is to suppose that some of the narrators apply the term peperino to this solid *upper* stratum of *cappellaccio*.—W. M. W.

semis flew up in the air, on the firing a mine, without any one being able to say whence it proceeded.

It now remains for us to examine the celebrated document of Carnevali, which has never been done before. Indeed it has carried such a degree of weight with it as to cause the belief that "the discovery was authenticated in legal form, and therefore could not be controverted."

Carlo Tomasetti deposes, Feb. 1817, to having opened the ground in his vineyard at Monte Cucco, near Marino, on the road to Castel Gandolfo, for the purpose of thoroughly breaking it up. That on the 28th Jan. 1817, "while engaged in breaking an elongated mass of peperino that slopes down from the hill, he met with several ancient cinerary vessels, all broken by the weight of the mass above them, with a single exception. That Signor Carnevali of Albano consulted him (Tomasetti) as to the probability of finding more vessels if a fresh excavation and cutting were effected in a solid mass of peperino known to exist in another part of the vineyard in its natural state. Signor Tomasetti replying in the affirmative, the aforesaid Signor Carnevali resolved on carrying this out."

Tomasetti further deposes that on the 4th of February he went with four excavators, and six witnesses, accompanied by Carnevali, to open the ground. In these fresh works were found "broken vessels, and fragments of earthen jars. These were not particularly small, nor in a heap together, but lying detached at some little distance from each other. One single vessel was perfect—that is, all the fragments were there. The fractures were seen to be of ancient date."

The details of this excavation, made in the presence of witnesses, are thus given in the document:—"In the beginning of the excavation there was found to be barely one palm and a half of natural soil. Beneath was the solid peperino, which, when broken up, proved to be two palms thick, and as the work progressed the peperino was found to increase in thickness, while that of the superincumbent earth diminished. Below this solid mass of peperino was a stratum of whitish earth, almost chalky, which was continuously excavated to a depth of three good palms. Three hours after commencing our work we found an earthen vessel in this ground below the fractured peperino. On measuring this underlying ground at the point where the vessel was met with it was found to be one palm and a half thick." I have already given the passage in which he goes on to speak of the fragmentary vessels. It is however very remarkable that none of these fragments would correspond with each other, so as to furnish an idea of their original form, excepting those of the well-known one "that had the shape of a stewing-pan."

The perfect resemblance of the two excavations of Jan. 28th and Feb. 4th is also memorable. In the former case fractured vessels were found, one only being perfect, but in pieces; in the latter case also fractured vessels were found, one only being perfect, but in pieces. This Tomasetti also mentions that Carnevali trenched some ground at a short distance from his vineyard, "where he found a quantity of cinerary vessels still existing."

Now none of the people of Castello can call to mind that Carnevali ever had a vineyard in the Pascolare of Castello which he could have trenched, or that any one else ever did so on his account. We know however, from another quarter, that the vessels which came into his possession really were exhumed in the Pascolare, but by the workmen of Valadier, in 1816, as is proved by the complaints of this celebrated architect, and Signor Fea, conjointly, in the public journals. Other vessels, among which must be enumerated those sold by Carnevali to the Duc de Blacas—of which no one has been aware till now—were found by the Surgeon Giuseppe Marini. This, however, was not in the Pascolare but in a vineyard of his, at a spot called Fosso del Orso, near the Alban Emissario.^a These vessels, sixteen in number, were lying on a level in the *cappellaccio*, one before the other, sound and entire. The four vessels found by the steward of Prince Errico Barberini at Vignole, near the Alban Road,^b are also sound and entire. So too are those found by Cittadini on his property at St. Sebastiano, near Castello, and so for the most part are those found by Evangelisti in the *cappellaccio*. From all these finds then we may deduce that Tomasetti's vineyard at Monte Cucco had been broken up at some remote period, when the sepulchral vessels of this portion of the Alban Necropolis were also broken up, and so completely disordered that it was impossible to put together and reconstruct the fragments, as Carnevali and the witnesses then present describe.

We see from these stories of the discovery of vessels in banks of *cappellaccio*, of sand, of volcanic ashes, homogeneous and compact, that the narrators would have us believe that the vessels were not *deposited* there, but buried by the volcanic eruption; and therefore that the Alban Necropolis existed before the period when the volcano became extinct, and the Alban Lake was formed in its extinct crater.

I affirm, therefore, that the very accounts given by the persons who maintain the necropolis to have been buried by the volcanic eruption prove that the cinerary

^a Scavi della Necropoli Albana, p. 9. Prato, 1875.

^b Op. cit. in pl. a, b, c, d, p. 11.

urns were introduced into the *cappellaccio*, sand, or ashes, *after* such volcanic eruption. If this were not so, it would be incumbent on the narrators to define and indicate to us the actual site and surface of the necropolis, which they tell us was covered by the eruption. Surely they do not pretend that the ancient peoples, so observant of religion towards their dead, had exposed the ashes of the burned corpses in their *olle* on the open space, bare of all defence! Thus far, however, we have read nothing to this effect. But, in lieu thereof, attestations are set before us, made with all serious earnestness, as to the ordinary finding of such cinerary urns in a state, as it were, of immersion; sand or ashes, compact and homogeneous, being above, below, and around them. So to speak, they were cemented up in these substances, affording a novel spectacle of cinerary urns, in some aerial necropolis, surprised, overwhelmed, and cemented up, by a sudden volcanic eruption!

In order to put an end to such dreams it is necessary to state that these urns were introduced in the sand, or ashes, or *cappellaccio*, by means of excavations, and covered up again with the same substances, which the modern explorers have fancied the hand of man had never disturbed.

When Giuseppe Marini, whom I just now named, saw the sixteen vessels exhumed before his eyes at the Fosso del Orso, which were afterwards taken from him and sold to Carnevali, he, being skilled in the matter, observed that the *cappellaccio* where the vessels were buried seemed to have been moved, while on the right and left of the spot it remained firm and solid. This he often mentioned, as I am informed by his son, the Rev. Signore Domenico Marini, a trustworthy person, who assures me he perfectly remembers his father's account of the matter, and also the vessels themselves, which he recognized in the plates of Alessandro Visconti and the Duc de Blacas, on my showing them to him.

The ancient people of Alba practised inhumation and cremation indifferently, just as did the Prænestines, in whose necropolis, however, the use of inhumation prevailed. I am persuaded that by the Albans also the rite of inhumation was much practised. I must put my readers on their guard that, when mention is made of cinerary urns, they must not always conclude these to have been designed to receive the ashes of the dead, though I have retained the term in this discussion in the sense erroneously imputed to it. In fact the Alban urns—like those of the Etruscans and the Latins—are for the most part but mere ornaments of the tomb. They generally have no covers, which would hardly be the case had they been destined for cinerary purposes.

The Alban custom was to sink a grave either in the sand or the earth, and if

this was not of sufficient depth they cut *into* the solid mass of peperino which underlies the earth. There they deposited the corpse, with the vessels around it, and then covered the whole with the soil or sand taken from the grave. Above this were heaped up the fragments cut from the peperino, so as to form a covering of the tomb; and occasionally, instead of this heap, they substituted a great slab of peperino.^a

Of this kind are the tombs found during the recent works in the vineyard of Gaudenzio Testa, the particulars of which I have collected. This Alban soil and sand consume not merely the flesh of bodies interred but also the bones, so no surprise is created at finding groups of vessels here and there without any traces of skeletons.^b

Testa assures me that in all the various tombs the only human remains he ever met with was a single lower jawbone. In fifty-six tombs which I opened at Palestrina I only once found human bones. I will not now repeat what I have explained in another work as to the discoveries in the Testa vineyard.^c I must however mention that these have been the means of dispersing, like mist, the

^a Such a quadrilateral tomb, cut in the solid peperino rock, and covered with a slab of the same stone, was opened in the Testa vineyard in Padre Garrucci's presence. Of the skeleton once there only the lower jaw and teeth remained. With it were two bronze fibulae of the late Etruscan or Latin type. One of these has two bronze rings suspended on the *acus*. There were also an iron spear-head and two hand-made earthen vessels.

Another interment contained two iron spear-heads and a vessel with broken rim. It is of black pottery with mamillary protuberances around it, and vandyked linear ornamentation.—W. M. W.

^b Light sandy soil, such as this in question, admits the air, and is unfavourable to the conservation of human remains.

^c Scavi della Necropoli Albana, fatta da Gaudenzio Testa, e da Sante Limiti, nel 1874, descritte ed illustrati da Raffaele Garrucci d. C. d. G. Prato, Tipografia Giachetti, 1875.

This little work enters further into details, and should be read by any one wishing to study the subject in all its bearings. We learn more particularly from it that Padre Garrucci himself was present at the discoveries in Testa's vineyard, when the ground was broken to a depth of 17 palms without finding anything in the peperino or in the ground beneath it. In the volcanic soil above the peperino were graves which yielded vessels, with iron spear-heads and bronze fibulae. Testa had made from the graves a collection of vessels similar to the usual Latian vessels. One of these is identical with the one figured in *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. pl. xxxi. fig. 2, from the Ceselli collection. Another resembles a very remarkable one of the mamillary form, figured in *Ceselli's Ceramica Primitiva nel Lazio*, tav. i. 15.

An important result of Padre Garrucci's personal supervision is that he finds these interments correspond closely with those he formerly investigated at Palestrina, which enabled him to fix the date more closely. It will be remembered he favoured us with an account of these Palestrina interments in *Archæologia*, vol. XLI.—W. M. W.

pretended very remote antiquity—called pre-historic—of the Latian vessels, hand-made, sun-baked, and of the form and rough material peculiar to these people. In fact the Alban Necropolis, in its full extent, cannot claim a higher antiquity than the fourth or fifth century of Rome. Such is the deduction furnished by facts and comparison.

To crown the whole comes the famous discovery of the spear in the vineyard of Sante Limiti, which also, like that of Testa, is adjacent to Monte Cucco, where Tomasetti carried on his excavations. Now this weapon, which is of bronze, was buried in a bank of volcanic *débris*, which, by reason of its being rather hard, is here termed *cappellaccio*, and even *peperino*. A little removed from it was the ferrule of the spear-staff, and by it an entire vessel, with its cover, and fragments of others. In the same spot, but at a higher level, were some tombs covered with large tiles, on which I read the stamps DOMITI and L. TARTAGVITERONIS. A tile was also found with a circular stamp, which reads—

EX P DOMITIAE DOMITIANI.

SVLPIC.

But to return to the spear, I consider this discovery of the greatest value, and fatal to our opponents, as showing that at the period when it was interred there were no volcanic eruptions. In my "Scavi della Necropoli Albana"^a I have given my reasons for considering this weapon to be

^a In this work Padre Garrucci gives the length of this remarkable spear as 58 centimètres, or more than 23 inches. The stem is not rounded, but polygonal, and the central rib is very flat, which suggest Italic affinities, but Padre Garrucci asserts positively that the spear is neither Greek, nor Etruscan, nor Latin, but Keltic. He ascribes its presence here to the second Gaulish invasion of Italy, v. c. 394, which he supports by these references—

Dionysius Hal. (Excerpt. Maï, l. xiv. c. xii.) Οἱ Κελτοὶ τῇ Ρωμῇ ἐκ δευτέρου στρατεύσαντες τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀλβανὴν ἐπόρθουν.

Polybius, ii. 18. παραγενομένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Κελτῶν εἰς Ἀλβαν στρατεύματι μεγάλῃ.

Livy, lib. vii. cap. xi. "Fœdæ populationes in Lavicano, Tusculanoque et Albano agro sunt factæ."—W. M. W.



BRONZE SPEAR AND FERRULE
FOUND AT ALBANO.

Keltic. If so, we may conclude that before the coming of the Kelts to the Alban hills the eruptions had ceased. It is also certain, from the concordant testimony of historians, that the Kelts—that is, the Gaulish Kelts—devastated the Alban hills in the year of Rome 394.

XVIII.—*An Account of Excavations made on the site of the Chapter-house of Durham Cathedral in 1874. By the Rev. J. T. FOWLER, M.A. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Durham.*

Read April 15, 1875.

THE sad story of the demolition of the Chapter-house at Durham has been so often told that it need not be repeated here. The eastern portion of that fine Norman building having been levelled to the ground at the end of the last century, its site came to form a portion of the Deanery garden, formerly the centry-garth or cemetery of the Abbey. In the summer of 1874, while a party of friends staying at the Deanery were surveying the spot, some curiosity was expressed as to whether the floor remained buried under the soil, and whether any part of the stone chair, the *sedes episcopalis*, in which the bishops were placed at their enthronement, was still in existence.* An iron rod forced into the ground in several places was found to be stopped by something hard, at a greater depth westward than eastward, the difference being caused by the steps of the apse. A small excavation a little to the east of the present east wall revealed the inscribed slab of Ralph Flambard, and another on the site of the chair brought to light the lower courses of the semicircular eastern wall; no trace however of the chair itself could be found. It was now determined by the Dean that the removal of the earth should be proceeded with until at least all the central portion of the floor should be exposed, in order that the grave-covers indicated in Browne Willis's plan, of which one had been already found, might again be seen. When this was done it was found that the floor-slabs had been removed from all the five graves in this portion of the Chapter-house; two of them had disappeared altogether, three of them (displaced), with a fragment of another, remained. The condition of the graves will be described in connection with their contents, each

* See Carter's plates, and Rites of Durham, Surtees Society's edition, p. 48.

separately. The foundations of the walls and buttresses remained, as also portions of the floor pavement, consisting of square stones, as shown in the plan.^a (Plate XXX.) The steps to the apse were found in a mutilated condition. Furthermore it appeared that, below the level of the graves of the bishops, the earth was full in all directions of interments of men, women, and children, the adult skulls being of a distinctly long-headed type, and so, as is believed, marking a cemetery belonging to the period previous to the expulsion of the secular married canons by Bishop de St. Carileph in 1083.^b Here was also found a mass of masonry, shown in the plan, and probably a portion of the buildings of Ealdhun's time;^c also a portion of a small stone crucifix (see woodcut), which may be as early.

The three grave-slabs which remained were severally inscribed—



STONE FIGURE.

✠ RANNVLFPVS EPISCOPVS.

✠ WILLS : EPISCOPVS : SECVNDVS.

✠ GAVFRIDVS EPI(SCOPVS).

and were those of Ralph Flambard (1099-1128), William de St. Barbara (1143-1152), and Geoffrey Rufus (1133-1140). They were found lying in this order, the middle one wrong end first, and all shifted about half their length eastward. (See plan.) They were all of freestone, of the simple character shown in the plan, and of an average thickness. All were more or less injured by the fall of the groining at the demolition. Not being *in situ* they were of little use in the identification of the graves,

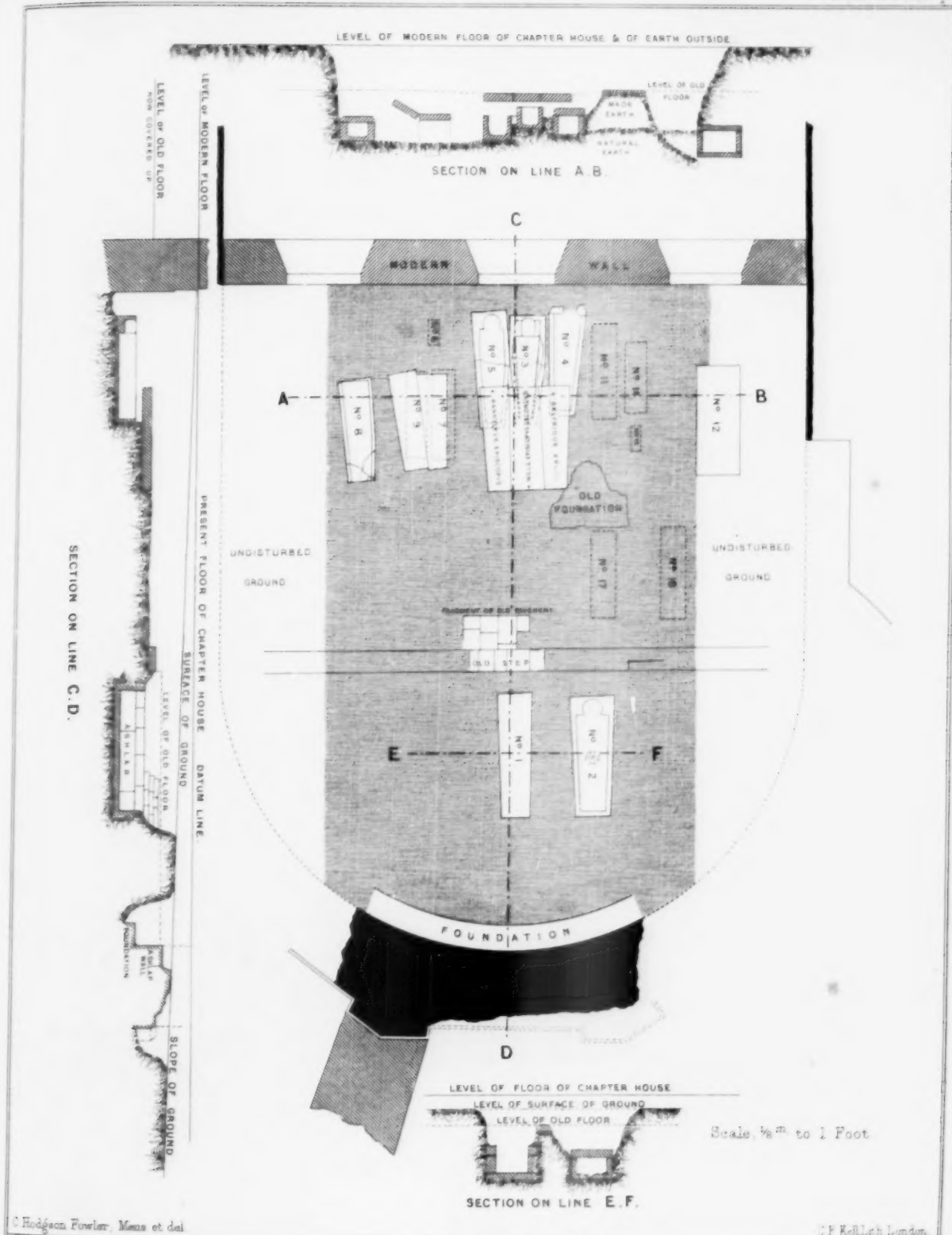
for which Browne Willis's plan was our only guide. It was however known that Bishops Kellawe and De Insula were buried above the step, but which of them lay to the north and which to the south was a matter that the plan alone decided.

In addition to the freestone slabs was found a fragment of one of Frosterley marble, with a plain cross, and part of the first letter of a name, possibly that

^a The plan was carefully made by Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.


^b Simeon's *Hist. Eecl. Dunelm.* lxii. Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, Pref. part i. p. lvi.

^c Ealdhun's church was begun in 995 and completed about 999. It was called "The White Church," and Reginald of Durham briefly describes it (cap. xvi.) This church was pulled down, and the present cathedral begun in 1093 by Bishop Carileph. The present chapter-house (partly demolished 1795-7) was built by Bishop Geoffrey Rufus in 1133-40.



DURHAM CATHEDRAL, PLAN OF EASTERN PART OF CHAPTER HOUSE, AS EXCAVATED IN 1874.

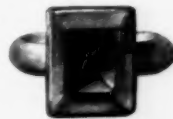
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.

of Hugo de Puteaco, Philippus, Richardus de Marisco, Nicholaus de Farnham, or Robertus Stichell, but not any of those whose names begin with A, E, or W. The "Rites of Durham" gives the list of the bishops buried in the chapter-house, "as apperith by their names ingraven upon stone with the signe of the crosse  annexed to every of there said names"—p. 47; and mentions further that the marble stones over Bishops De Insula and Kellawe had "ther immages in brass curioslie graven," so that the fragment cannot have belonged to either of these, but to a plain slab like the rest. The Cistercian regulation that grave-slabs in cloisters were to be level with the floor, so as not to be in the way of the feet of passers-by, represents the general arrangement where there was much passing about, and no where would raised tombs be more inconvenient than in a chapter-house.

The notes on the graves of the five bishops will now follow in chronological order, and the rest of the interments, which are all those of persons unknown, will next be described in the order in which they came to light. A few remarks on the objects discovered may fitly conclude the present account.

RALPH FLAMBARD. (No. 4).^a (1099—1128.)

At the spot indicated by Willis as the grave of Bishop Flambard was found a stone cist partly overlaid by the slab of Geoffrey Rufus. It was covered in by six rough top-stones united by mortar, and none of them had fallen in. Over it grew a large thorn-tree. The grave had been broken into at the head, and a great rough stone thrust into the hole. On raising two of the covering stones it was perceived that this stone had crushed the skull, and let in some earth. The next stone being removed we could see the body, retaining something like vestments, and all the principal bones *in situ*. The right arm was nearly stretched out at full length, the left rather more bent. On the right side, among the bones of the hand, was a gold ring with a sapphire, somewhat dark in hue.^b By holding in a lantern we could see to the other end, the legs being distinctly visible, as also the bones of the feet in two heaps,



RING FOUND IN NO. 4.

^a These numbers refer to the order in which the graves were examined.

^b It may be noted that the ring of Flambard, who ruled the bishopric for twenty-nine years, is much worn in comparison with those of Rufus and De St. Barbara, the former of whom ruled for eight years only, and the latter for ten. It was the *signet* ring of Flambard which he offered at the High Altar in Durham Abbey, and which was long attached to his deed of restitution. See Surtees's *Durham*, i. xx., note.

and covering a great part of the body was a considerable quantity of some thin brown textile material. The long thread-like fibres of the thorn-tree root presented an extraordinary spectacle. On every side they had found their way through minute cracks and close joints, and were stretching themselves forth for life and nourishment among the dust of death.

" Old *Thorn*, which graspest at the stones
That name the under-lying dead,
Thy fibres net the dreamless head ;
Thy roots are wrapt about the bones."

IN MEMORIAM, II.

The covering stones were now replaced, and nothing more was done at this grave till a few days after, when the thorn-tree which had stood in the way of its being entirely opened was taken away and all the covering-stones were removed. In clearing the earth from these, a few vertebræ and other bones were found scattered about in it. The grave being now open from end to end, it was observed and recorded on the spot that the body was placed on the back, undisturbed with the exception of the skull (see above). The orbits and basial and facial bones were all gone. Both hands were placed over the pelvis. The feet did not reach within a foot of the end of the grave. The pastoral staff (Pl. XXXI.) lay on the right side of the body, its head with the concavity of the crook upward, impacted between the skull and the recess in the head-piece of the grave.

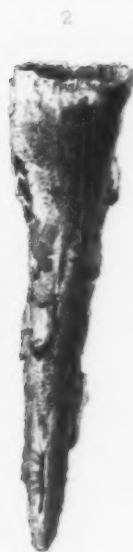
Traces of the wooden shaft extended at intervals the whole length. The spiked ferule lay just outside the right foot. Between the right elbow and the spine were the crumbling remains of a pewter chalice. At the bottom of the coffin was a layer of wood charcoal broken up into small pieces.^a There were no signs of there ever having been a wooden coffin. The middle part of the body had the following remains of vestments or graveclothes upon it. First, a superficial layer of very thin dark brown material in mere fragments,^b then, immediately below that, and resting on the spinal column, a band of light brown closely-woven tissue, apparently silk, about 3½ inches broad, turned over at the edges and hemmed.

^a Durandus speaks of burning charcoal with incense being put into graves, and of the charcoal by reason of its enduring quality remaining as a testimony that the earth is no more to be put to common uses.—*Rationale Div. Off.* vii. 35.

^b This was found on microscopical and chemical examination to be a resinous material, which had probably been spread on some fabric that had totally perished, to form a kind of cere-cloth. It appears to possess some of the peculiar properties of crude lac, from which shell-lac is made, and which, though an Oriental product, may have been well known in Europe in the twelfth century.



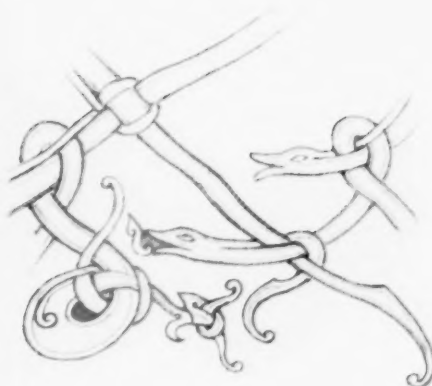
$\frac{1}{2}$ Size



$\frac{1}{2}$ Size



Full Size



CROSIER HEAD AND FERULES, FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE, DURHAM.

This band was reflected at the top, over a considerable quantity of very delicate silk, finer in the thread, and less close in texture. The band came down in front as far as the pelvis, and may have formed the centre of a chasuble. Flambard's seal shows such a band as if behind this vestment (Surtees's *Durham*, plate i. of seals). It is evident from the seals and other representations of the period, that chasubles were then made of exceedingly thin and flowing materials. Here was also found a small piece of cord, knotted at the end, and covered with some tarnished metallic wrapping.

In the folds of the vestments were noticed two or three dried-up flies, which, no doubt, had been there ever since the interment. There was a mass of chocolate-brown substance which was perforated as if by larvæ, and considerable portions of the short hair of the body were also observed.

The following measurements and observations were afterwards taken by Professor Rolleston, to whom we are indebted for the notes of all the skulls and other bones, carefully taken on the spot by himself.

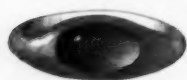
Skull:—extreme length 7·2; extreme breadth 6·3; cephalic index 87; typically brachy-cephalic; circumference 21·6; vertical height (approximate), 5·9. Forehead sloping, as is usual in the skulls of strong men. The highest point in vertical contour is posterior to coronal suture. Back of the head vertical, and great occipital protuberance. Occipital spine greatly developed. All the outlines of the head well filled out. Sutures obliterated internally. The frontal sinuses are moderately developed. Fragment of lower jaw powerful.

Length of femur 19 inches, tibia 14·7, height 5 ft. 9 in.

On examining the bottom of this grave it was found that under the charcoal above-mentioned was a thin layer of lime or mortar, then a layer of common earth about 1½ inch thick, then mortar, then rough stones laid in mortar. At the extreme foot of the grave, filling up its south-east angle, and extending into the soil under and beyond the stone sides, was a heap of human bones in very good preservation, among which were two iron nails with traces of wood adhering to them. It appeared as if when this grave was made they had come upon a previous interment, and had huddled the bones together at the foot of the new grave. There were three or four ribs, a left scapula of large size, and having in its thinnest part a circular hole about ¼-inch diameter, around which the bone looked altered in structure as if the perforation had been made during life; the right scapula, an atlas and axis, and other vertebræ, &c. impacted, and under the mortar and stones which formed the bottom of the grave. The skull and other bones were afterwards found. (See after, Nos. 10 and 23.)

GEOFFREY RUFUS. (No. 5.) (1133—1140.)

In the place indicated by Willis was found a stone coffin full of earth, and destitute of covering-stones. The lower part of it was overlaid by the slab of Ralph Flambard. This having been removed the earth and stones were carefully taken out, and the skull was found in an almost perfect condition in its proper



RING FOUND IN NO. 5.

recess. By following the line of the right arm, a gold ring with a fine oval sapphire was found among the bones of the hand, just inside the upper part of the femur. The carpal bones were resting on the brim of the pelvis. The whole of the earth having been removed in the course of the following day, the coffin was seen to contain a skeleton, in its main features entire. The ribs, the patellæ, the fibulæ, all save the malleoli, the humeri in their upper thirds, and the scapulæ and clavicles, had however almost entirely crumbled to dust. The lower jaw had fallen down so that its symphysis rested on the cervical vertebræ, and the atlas and axis were conspicuous above and behind it, also the left styloid process. There were only two or three teeth left in each jaw. The upper, an incisor, canine, and bicuspid, all together, quite sound and not much worn. The alveoli in the lower jaw were almost entirely absorbed. On the left side of the dorsal vertebræ, and adhering to them, was the sternum, quite perfect, and showing the marks of the costal cartilages very distinctly.

The left arm was lying straight down, the hand pronated, with the thumb under the hip-joint. The right arm lay with the hand over the pelvis, as above-mentioned.

A great quantity of tree-root was densely matted all about the feet and ankles.

Some grey semi-metallic dust, probably the remains of a pewter chalice, was found, part of it on the left side of the neck, and more near the lumbar vertebræ on the same side. In immediate contact with the bottom of the coffin was a dark brown substance resembling decayed leather. Most of what remained was lying under the shoulders, and there were particles of gold thread, not nearly so much however as was found in the grave of William de St. Barbara. Close by the outside of the right foot and partly under it was the iron ferule of a pastoral staff. An unusually large drain-hole was found, away from the centre of the coffin, just inside the left hip-joint; diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Dimensions, &c.—Skull:—extreme length 7 inches; extreme breadth 6; cephalic index (approximate) 86; absolute height ' 1; interangular of lower jaw 4.55; width of jaw 4.6.

The skull shows senile thickening and obliteration of sutures, but there is no pushing inward of the occipital condyles. Teeth encrusted with tartar. All the molars wanting in the upper jaw, and all the teeth save two or three in the lower. Zygomatic breadth 5.6, least frontal 4. Skull consequently phænozygous. A line drawn across the base of the skull from one ear opening to the other cuts the occipital foramen. The meningeal arteries have had their grooves converted into canals. The base of the skull is tumid in the region of the cerebellum. Length of femur 18.7; tibia 14.2. Stature 5 ft. 8 in. The remains, as in the case of Flambard, are those of a powerful old man.

WILLIAM DE ST. BARBARA. (No. 3). (1143—1153.)

Midway between the cist and coffin now described, and in contact with both, was a coffin full of earth and stones, with here and there a fragment of bone; in the recess for the head were considerable portions of the skull. As the coffin was partly overlaid by the slab which had originally been over it, this was now removed, a plaster cast being first taken of the inscription in the shattered portion of it; the earth and stones having been carefully taken out, it was found that the bones of the legs and feet were still in position, the latter crushed up against the end of the coffin. Under all was a layer of pulverulent brown matter, which appeared to be decayed leather,^a and there were traces of some textile fabric overlying it. In this, from the shoulders to the upper part of the legs, were considerable remains of gold tissue, most plentiful between the thighs, as if it had been the orphrey of a chasuble. The fibres of the root of the thorn-tree were so matted in among these remains that it was impossible to obtain anything but fragments. While collecting these I suddenly came upon a fine gold ring with a large sapphire in it, the first that was discovered, on the right-hand side of the coffin, and about midway between head and feet, no doubt just where it had been left after the total decay of the bones of the hand.

The sides of the coffin had been partly cut away, as if after its completion it



RING FOUND IN NO. 3.

^a It emitted a distinctly animal odour when heated.

had been found too narrow, so that where it was most cut they were only two inches thick instead of $4\frac{1}{4}$, their thickness where not cut away (see plan). The manner in which the feet were crammed in seemed to show that the coffin had been found too short as well as too narrow. De St. Barbara was probably a tall man. Geoffrey of Coldingham says, "*statura et canitie venerabilis.*" (*Scriptores tres*, p. 3.) The teeth were much worn, and in the dorsal region of the spine there was exostosis, as so frequently occurs in aged skeletons. Unfortunately no note could be taken of the length of the tibiae, as they were quite perished in their upper thirds. The coffin is in the exact spot indicated in Willis's plan as that of De St. Barbara's interment.

ROBERT HALIELAND OR DE INSULA. (No. 1.) (1274—1283.)

As has been already mentioned, the original excavation in the apse was extended westward to the place where Browne Willis's plan shows the slab of Robert de Insula, with matrices of brasses, and that of Richard de Kellawe. As stated in the "Rites of Durham," "Both thes ly buried before the bushop's seat under two marble stones, with ther immages in brasse curiouslye graven," to which Bishop Cosin's copy adds, "but now defaced." De Insula's grave was first found, but the slab was gone, and the covering-stones that had intervened between it and the grave had partly fallen in. The broken pieces, with the earth that had gone in with them, were carefully removed, and the grave was then found to be constructed of stones, and to be 7 ft. 5 in. long by 2 ft. 1 in. across at the head or west end, 1 ft. 9 in. at the foot, and 1 ft. 7 in. deep. The part which had fallen in was that where the legs and feet had been, and of these no traces were found. The upper portion of the grave, however, which had not fallen in, remained intact, and here the first object which met the eye was a dark brown thick skin in which the body had been sewn up, apparently a tanned ox-hide, still comparatively sound and showing the stitch-holes. As the thread had perished the seam had come open and exposed the contents. Adhering to the leather outside were shreds of a fine woven tissue, and lying round about it were the broken and decayed fragments of a wooden coffin, with two or three large iron nails. Inside the leather were several thicknesses of some serge-like fabric, and in the place where the head had been was a heap of white dust. Upon this lay a considerable mass of coarse red hair, showing that the bishop could not have been a very old man when he died. I have not been able to find any mention of his precise age, but Graystones has an amusing anecdote from which we may perhaps draw an inference on the point. It shows at any rate that his mother

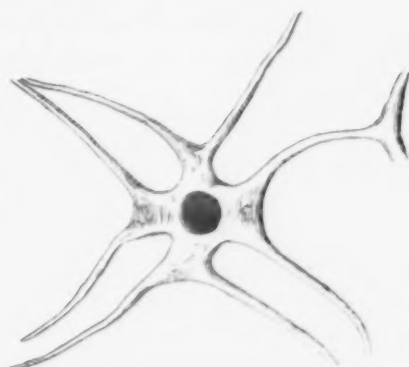
was in a vigorous condition of mind and body some time after his elevation to the bishopric. (*Scriptores tres*, Surtees Soc. vol. 9, p. 57.)

The stone grave was very neatly constructed, and the stones had mason's marks on them, which unfortunately were not copied. At the head and along the sides were dark marks as if the wood coffin had come to pieces and fallen outwards, and the wood had for some time rested against the stone. It appeared that the coffin had been of the coped form, somewhat higher at the head.

The bones had all fallen to dust.

RICHARD DE KELLAWE. (No. 2.) (1311—1316.)

Working to the north of De Insula in order to look for the grave of Kellawe,^a we found it at a short distance, fallen in like No. 1, but not so much, and also, like it, bereft of its top slab. The stones and earth being removed, it proved to be a stone coffin, with a place for the head, and in the usual spot a cruciform drain, with channels running into it as shown in the sketch.



DRAIN-HOLE IN COFFIN.

The skull was almost perfect, and had fallen over so as to have the base uppermost. The moment it was moved, all the basial bones and those of the face fell into the cavity of the cranium in a fragmentary condition, mixed with a sort of efflorescence of phosphate of lime.

The bones of the thighs and legs were quite perfect, as were the larger bones of the feet, which lay in two distinct heaps, only the middle portion of this grave having fallen in.

So far as could be judged from the fragmentary condition of the arms, they had been crossed on the chest. By each hip was an iron ring about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diam. Near the feet on the left side a portion of the quite plain wooden shaft of a crosier retained its form, and by the left shoulder lay portions probably of the same, much decayed, and about half an inch thick. Other fragments near the head may have

^a "Sepultus est in capitulo Dunelmensi coram sede episcopali, et lapide marmoreo coopertus."—Graystones, P. 37, *Scriptores tres*, p. 98.

been parts of a wooden crosier-top. Adhering to the right patella and covering the upper part of the tibia and lower part of the femur was a piece of serge-like fabric similar to that in De Insula's grave. There were no traces of leather or of a wooden coffin, though the iron rings seemed to show that the latter had existed.

Dimensions :—Skull; Extreme length 7·25; extreme breadth 6·1; cephalic index 84; vertical height 5·8; extreme frontal width 5·1; least 3·9; sloping forehead; back of head vertical; less tumidity of cerebellar region than in the older skulls, but the outlines of the skull elsewhere well filled out. Adhering to the bone in the region of the eyebrows was some light yellow hair, and in other parts of the head hair of a lighter colour, somewhat gray. There were two fragments of the lower jaw, which showed no signs of atrophy. The sagittal suture was largely obliterated. Length of femur 18·3; tibia 13·5. Stature 5 ft. 6 in.

INTERMENTS OF PERSONS UNKNOWN.

No. 6.

It has been mentioned above, p. 2, that there were evident indications of the Chapter-house having been built on ground full of interments. It is inconceivable that so many persons, of all ages and both sexes, can have been buried in the Chapter-house. Moreover, the prevailing type of skull was long-headed, indicating an Anglian, and not a Norman or later-English, race of people; the skulls of the bishops, on the other hand, were round-headed. Now, Symeon tells us how the spot with which we are now concerned was made habitable.^a He describes a place, which Ealdhun found "*natura munitum, sed non facile habitabilem—quoniam densissima undique silva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planicies erat non grandis, quam arando et seminando excolere consueverant.*" No indications of British or Roman occupation have ever been met with here, though there was a Roman camp at "Maiden Castle Hill," about a mile to the east, portions of which may still be traced. Had British or Roman remains been found on Dunholme, a place so well fortified by nature as to invite human occupation, we might suppose that it had long been abandoned when Ealdhun came with the body of St. Cuthbert. We are, however, uncertain whether the occupation by Ealdhun was the first or not. But in any case there was gathered around the new church a considerable population before many years had passed; and between 995, when

^a Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. cap. xxxvii.

Ealdhun came, and 1081, when Bishop William of St. Carileph introduced the Benedictine monks, there was abundance of opportunity for a large number of interments to take place in the cemetery attached to the then secular church, interments too of ordinary families, as well as those of the canons, who with their wives and children were driven out by the first Norman bishop, that he might put the monks in their place, much as the monks were in their turn driven out by Henry VIII., and married canons again introduced.

The interments now to be described mostly belong, in all probability, to this period of about eighty-six years. But those which were found in stone graves or coffins not far below the floor may have been buried in the chapter-house as having been benefactors to the church.

In an ordinary grave, 1 ft. 8 in. by 8 in. and 2 ft. 6 in. from Chapter-room wall,^a were found *in situ* the bones of a child under six months old lying on the right side, east and west, slightly contracted, length about 1 ft. 6 in. The bones of the arm were down on the hip. The skeleton was nearly perfect except the feet. The grave was not lined with anything, but its dimensions and form could easily be seen by the different appearance of the disturbed soil.

No. 7.

In an ordinary grave. Distance from Chapter-room wall, 5 ft. 2 in. Distance from No. 5, 1 ft. 2 in. Depth from pavement level, 3 ft. 6 in. Skull almost perfect. Wisdom teeth not through. Epiphyses not united. Head lying forward on chest. Body lying lower than head. Radius and ulna of both arms perfect, and coming down in front of the pelvis. Bones of hands fallen down below pelvis. Femur 15½ in. Tibia 12 in. Width of pelvis 10½ in. Os sacrum 3¾ in. Width between acetabula of pelvis 3½ in. Impressiones digitatæ on interior of frontal bone. Stature 4 ft. 8 in. Child of about 14.

No. 8.

A rough stone coffin, about half-a-yard further south, and 16 inches below the pavement level; length of cover 6 ft. 3 in.; width 2 ft. at head and 1 ft. 8 in. at foot; thickness 6 in. When the cover was lifted up it disclosed a body undisturbed. Length of coffin 5 ft. 10 in. outside and 5 ft. 4 in. inside; inside width 1 ft. 6 in. at head and 10 in. at foot, where it was rounded in a somewhat unusual way; place hollowed out for head. The following notes describe the condition in

^a The modern east wall of the remaining portion of the Chapter-house.

which the body was found. Lying on back, length 4 ft. 5 in.; width of pelvis 10 in.; epiphyses not united; hair braided and very fine, of a reddish-brown colour. A split pin of hazel like a clothes-peg was lying on the breast, with the split opening directed upwards. The hands upon the thighs. Within the coffin were two pieces of stone, one 6 inches long near the right shoulder, the other, quite small, under the right axilla. Lying upon the pelvis and all the length of the body was some coarse and much decayed brown serge, apparently woollen. In the centre of the coffin a small square drain about 1 in. diameter. Bones very small and perfect, but brittle, the long bones splitting up into fibrous-looking fragments under the exposure to the air. Much saline matter about the breast. The lid of the coffin had been cemented on, and was longer than necessary. It came into four pieces when removed. The photograph was taken in the afternoon of July 8th, about four hours after the opening of the coffin, but the body had even then fallen away a good deal.

When Professor Rolleston and I examined it together a few days after, we found a posterior molar milk-tooth, showing that the skeleton belonged to a child under twelve years of age. There were incisor teeth of the second set, not at all worn, and of very large size, indicating probably the male sex. The face was somewhat prognathous in character.

No. 9.

In undisturbed ground, 5 ft. 1 in. below pavement level. Skull perfect; there was a little gold thread upon it and in the earth around. Spine very crooked. Hands clasped in front of pelvis. Three iron nails, and wood in connection with them, were found near the feet. Length of femur 17·2 in. Tibia 13·1. Stature five feet two to three inches. Neck of femur short and horizontal. Humeri feeble. The measurements, &c. of the skull were: Extreme length 7·3; extreme breadth 5·45; cephalic index 74; least frontal width 3·8; greatest 4·8; circumference 25; vertical height 5·4; frontal arc 4·3; parietal arc 4·3; occipital arc 4·9; forehead vertical; highest part of longitudinal arc posterior to coronal suture; posterior part of parietal bone sloping, parieto-occipital slope oblique; vertical aspect an elongated oval contour; considerable obliteration of sutures. A low-lying skull with rounded outlines in occipital aspect; the lower jaw has nine teeth left; the front incisors are gone and the sockets filled up; jaw feeble. Female, aged.

No. 10.

At the foot of No. 4 (Flambard) were found a remarkably perfect skull,

two tibiae, pelvis, and other bones, belonging to the same skeleton as those mentioned in connection with No. 4 (p. 389). Measurements, &c. of skull: extreme length 7·4; extreme breadth 5·8; cephalic index 7·6; actual height 5·2; vertical height 5·5; height of orbit 1·6; width of orbit 1·6; basilar angle 30; frontal arc 4·7; parietal arc 4·6; occipital arc 4·9; circumference 21·2. A line from one ear to the other is quite in front of the occipital foramen. Low forehead; depression on left side of frontal bone, posterior to which skull rises very much; the whole back of the head tumid and globose; least frontal width 3·7; greatest 4·9; interangular diameter of lower jaw 4·2; depth of jaw 1·2; width 1·4. Traces of cured hare-lip. Upper wisdom teeth not evolved, and no trace of lower ones. Sex doubtful. Tibiae lying east and west.

No. 11.

In an ordinary grave, 3 ft. 5 in. below the pavement level, and 2 ft. 6½ in. from the Chapter-room wall, north of and close to No. 4. Lower jaw in good preservation, but showing exostotic deposits on inside. Teeth perfect on one side, rather gone on the other. Length of femur 18·5 in. very strong but diseased. Tibia 14 in. Stature 5 ft. 7 in. Body completely twisted. Right hand slightly under thigh, left lying over hip. Bony outgrowth on lumbar vertebrae, as in bed-ridden cases. Clavicle very powerful, also pelvis. First sacral vertebra fused with second, but second separated by maceration from third. Patellae and atlas found *in situ*. The body had been laid in undisturbed ground. There was a small slab behind the head, and there were five stones set on edge down the right side. Strong man in middle period of life.

No. 12.

Flags laid at bottom of grave. Head lying on right side, on a rough unwrought pillow-stone, between which and the skull some animal matter was still left. A fibrous substance like bark lay upon lower end of right femur. Much efflorescence about the head in the shape of minute crystals. Hands extended upon hips. Teeth all *in situ*, but greatly and horizontally worn; interangular diameter of lower jaw 4; depth of jaw 1·25; width 1·5; width of orbit 1·6; height 1·4; least frontal width 4; width of face 5; exostosis on lumbar vertebra. The bodies of the dorsal vertebrae entirely decayed. Femur 18 in. Stature 5 ft. 5 in.

No. 13.

Lying at full length eastward and westward, infant about seven months old, 2 ft. 6 in. below floor-level. Charcoal in grave, also a nail of coffin.

No. 14.

North of No. 4. Grave about 1 ft. below level of natural soil. Full-grown body, with charcoal. Measurements, &c.: Skull, extreme length 7.15; extreme breadth 5.3; cephalic index 74; extreme width of forehead 4.5; minimum width 3.4; glabello-inial length 6.8; teeth much encrusted with tartar, but none lost during life; typically low-lying dolicho-cephalic skull; point of maximum width below parietal tuberosities, and in their meridian; *per contra*, the denticulations in the sagittal suture are complex. Looked at from behind, the roof of the skull slopes away gradually from the mesial line, where, however, there is no carina. In the vertical view the contour is that of an elongated oval, the skull tapering. Length of femur 15 in. Height 4 ft. 6 in. Tibiæ platymeric. Probably a man above 30 years old.

No. 15 (A, B, C).

North of the square block of old foundation near the foot of No. 4 were found three disturbed bodies: (A) youth between 12 and 18, wisdom-teeth not through, and speno-occipital suture patent; (B) a full-grown person; (C) another.

No. 16.

Some remains of a wooden coffin. Depth 5 ft. 8 in. below pavement level, 3 ft. 7 in. below natural surface. In front of side of head a stone, and another at feet. Body (a male) lying on right side, head to west. Length 5 ft. 7 in. Hands down by hips. Both femurs crushed flat. Left arm bent across. Remains of decayed cloth. The second, third, and fourth cervical, and some dorsal, vertebræ were anchylosed, as was the sacro-iliac synchondrosis. Thyroid ossified, and there was much more abnormal ossification. No charcoal. Skull:—extreme length 7.9; extreme breadth 5.7; cephalic index 72; least frontal width 5; greatest 5.8; absolute height 5.6; basilar angle 28; width of jaw 1.4; depth 1.1; circumference 21.8: frontal arc 5.2; parietal arc 5.4; occipital arc 5.2; inter-angular 4.15; height of orbit 1.5; depth 1.6. 39 parts out of 79 anterior to ear. Orthognathous; dolichocephalic; well-filled skull of strong man past middle period of life. Large supraciliary ridges; from which the frontal and parietals slope equably to the occipital squama, which is set on in the fashion characteristic of this type of skull. Viewed in the vertical aspect, the two supraciliaries and the zygomatic arches all come into view. The contour is

an elongated oval in the same view. Viewed from behind, the skull slopes away from the middle line to the region of the parietal tuberosities, which are little marked. A line from one auditory foramen to another intersects the occipital foramen. There is a great senile down-growth of the condyles. The lower jaw is well developed, with a square angle. The skull is very similar to a remarkable one found in a barrow at Dinnington, Yorkshire, described by Dr. Rolleston.^a

No. 17.

Due east of old foundation. A body with wood in relation with the head, and nails extending all down the side, with large round heads, as elsewhere, indicating a coffin. Exostoses in upper jaw. Dolicho-cephalic. Whole set of teeth perfect. Depth of lower jaw 1·5; width 1·3; interangular diameter 3·7. Patellæ *in situ*. Length of femur 17·9. Tibia 13·3. Height 5 ft. 3 in. Length of grave 5 ft. 4 in. Remains of an infant at feet. Measurements of skull: extreme length 7·7; extreme breadth 5·4; cephalic index 74. Dolicho-cephalic. Occipital squamæ set on in faceted fashion. Large frontal sinuses. Moderate supraciliaries. Teeth much and horizontally worn. Sutures obliterated. Exostosis of right side of upper jaw. Deep elliptical palate. Female? Aged.

No. 18.

The infant just mentioned, 6 in. from natural surface. Remains of coffin mixed up with bones. Nails similar to those last mentioned.

No. 19.

Child, 3 ft. from No. 8. Dolicho-cephalic skull with vertical forehead. About 9 months old. Skeleton extended.

No. 20.

In an ordinary grave west of old foundation, containing charcoal. Body laid on right side, knees crossed, patellæ present. Skull, when placed on plane surface, rests on teeth and occipital condyles. All the teeth present at time of death, except possibly one; they are much and horizontally worn. Length of femur 19·5. Stature 5 ft. 11 in. Dolicho-cephalic skull. Down growth of condyles, as often in aged skulls. Measurements of skull: extreme length 7·6; extreme breadth 5·6; cephalic index 74; basilar angle 33; vertical height 6·1; absolute height 5·8. Strong but aged male.

^a Rolleston, *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, 1868, vol. iii. p. 254. *British Barrows*, p. 706. *Archæologia*, vol. xlii. p. 171.

No. 21.

Upon right side, with acromion in contact with back of head. Left hand on hip, right hand extended down the side. Peculiar coffin-clamps near skeleton and nails along whole length. Length of femur 19·9, of humerus 13·5. Height 5 ft. 9 in. Measurements of skull: extreme length 7·5; extreme breadth 5·9; cephalic index 78; least frontal width 4; greatest frontal width 5; actual height 5·1; vertical height 5·7; basilar angle 21; width of jaw 4·4. Male.

No. 22.

A disturbed interment, with a little lime, also nails. Femur and tibia put with distal ends to west. Length of femur 19·5. Stature 5 ft. 11 in. Male probably.

No. 23.

South of the old foundation were found bones in a heap, and shreds of gold thread, particularly in connection with the head. Large piece of damask with gold thread, like a stole. Length of femur 18·0. Stature 5 ft. 5 in. Strong, heavy, muscular ridges, well marked. The pelvis and some other bones had been broken before being replaced. The lower jaw (broken) was stained with copper on the right side; only three teeth had remained at the time of death. Angle of lower jaw square and flanged outwards, as that of a powerful man. The head much distorted; a bone of a sheep had found its way into the interior of it. The forehead seemed to have been square, and vertical. Head similar in contour to those of Flambard and Rufus.

The right mastoid process copper-stained. Tibiæ (both broken) with textile fabric in connection, copper-stained in middle. Measurements of distorted skull: extreme length 7·5; glabello-inial 7·1; extreme breadth (approximate) 5·8; cephalic index 77. Upper jaw elliptical. Parietal dip sharp, and squama set on in plane posterior to that occupied by the posterior part of the parietal.

It is evident from Browne Willis's plan that the graves of Bishops Pudsey and De Pictavia were destroyed when the new Chapter-room wall was built. These bones appear to have come out of one of them, for the gold thread and remains of damask orphreys, &c. which were found with them, afford a strong indication that they belonged to a bishop; and the copper-staining on the right side, as by a copper-gilt crosier, make this all but absolutely certain. No remains of the crosier itself were found, still less any rings. They were doubtless disposed of in some way by the workmen in 1795.

No. 24.

Interment west of old foundation. Three nails at the head and four at hips. Laid straight on back. Arms extended. Finger-bones overlying head of femur. Patellæ *in situ*. 5 ft. 8 in. from os calcis to vertex. Head turned a little to right. Eminently dolicho-cephalic in contour as in measurement. Extreme length 7·7; extreme breadth 5·7; cephalic index 76; basilar angle 22; absolute height 5·2; vertical height 5·75; height of orbit 1·4, width 1·6. Glabello-inial length 7·4. Width of jaw 1·3, height 1·2. All teeth present in both jaws. An equable slope of longitudinal arc. The skull, when placed on a horizontal surface, rests on teeth and cerebellar region. Occipital squama stuck on like a facet beyond occipital slope. Least frontal width 5·1; greatest 5·8; circumference 21; basi-cranial axis 4·2; nasal axis 3·6; alveolar axis 3·8. Pterygoids vertical. Sutures mostly obliterated. Large inter-parietal in apex of lambdoid. Large occipital spine. Probably male.

No. 25.

South-east of No. 5. Charcoal. Hands over pelvis. Patellæ *in situ*.

Skull:—extreme length 7·5; extreme breadth 5·3; cephalic index 72; circumference 20·5; basilar angle 14; width of orbit 1·7; height 1·55; least frontal width 3·8; greatest 4·5; vertical height 6; absolute height 5·2; parietal arc 5·2; occipital arc 5·1; depth of jaw 1·4; width 1·25.

A wisdom-tooth left in right side of upper and another in left side of under jaw. Powerful lower jaw. Rounded angles. Skull drops away from middle line of roof. Viewed from behind the pentagon has elongated laterals; viewed from above it is phænozygous, and elongated oval, tapering rapidly from plane of parietal tuberosities. Axis 4·1; nasal axis 3·6; alveolar axis 3·7. Aged male.

No. 26.

South of 24. With charcoal. Laid partly on right side, 1 ft. 5 in. below natural surface, half turned over, the lower part of the back looking directly upward, as also the posterior aspect of the left femur. Left arm lying by south side of interment. Right hip-bone lying horizontally. Patellæ *in situ*. Buried carelessly. Skull in fragments, but apparently less dolicho-cephalic than the others. Wisdom-teeth very little worn in either jaw; one not developed above. Length of femur 18·35, exceedingly strong. Humerus also strong. Stature 5 ft. 6 in. Strong male of about 30 years of age.

No. 27 (A, B, C, D).

Remains of four disturbed bodies laid just upon the natural surface. One a male, with charcoal. Immediately above them was a clear line such as would be made in process of building by men treading with their feet upon the droppings of the lime.

(A) Dolicho-cephalic, past middle-age, male.

(B) Young man: head small and round, globular, not powerful, brachy-cephalic; vertical occipital squama.

(C) Extreme length 7·2; extreme breadth 5·5; cephalic index 78; vertical height (approximate) 5·5; absolute height 5·1. Large frontal sinuses. Sloping forehead. Faceted occiput. Frontal arc 4·9. An oval egg-shaped excavation on right of parietal bone, such as might be made by a tumour or cut. Parietal arc 5. Occipital 4·4. Altogether a skull of the Borris type,^a being an old skull. Powerful lower jaw, without any wisdom-teeth. All the other teeth present in both jaws. A low-lying dolicho-cephalic skull of an aged male subject. Near this body was found an iron spear-head.

(D) Skull in fragments, dolicho-cephalic, and of a young man.

CONCLUSION.

It now remains for me briefly to notice two or three special matters, and to describe the principal objects found with the human remains.

1. *Earlier Interments*.—From the number of interments of children and of women on the site of the Chapter-house it appears that there had been a cemetery on the spot. This may possibly have been altogether previous to the ecclesiastical occupation, but as the undisturbed bodies lay east and west this is scarcely likely, for there is no account of any church until St. Cuthbert's body rested there. It seems much more likely that the bodies are chiefly those of the wives and families of the secular clergy connected with the church previous to their expulsion by Bishop William de St. Carileph. (See above, pp. 386, 395).

2. *Foundations and Floor*.—These will be sufficiently understood from the plan. It will be seen how buttresses of great projection were set against their shallow Norman predecessors, probably in consequence of some ominous cracks, notwithstanding what Carter says of the state of the building when he made his

^a Huxley, *Prehistoric remains of Caithness*, p. 125, fig. 60, 61.



PORTIONS OF VESTMENTS. DURHAM

Presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1875.

JOHN SMITH, Esq. DONOR & C.

drawings.* The floor, the steps to the apse, and a portion of foundation believed to have belonged to an earlier building, are mentioned above.

3. *Stone Coffins*.—That of William de St. Barbara was at first too small for the body (p. 392), and Orderic tells of a like difficulty at the burial of William the Conqueror (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 717). Stone collins were probably kept ready made, as Roman sarcophagi appear to have been.

4. *Festivals*.—The most remarkable fragments were lying loose in the soil, and are wonderfully preserved. They were probably cast out of the graves of Pudsey and Pietavia, which were broken into in 1795 for the foundation of the new Chapter-room wall. They appear to be silk, woven into twelfth-century patterns, and enriched with gold thread, made by wrapping a long strip of gold spirally round a silk thread, as is well seen under the microscope. Three of these specimens are represented in Plate XXXII. Similar remains of gold tissue were found in the graves of De St. Barbara and of Rufus, but not in any of the other three. The silk found with Flambard was of a very light and thin kind, and presented no patterns.

Some fragments with still more elaborate patterns, which came from the grave of Bp. de St. Carileph, opened in 1795,² have been preserved, together with the sole of one and the upper-leather of another plain shoe from the same grave.

5. *Crosiers*.—Those discovered in the graves of Flambard and Rufus were found on the right side, and the copper stains on the bones of another bishop (p. 16) shewed that his crosier had been also on the right side. In the later instance of Bishop Kellawe, the staff was on the left, as borne during life.

The crosier in the grave of Flambard had an iron crook plated with silver, and a plain iron spike (Plate XXXI, fig. 1, 2). The one in Rufus's grave had an iron spike with two spherical projections (Plate XXXI, fig. 3); the head may have been of some perishable material, or may have been taken out by the workmen in 1795. Nothing of Kellawe's was found save a portion of the plain wooden shaft, and this was on the left side.

6. *Rings*.—The three rings that were found were all on the right side as usual, but it could not be determined upon what finger they had been worn. None were found in the two later graves, which may have been despoiled in 1795, though if the workmen found some rings it is strange that they did not take the rest. It is scarcely likely that the bishops were buried without them. Those now before us are fine examples of episcopal rings, all of pure gold, set with sapphires of good colour; polished, but not cut; in one case the octahedral form of the original crystal has been preserved.

² See *Trans. Archaeol. Inst.*, p. 8, 1895.

* See *Cent. Mag.*, Dec. 1891.

At St. Cuthbert's College at Ushaw is preserved a ring with a large sapphire, stated to have been found in 1537 on the finger of St. Cuthbert. It is evidently an episcopal ring, but does not appear to be so ancient as those under consideration. If, therefore, found as stated, it must have been placed on the Saint's hand at a later period. An engraving of it is given in *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 66.

The subject of episcopal rings has been treated of by Edmund Waterton, Esq. F.S.A. in a memoir in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 224. It may be as well to notice briefly such as have been found in English tombs:—

In York Cathedral: 1. Gold ring with a ruby, in the tomb of Archbishop Sewall de Bovill, 1256–1258. 2. Gold ring with a ruby and with foliage on the shoulders, in the tomb of Archbishop William de Grenefeld, 1306–1315. 3. A ring, the stone of which is lost, inscribed within the hoop, "*honuor et ioye*," found in the tomb of Archbishop Bowet 1407–1423. These rings are engraved in Poole and Hugall's *Historical and Descriptive Guide to York Cathedral*, pl. xxiv.

In Chichester Cathedral: 1. Gold ring set with a Gnostic gem, supposed to have been found in the tomb of Bishop Seffrid 1125–1151. 2. A pointed ring set with a sapphire, found in a tomb, supposed to be that of Bishop Hilary, 1146–1169, but the ring is evidently of a later date. 3. Gold ring with a sapphire and four emeralds, found in the tomb of a Bishop unknown. These rings are engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 235.

At Winchester: 1. Gold ring set with a large sapphire of irregular form of the thirteenth century. 2. Gold ring set with a sapphire, which belonged to William de Wykeham, 1367–1404. 3. Gold ring with an intaglio of Minerva, found in the tomb of Bishop Stephen Gardiner 1531–1556. The first of these rings is engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 228.

In Hereford Cathedral: 1. Gold ring set with a sapphire, inscribed within "*en . bon . an .*," found in the tomb of Bishop John Stanbery 1452–1474. 2. Gold ring set with a ruby and with tau cross on it, inscribed "*abe maria*," found in the tomb of Bishop Richard Mayew 1504–1516. Both these rings are engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 249.

All these rings are preserved in the respective cathedrals in which they have been found.

XIX.—*Further Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Frilford, with Remarks on the Northern Limit of Anglo-Saxon Cremation in England.*
By GEORGE ROLLESTON, Esq., M.D. F.R.S. F.S.A.

Read June 17th, 1875.

The first discovery in the cemetery at Frilford, subsequent to those already recorded in the *Archæologia*, XLII. p. 417-485, was made on March 22, 1869, when a leaden coffin was found, containing the bones of a young woman, with a toilet comb^a at the right of the back of her head. This brings the number of leaden coffins found at Frilford up to five; one of them has already been figured in *Archæologia*, XLII. pl. xxiv. figures 7 and 8.

The second was the discovery of some fragments, which when fitted to the three fragments found in September, 1867, one of which is figured in the *Archæologia*, XLII. pl. xxiii. fig. 2, p. 423, make up the larger portion of what is often called a "holy-water vessel." The fragments of September, 1867, were to my eyes so distinctly Saxon that I had one of them figured, and the unexpected discovery of the remaining fragments enabled us to build up the urn shown in the annexed woodcut. I imagine that a plough's coulter had knocked out the first discovered fragments. No burnt bones were found quite close to the urn, but one fragment was found a little way off.^b

This reconstructed vessel may be compared with vessels of somewhat similar



ANGLO-SAXON URN, FRILFORD.
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

^a For difference between toilet and other combs, see Anderson, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* June 10, 1872 p. 551. and woodcut *in loco*.

^b The fragment, which with a triangular apex pointing upwards, occupies about the middle point in the front upper border of the urn figured above, is the same fragment which is figured with its apex pointing downwards, pl. xxiii. fig. 2, *Archæologia* XLII.

shape, and possibly similar purpose, found in Roman cemeteries, for instance, at Hardham, Sussex, as figured by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins.^a But urns more similar still have been found in many Teutonic cemeteries in England, as well as in France and Germany.

May 3, 1870.—An old Anglo-Saxon woman, with tweezers,^b knife, metallic button, and small metallic ornament at head of humerus; large stones set by the sides of the graves as described in *Archæologia*, *l. c.* p. 438; but no nails. Depth of grave 2 feet 6 in., direction north-west to south-east. Abundance of charcoal in the grave; arms extended, *patellæ in situ*. *Tibiæ platycnemicæ*.

May 3, 1870.—Fragment giving about three-sevenths of the circumference of an Anglo-Saxon "holy-water vessel," or, perhaps, rather of a rudimentary representation of cremation urn; found near the bones of a young person. This vessel has the characteristic German angular projection round its body, the vandyking and the stamped pattern, &c., which we are familiar with in urns of larger size intended for the reception of burnt bones. Its small size, as well as



FRAGMENT OF SAXON URN, FRILFORD.
SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$ LINEAR.



SAXON URN, HASLINGFIELD.
SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$ LINEAR.

the fact that many such vessels have been found with buried bodies, and without any bony contents, show that this vessel cannot be considered as a cinerary vessel.^c Cochet, in his *Arch. Céramique*, p. 13, explains what he calls the mystery of the custom by the often quoted passage as to holy water from Durandus, vii. 35, 37.

^a *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xvi. p. 58.

^b For figures of similar tweezers, see Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Bd. ii. Hft. v. Taf. vi. where they are said to be found usually in men's graves, but sometimes in women's. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. ii. Cochet, *Normandie Souveraine* p. 219, pl. vii. fig. 35.

^c For the greater fineness of workmanship in these smaller vessels, see Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 225; Roach Smith, *Collect. Antiq.* iv. 161-196.

I think this passage of little weight,* considering that Durandus lived in the thirteenth century. I incline to consider these vases, another example of which, from Haslingfield, is herewith figured, and which sometimes have been, as at Selzen, found to contain combs, shears, beads, fibulae, flint and steel, and bronze rings, in fact everything that an ordinary cremation urn does contain except the bones, to be rudimentary representations of such cremation urns. Solemn occasions are tenacious of their symbols, and will hold to them or keep hold of them in miniature when they can no longer maintain them in full proportions. The wide range over which this diminutive representation of the larger Germanic urn has been found is another argument in favour of my view, which is based upon the recognition of an acknowledged tendency of the human mind as opposed to a view which can only appeal to a superstition of probably much more limited geographical range.^b A somewhat similar vessel, both as to size and contour, from the Oberpfalz of Bavaria, may be found figured in "Die Sammlungen des Germanischen Museum," Nurnberg, 1868, p. 67.

May 23, 1870, iii.; May 23, 1870, vii.—Skeleton of old Romano-Briton lying

* It was thus as given by Cochet *l.c.*, "Corpus ponitur in speluncâ in quâ . . . ponitur aqua benedicta . . . Aqua benedicta ne daemones qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant: solent namque deservire in corpora mortuorum, ut quod nequiverunt in vita saltem post mortem agant." Cochet's own words are, "Tous les cimetières mérovingiens et même carlovingiens que nous retrouvons . . . montrent toujours aux pieds du mort un vase vide dont les hommes d'aujourd'hui nous demandent le sens et le mystère. Nous croyons l'avoir trouvé dans la piété naïve et grossière, peut-être même matérielle et superstitieuse, de nos pères. Nous supposons donc, non sans fondement, qu'ils auront mis dans ce vase une eau sacrée pré-servatrice des obsessions et des possessions démoniaques si fréquentes chez les vivants et dont les morts ne leur paraissaient ni exempts ni affranchis."

^b For the general literature, see Cochet, *Arch. Cer.* p. 14, *ibique citata*; Normandie Sonterraine, pp. 199, 267; La Seine Inferieure, p. 530; Tombeau de Childeric, p. 391, *ibique citata*; Akerman, *Researches at Long Wittenham*, *Archæologia* xxxviii. pp. 342, 346, 352, (note) 330, 333, 342, 352; pl. xx. fig. 2; Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxii. where an urn eight inches high is described as containing tweezers, shears, comb, and knife, though it is not stated whether any bones were found in it or not. See also *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 1856, *Introd.* p. xxvi. and Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 9, where vessels like these are said to have been very frequently, as regards the entire number (*viz.* three or four times out of twelve), found with infant skeletons, and to have been found either at head or foot, "though in the grave of an adult two small vases were found, one on each side of the former." This difference in placing seems to me to favour my view as above stated. The Selzen vases were, it is true, or nearly always, at the feet, and those found in the French interments of the same period, always, according to Cochet *l.c.* But at Hallstatt (see V. Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, 1868, p. 107) the position of these vases was most variable, "bald standen sie zur rechten, bald zur linken Seite des Skelettes, neben dem Kopfe, bei dem Hüften oder zur den Füssen, bei Verbrennungen in der Regel neben den Brandresten, selten auf denselben."

in grave such as are described in *Archæologia*, XLII. p. 422, undisturbed 18 inches below skeleton of a young Anglo-Saxon, æt. about 17, with umbo, spear, and knife.

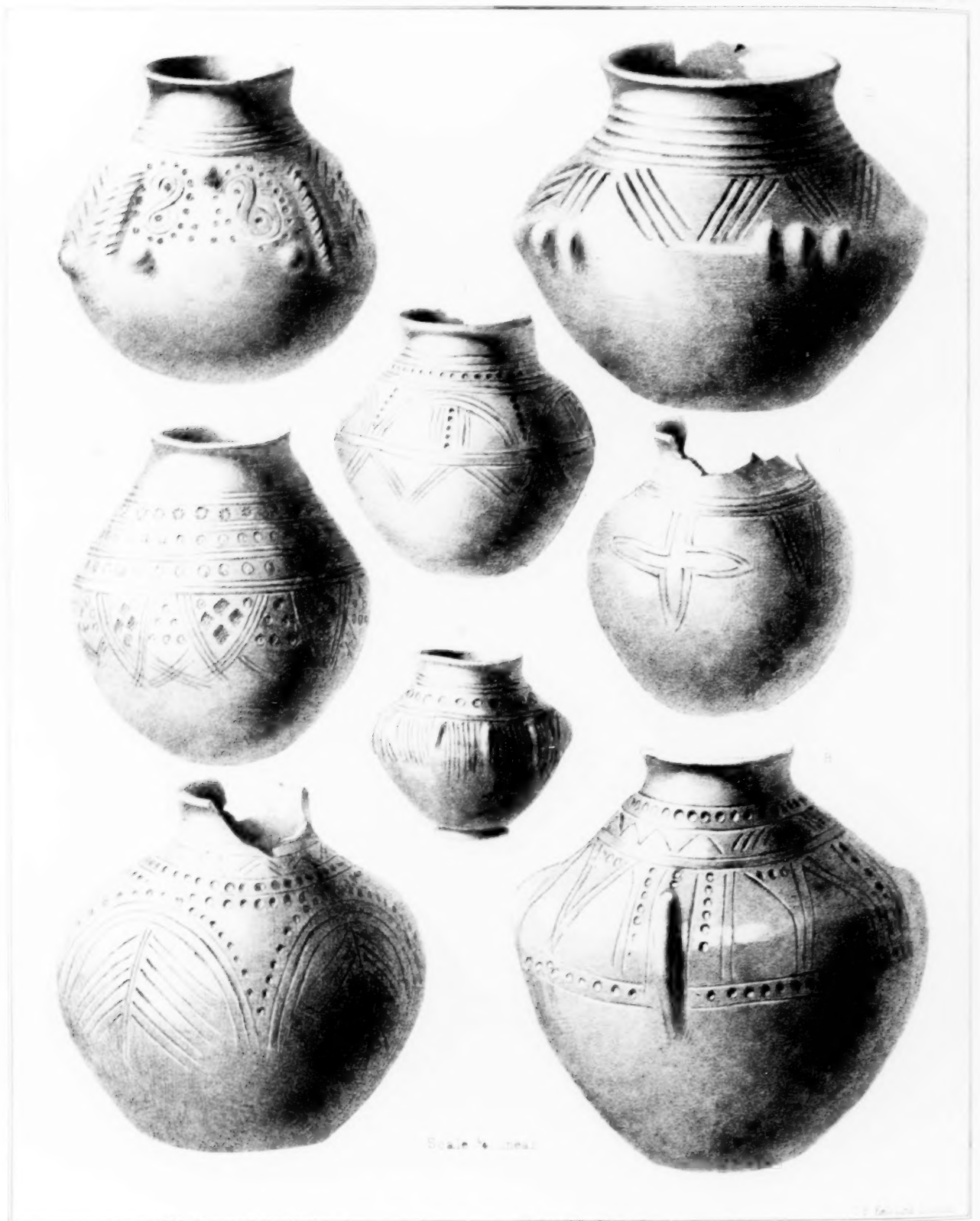
May 23, 1870, iv. b.; May 23, 1870, iv. a.—Skeleton of old Romano-Briton, buried with coffin, lying from 4 feet 7 inches below skeleton of old Anglo-Saxon woman, lying in the contracted position without any relics, and, indeed, with disproof of any coffin, with two cruciform fibulæ, a shroud-pin, an iron ring, and a knife.^a

In both cases the long axis of the upper grave formed more or less of a right angle with the long axis of the semi-oriented lower one. This shows that the burials could scarcely have been simultaneous; for the other conclusions which can be based upon the finding of two skeletons, verifiable as Saxon and Romano-British respectively in the relation specified, see my previous Memoir on Frilford, p. 423. It is worth while noticing that this Anglo-Saxon woman was 5 feet 5 inches in height, an instance of what is said to be usual, but what I have found to be by no means invariable, viz., an equality, or an approach to equality, in the stature of the German women and men;^b next, that her skull was found five inches above her sternum, three stones having been placed underneath it; and, lastly, that the knees were at a higher level by several inches than either the ankles or the hips, besides being, as the statement of the body having been in the contracted position implies, out of the line of the long axis of the skeleton. These points are not ordinarily found in Christian burials. The arms were, however, crossed, and the hands folded inwards, as was often done in such interments; with which, again, on the other hand, this Anglo-Saxon burial appears to have contrasted in the body's being turned somewhat on to the left side, a point which, from the crushed condition of the skeleton, lying only about 2 feet from the surface of the ground, it was difficult to make out.

The question now arises, Were such non-oriented, contracted, shallowly interred, but relic-provided, bodies, the bodies of heathen or of Christianized Saxons? Mr. Kemble's dictum, "*Horæ Ferales*," p. 98, to the effect, that, "if there is any equivocation in the matter, it lies the other way; a few half-converted Christians may for a while have clung to the rite of burning, but no Pagan Saxon was buried

^a These four skeletons, with the relics accompanying them, were presented to the Cornell University Ithaca, United States. A more detailed account of these objects than that given above may be found in the "Register" of that University for 1870-1871, pp. 50-54.

^b For figure of a skeleton with skull similarly raised, see Grabfeld von Hallstatt, tab. iii fig. 4.



ANGLO - SAXON URNS FROM SANCTON, YORKSHIRE.

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without it," is well known; but I am of opinion that this is one of the few mistakes which Mr. Kemble made. This one mistake of Mr. Kemble led him logically to a conclusion to be found at p. 230 of the same valuable work, the "*Horæ Ferales*," in a remark printed from the MSS. left behind him. Speaking of the rarity of Saxon urns in Scottish Museums, one from Buchan, to be seen in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society, being specified as the only one he knew of, Mr. Kemble remarks, "If they (Anglo-Saxon urns) should turn out to be very rare there (in Scotland not merely in Scottish museums), it would be evidence that no very important settlement was made there by the Saxons before their conversion to Christianity; a result which history seems to bear out. It was, in fact, Christianity which united the Saxons sufficiently to make them capable of acting *en masse* against their neighbours." Without raising any objection to the view which would assign the tendency to attack one's neighbours *en masse* to the religion which is ordinarily said, and by members of the Society of Friends believed, to teach lessons of peace, I would remark, that history does not seem to me to bear out Mr. Kemble's view, and that the finds in many unmistakeably Teutonic burials by interment seem to me to suggest the idea of heathendom by their shallowness, their want of orientation, their possession of secular relics, and by the frequency, especially in the north, with which the skeleton is discovered to be in the contracted position. In the case of Kent, the great salient facts recorded by the historians as to the conversion of Æthelberht are almost or even quite as indisputable as the facts of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*" as to the comparative rarity of cremation urns in that earliest to be founded of Saxon kingdoms. It is true, as Mr. Kemble himself has shown (*Horæ Ferales*, p. 91), that cremation urns are not entirely unknown in Teutonic cemeteries in Kent, but no one can doubt that this comparative rarity in that locality, when coupled with the facts that Kent was sufficiently powerful and thickly peopled for the Frankish King Charibert to give his daughter to the King of Kent, and that this King Æthelberht, and, by consequence, most of his Court, were nevertheless heathen, shows that a Saxon population, at all events when firmly established in a country, could give up cremation before taking up with the teaching of the missionaries.

The drawings which I lay before the meeting represent a number of urns from a Saxon cemetery at Sancton, co. York, a village a little south of Market Weighton, and the once much better known Goodmanham. These urns, which are represented in the accompanying Plate (Plate XXXIII.), and the acquisition of which I owe to the kindness of Charles Langdale, Esq., of Houghton Hall, mark, as I believe, and as

far as is known, the northern limit of cremation as practised to any considerable extent by Teutons in the north of England. But, little* as we do know of the history of the Conquest of Northumbria, we have some reason for believing that Æthilfrith was an unbeliever, and that by his great victory of Daegsastan in 603 a Pagan Saxondom was established under his rule from the Humber to the Forth. If Æthilfrith was a heathen, such no doubt were his followers; and, if the whole of Northumbria was heathen in 603, its two component sub-kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira were, it cannot be doubted, at least as pagan for the period little short of a couple of generations which intervened between the date of the battle of Daegsastan and that of the landing, before A.D. 547, of Ida the Flame-bearer at Flamborough Head. The bones, however, of the unsung heroes of these wars have not previously been found in cremation urns, at least in any abundance, though contracted Teutonic burials are common enough between the two latitudes mentioned.

* For statements as to this littleness, see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, p. 61; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 25, 26.

XX.—*Notice of the Discovery of a Cist and its Contents at Moorhouse Farm, Brougham, Westmoreland. By Professor ROBERT HARKNESS, F.R.S., F.G.S. and Mr. VALLANCE STALKER.*

Read June 18, 1874.

A short time ago Mr. Hutchinson, the tenant of Moorhouse Farm, the property of the Right Hon. Lord Brougham and Vaux, informed one of the authors of this communication, Mr. Stalker, that he had recently laid bare a cist containing human bones, and desired him to examine the circumstances of the occurrence and the nature of the contents.

The locality where this cist was discovered is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Penrith, in a field a short distance south-east of the farm-house, and very near the termination of a short low ridge running at west and south-east. In the immediate neighbourhood of the cist the ground presents a narrow and shallow basin-shaped hollow. This hollow is however the result of sand having been taken from the spot for mixing with lime; and it is owing to this that the cist was laid bare.

The cist, which consisted of four upright flags of Lower Permian sandstone, the rock of the neighbourhood, covered by an irregularly shaped flag of the same nature, had a north and south direction in its length, being about 34 inches long. The breadth, which was uneven, at the south end amounted to 26 inches, while the north end did not exceed 21 inches. The depth was 18 inches. The slabs which formed the northern and southern ends were inclosed by the longer side-flags, and were prevented from being pushed in by the lateral pressure of the sand on the outside by means of three small somewhat wedge-shaped boulders inserted into the north-west and south-east corners of the cist.

The bottom of the cist was rudely paved with small angular portions of sandstone of the same nature as the flags forming the sides. These small fragments were probably derived from the shaping of the ends of the cist. They were all more or less deepened in colour on the surface by the action of fire upon them.

The interior of the cist was in a great measure filled with fine sand, which had doubtless found its way into the cist from the surrounding soil through the crevices in the angles and under the covering flag. On removing some of the sand a skull, which had previously been observed by Mr. Hutchinson, was met with near its original position in the south-east corner of the cist.

The cervical vertebræ including the atlas and axis were next found, somewhat towards the south-east side. The left humerus was also obtained, and also a portion of the right one, together with a portion of the left scapula and the proximal end of the left radius. The dorsal vertebræ and ribs were in a very fragmentary state, and some of them had entirely disappeared. One of the lumbar vertebræ was met with, and a fragment of the pelvis, consisting of a portion of the left side, was also discovered. Both the femora were obtained, the left one being much better preserved than the right; and imperfect tibiæ were also found. The other bones of the extremities were in a very fragmentary and decomposed condition.

Judging from the position and state of the fragments of the skeleton, it would seem that the body, after being placed in the cist in a contracted position, with the face towards the north, had fallen on its right side, as the skull and other bones were found lying in greater quantities towards the south-east side of the cist. The bones of the right were all in a much more imperfect state than those of the left side; and this applies also to the right side of the skull. This greater amount of decomposition of the right side of the skeleton resulted doubtless from the greater amount of pressure to which this portion of the skeleton was subjected from having fallen on that side.

The condition of the skull, as regards developement, indicates a full-grown individual. Although many of the teeth are absent from the jaws, having dropped out after death, the lower jaw, which was also obtained, exhibits the dentition very nearly perfect, only one of the wisdom-teeth, that of the right side, being absent. This tooth probably fell out of the lower jaw, judging from the condition of its socket, also after death. The crowns of the teeth are very little worn, and their full and perfect developement as seen in the lower jaw indicates an individual who had reached maturity, but who was comparatively young. This inference is still further borne out by the condition of the suture of the skull, which was in a very open state; and in connection with the lambdoidal suture Wormian bones occur, especially two of large size in the left portion of this suture.

The general outline of the skull is strongly brachy-cephalic. There is an

absence of any angularity in the outline of the skull, and the mastoid process is only moderately developed. Not being in possession of means for properly determining the relative dimensions of the skull, or for comparing it with others, this description is left incomplete.

The lower jaw, which is rather massive, has a depth of an inch at the symphysis. The distance between the rami at the posterior angle is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the angle is somewhat oblique. The distance between this and the symphysis, measured on the inner side, is 3 inches. The mental protuberance is well developed and very prominent.

With reference to the bones of the limbs, the humerus has a length of $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The radius is too imperfect to afford any information regarding size. The femur is 18 inches long; and as both the proximal and distal ends of the tibiæ are wanting exact information cannot be obtained concerning its length. A portion of one of the fibulæ was also found, but this is in a still more imperfect condition.

Judging from the length of the femur the height of the individual to whom the skeleton appertained must have been about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the muscular impressions on the limbs indicate considerable physical power.

Besides the remains of the skeleton the cist afforded two urns, both of which had been placed on the left side of the body in close proximity to each other. The larger of these urns belonged to the forms known as "food vessels," and was in a very fragmentary condition. The base, however, was perfect and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

A small portion of the side of this urn remains attached to the base. This bulges out rapidly, leading to the inference that the middle and upper portions had much greater diameters than the base.

The sides averaged about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness, and the clay used in the fabrication of this urn was mixed with small angular fragments of stone, which seem to have been produced by the breaking and crushing of larger pieces.

The external surface of this "food-vessel" is of a light brick-red colour, the interior being a light-brown shade very near the original colour of the clay of which the urn is composed. The difference in colour has probably resulted from the greater influence of the heat in baking on the external than on the internal surface.

The fragments of this urn are ornamented externally with patterns of two kinds. Judging from the fragments collectively, the "food-vessel" seems to have had near its base a series of chevron lines running round it. Immediately above

these oblique zig-zag markings occur. To these succeed horizontal lines irregular in number and in distance from each other, occupying a breadth of above $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and showing in one fragment a series of no less than fourteen. Above these horizontal lines another series of short oblique lines occur in the form of four somewhat irregular rows surrounding the vessel and occupying a space of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. To these another series of short horizontal lines succeeds. In one of the fragments this series exhibits eleven lines, which were also irregular in distance from each other. Above these horizontal lines is a single row of short oblique lines succeeded by a plain surface which probably approached the upper margin of the urn; but of the rim no portion remains.

The two series of horizontal lines which this "food vessel" exhibits bear distinct evidence that they have been formed by the impress of a twisted cord or thong. The oblique lines, which are deeper and wider than the horizontal, at first sight seem to have been produced either by the point of a stick or by the human nail; careful examination, however, shows that these oblique markings have the same kind of interruptions in them as occur in the finer horizontal lines, and leads to the inference that a twisted cord or thong gave rise to these interruptions. If this be the case the twisted cord was probably attached to the extremity of a wedge-shaped termination of a stick when used to produce the thick oblique impression.



DRINKING-CUP, BROUGHAM, WESTMORELAND. HEIGHT $3\frac{1}{4}$ INCHES.

The other urn (see woodcut), which is much smaller in size, belongs to the group known as "drinking-cups." Although considerably injured this is in a much more perfect condition than the "food-vessel." The height of the drinking-cup is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the base is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The greatest diameter is in the middle, and the form of the vessel is rather elegant.

The colour of the outside and inside is much more uniform than in the food vessel, being of a light brown shade. The composition is finer, the clay being mixed with very small fragments of stone, and also ashes.

The condition of the drinking-cup is sufficiently perfect to show the ornamentations on its surface in all its detail. This is much more delicate and regular in its arrangements than that of the food-vessel.

From the base, and extending for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, is a series of oblique lines rather closely approximated passing round the cup; near the base these are overlapped by short and somewhat irregular oblique lines having an opposite direction. Above the more regular oblique lines is a series of three horizontal lines passing round the surface regularly, and occupying a breadth of about $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of an inch. To these horizontal lines succeeds a series of oblique lines in two rows proceeding in opposite directions, and producing a lozenge-shaped pattern. Succeeding the lozenge-shaped pattern is another series of horizontal lines, also in three bands, having about the same width as the horizontal series below. On one side of the cup the mode by which this ornamentation has been produced is very manifest, as six rows of lines instead of three occur, the result of the overlapping of the ends of the three thongs or cords which formed these lines. Above the upper horizontal series and occupying the upper portion of the cup a second series of lozenge-shaped patterns occur, having a width of about an inch, and terminating in the gently-rounded upper margin of the cup. Both the oblique and horizontal lines which ornament this drinking-cup have the same interruptions in them, showing that they are all the result of the same form and mode of impress.

With respect to the occurrence of these two vessels together in the same cist, we learn from the Rev. Canon Greenwell that this is a unique circumstance so far as his great experience in barrow opening is concerned, and places beyond doubt the use of these two kinds of vessels at the same time.*

There is one circumstance in connection with this cist which yet remains to be noticed.

* The remains of the "food-vessel" have been presented to the Museum at Oxford, and the "drinking-cup" to the Society of Antiquaries.

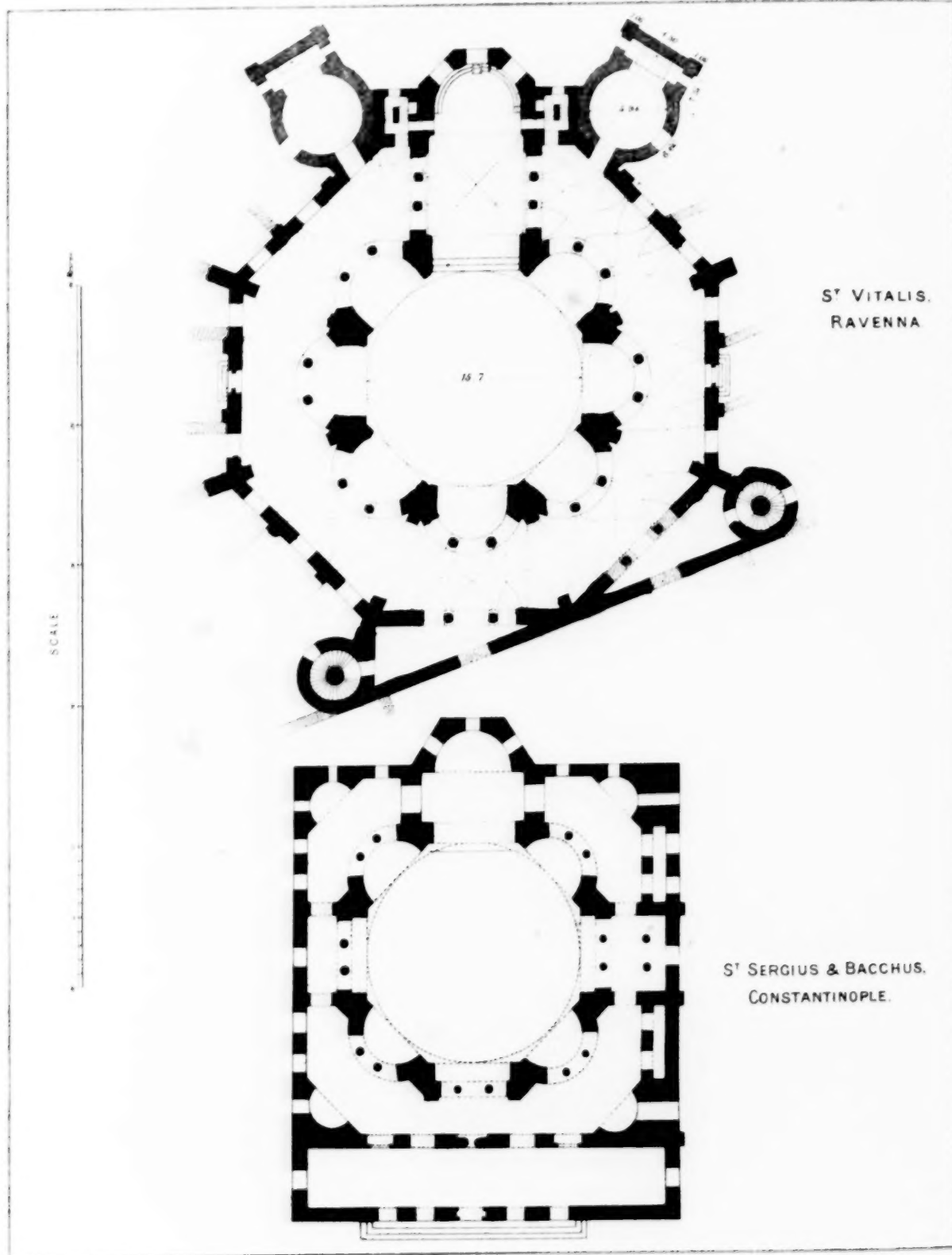
This is the occurrence of what appeared to be ashes, such as would result from the burning of dried grass in considerable quantities among the small portions of flags which formed the floor of the cist. It has been already mentioned that these small portions of flags bore distinct evidence of having been subjected to the action of fire. This circumstance and the occurrence of ashes on the floor of the cist may probably be accounted for by supposing the urns to have been fired on the spot previous to the interment of the body.

Some few years ago a large urn was discovered in the low grounds in the field adjoining that which has afforded the cist above described. This urn contained burnt bones, and was surrounded by a circle of stones.

Nothing of the kind was found in connection with the cist containing the bones and the two urns which we have described. But it by no means follows that such may not have been the case originally. The sand found in the cist and immediately around it, and that which has been removed for making mortar, does not seem to be a natural deposit, but rather an artificial accumulation. It probably formed a tumulus raised over this ancient burial-place.

With reference to the age of these remains: If we derive our conclusion from the nature of the ornamentation of the vessels we might be induced to infer that, as these consist of simple lines or furrows, they point to the neolithic age.* Canon Greenwell, however, informs us that food-vessels and drinking-cups, such as those found in the cist at Moorhouse farm, have been met with by him associated with bronze implements; and that there is nothing in connection with the character of the ornaments inconsistent with their belonging to the bronze age, to which we have no doubt they are to be referred. And as no implements, nor any other articles, except those above alluded to, were found in this cist, the conclusion as to its age depends upon comparative evidence.

* Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times*, 1st ed. page 136.



XXI.—*On the Byzantine Origin of the Church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, with Remarks on other Churches in that City.* By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq. F.S.A.

Read February 24, 1876.

It is hardly necessary to describe the situation of the town of Ravenna. Its ancient fortress occupied a strong position, resting on the sea towards the east and south, and, with an ample harbour for those days, it could not be blockaded by any army not possessing also a fleet. Lying out of the beaten track, and thus defended by the sea, Ravenna, at a time when Western Europe was convulsed with the commotions dependent upon the extinction of the Western Empire, was contentedly secure under the protection of the yet powerful empire of Constantinople.

In the sixth and seventh centuries there, at least, was one comparatively peaceful spot in Italy.

The result is the erection of a series of Christian churches in the town of an age and style to which there is nothing comparable in any other part of Western Europe, and these decorated in a manner superior to any other buildings of that age out of Constantinople itself.

It is of one of these buildings, viz. the church of St. Vitalis, that I propose to say a few words.

The church of St. Vitalis is one of the most remarkable buildings in Italy. It is fortunate that the date of it and the name of the builder are well known, and inferentially some of the circumstances in which the church was erected. I propose in the first place to describe the building, and then to give something of an historical account of it, next to give some of the theories respecting it, and, lastly, my own.

The church of St. Vitalis is throughout octagonal in shape. (See plan, Plate XXXIV.^a) It consists of an internal octagon supported by eight piers, surmounted by a round dome with Byzantine pendentives. There is an octagonal aisle round the central octagon, which is inclosed by an octagonal wall forming

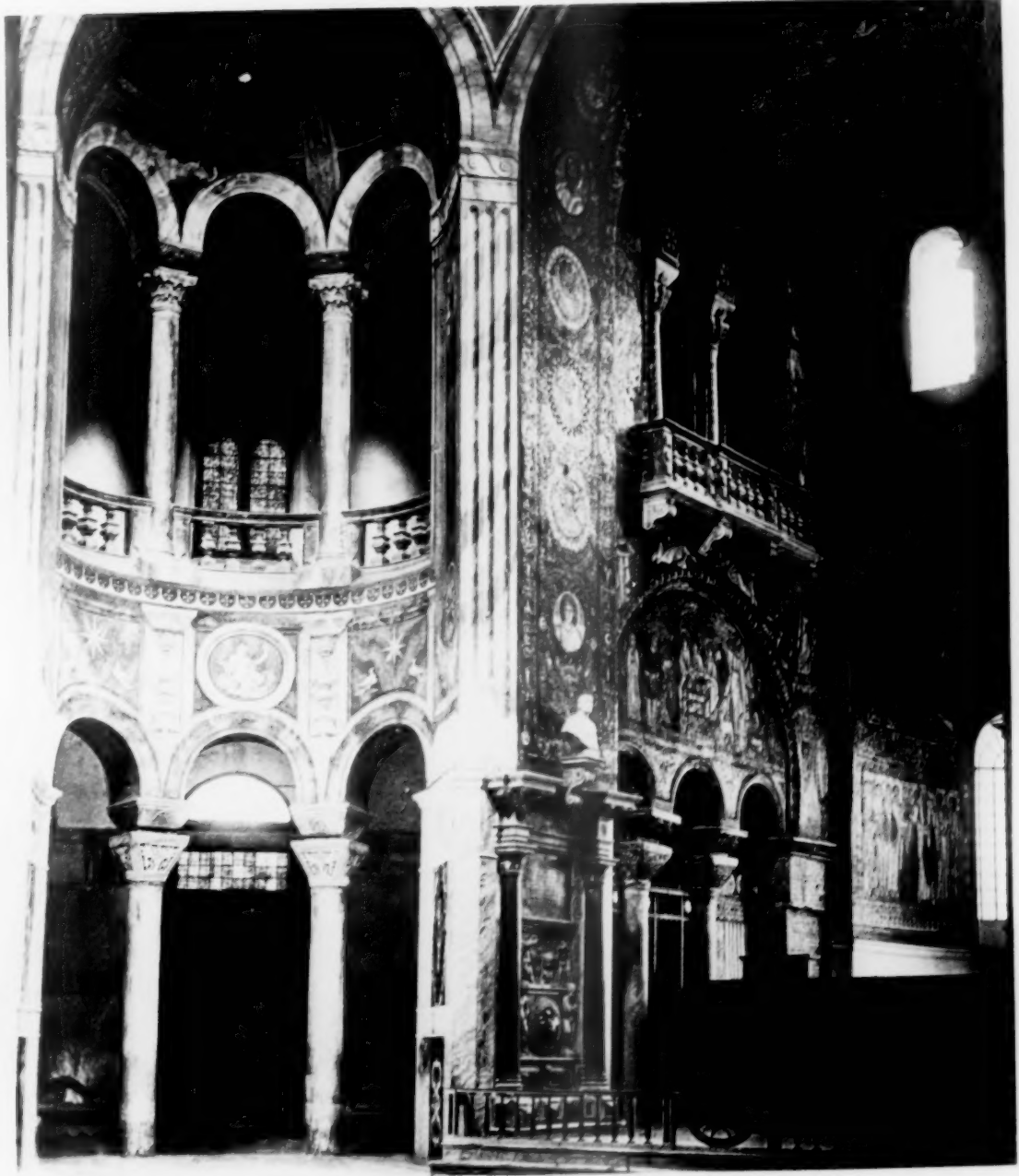
^a This plan and that of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in the same plate have been adapted from Baron Hubsch's work, *Monumenta de l'Architecture Chrétienne*. Paris, 1866.

the outside wall of the church. Between each of the piers, except the two easternmost, there is a semicircular apse, the dome-shaped covering of which is supported by the piers and by two pillars between each pier. The space between the two easternmost piers is open, and forms with a large eastern apse a deep chancel. (See Plate XXXV.) The aisle does not open into the chancel, but is screened from it by a wall in which are opened three small arches, each arch being supported by two small pillars. There was a large and curious porch at the west end, now, however, in part destroyed, and quite inaccessible owing to a large building, formerly part of the monastery but now used as a barrack, having been erected against it. It opened, however, into the church with a triplet of arches, as in the church now called the Khodsha Mustafa Pasha Djamessi at Constantinople, and I think it opened on two faces. Over the octagonal aisle is a large women's gallery exactly similar in plan to the aisle below, and terminating at the north and south-eastern ends with three arches opening into the chancel, corresponding to the arches in the screen below. On each side of the great eastern apse there are two small buildings containing staircases leading up to the women's gallery, and adjoining them again are two later circular buildings, which I think must have been intended as the foundation of two of the tall circular towers for which Ravenna is celebrated, but these were never completed. There are two at either end of the porch which have been partially completed, but none of them rise to the height of many of the other circular towers in the town.

The building is constructed entirely of brick—the bricks are thin—bearing a great resemblance to the ordinary Roman brick. The windows were all round-headed, but have in some instances been modernised.

The dome, which is supported upon the eight piers by means of Byzantine pendentives, is small, so small that the pendentives are hardly apparent, but they exist nevertheless. The dome is remarkable for having been built entirely of pots placed horizontally, the end of each pot being inserted into the mouth of the pot to which it is joined. This construction was used for lightness—but either the architect doubted the durability of his building or did not know how to coat the outside of a dome, and therefore made it only a ceiling. It is covered with a wooden roof which is tiled, and the aisles are covered in the same manner.

The piers in the octagon body of the church up to the women's gallery are ornamented with marble cut into slabs as in Santa Sophia and other well-known Byzantine examples. It would appear as if the dome had been originally lined with mosaic. This has now been removed and is replaced by some very vile painting. The whole of the chancel is, however, covered with mosaics which are



ST. VITALIS, RAVENNA.

still perfect, and form the most important of the extraordinary series still remaining in Ravenna.

The pavement was originally of tessellated work, a white ground with figures, birds, and flowers; some portion of it still remains, but owing to the rising of the bed of the river the water level has also risen, and the floor of the church has been raised to a corresponding degree; and, although the Italian Government has attempted to do so, it has been found impossible to uncover the original floor. The present floor is about two feet above the original level.

The monastery attached to the church having been dissolved by the Italian Government, the church is almost disused, but is preserved as a national monument. It has been frightfully maltreated, and shows some sign of decay, chiefly through damp, but it is otherwise now well cared for, and is less likely to suffer than it was under the hands of its former owners. In many places pieces of the mosaics have been removed by the custodians for sale to visitors, and our attendant, an old woman, lamented those good days which were now passed. The building being now under the superintendence of a Government official, this robbery is put an end to.

The pillars of the building are mostly of single blocks of grey marble, selected with great care, and apparently cut for the church, and not taken from a more ancient building. The capitals of the pillars are of different orders. The capitals in the women's gallery, with the exception of those opening into the eastern apse, are of foliage in high relief. The capitals of the lower story of the octagon, and those in both stories of the screen separating the eastern apse from the aisle, are all Byzantine; the latter are of a particularly beautiful description. The ornaments upon all these are in low relief. The arches are not supported directly upon the capitals, but there is a sort of abacus above them called, I observe, by M. Texier, a "dosseret."

These abaci are ornamented in some instances with a cross, and in other instances with remarkable monograms, which have formed the subject of some antiquarian discussion. The balustrade of the women's gallery has unfortunately been modernised, and there is no trace of the original construction.

The cupola of the church is surmounted by a bronze cross, which is believed to be coeval with the building.

In the chancel are, with many other subjects, the two celebrated mosaic groups of Justinian and Theodora. The group on the north represents the Emperor Justinian inside a church, accompanied by his nobles and guard, delivering a basin with offerings to the Bishop Maximianus, who holds a cross and

is preceded by a deacon with the censer. That on the south represents the Empress Theodora and her ladies, also delivering a basin with other offerings to the attendant of the church, probably a deacon, and apparently at the outer door of the church. The mosaic also shows the fountain for washing hands outside the church.

This is a general description of the church, and now as to its history.

It fortunately happens that there is no doubt as to the date of the erection of the church. An account of its building is preserved in the annals of a monk of Ravenna named Agnellus. Agnellus lived in the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne, and in the year 775, and wrote an account of the Bishops of Ravenna and their transactions from the foundation of the Christian church there down to the time just preceding his death. The book is full of interest. Agnellus was cordially attached to the autonomy of Ravenna, and regrets deeply the fact of its falling under the papal dominion, a misfortune which must have happened about the year 750.

The book is divided into chapters, giving various incidents, both religious and secular, in the lives of the bishops.

In describing the life of Ecclesius, who was elected Bishop of Ravenna in the year 524, during the reign of Theodoric, Agnellus says, "In his time the church of the Blessed Martyr Vitalis was founded by Julianus Argentarius in conjunction with the bishop himself."

*Vita Sancti Ecclesii, caput primum. De Sancto Ecclesio**

Ipsius temporibus Ecclesia B. Vitalis Martyris a Juliano Argentario una cum ipso Præsule fundata est.

Agnellus continues: "The commencement of the building of the church was made by Julianus, after that the Bishop Ecclesius had returned to Rome from Constantinople with John the Pope, whither he had been sent by Theodoric."^b

Ecclesius went to Constantinople with the Pope John in the year 525, and returned in the year 526. Theodoric, the Gothic and Arian King of Italy and Ravenna, died in July of the same year; a few months before his death Ecclesius returned to Ravenna.

Agnellus, after making some observations upon bishops in general, not very complimentary to those of his own time, proceeds to say, "But, as I said before, in his time the church of the Blessed Martyr Vitalis was built by Julianus Argentarius. There is no church like it in Italy either for its construction or

* *Agnelli Liber Pontificalis. Modena, 1708. Pars Secunda, p. 38.*

^b *Idem, p. 39.*

for its mechanical works." He then mentions that the expense of building the church, as was recorded in the eulogium upon its consecration, and in memory of its founder Julianus, was twenty-six thousand golden solidi.^a "*Sed sicut superius dixi in tempore ipsius ecclesia B. Vitalis Martyris a Juliano Argentario constructa est. Nulla in Italia ecclesia similis est in ædificiis et in mechanicis operibus. Expensus vero in predicti Martyris Vitalis ecclesia sicut in elogio sanctæ recordationis et memoriæ Juliani fundatoris invenimus xxvi millia aureorum expensa sunt solidorum.*" Agnellus goes on to say that when Ecclesius died he was buried in the church of St. Vitalis, within the monastery of St. Nazarius. Ecclesius died in the year 534, and was succeeded by a bishop of the name of Ursicinus.

Ursicinus died in the year 538 and was buried in St. Vitalis, and it is reasonable to suppose that in his time the building proceeded. He was succeeded by a bishop of the name of Victor, who died in the year 546, and it was in the episcopate of his successor, Maximianus, that the church was consecrated.

After the death of Theodoric, in 526, the kingdom of Ravenna was assumed by his daughter, Amalasuntha, as guardian of her son, Amalaric. Amalasuntha formed an alliance with the Emperor Justinian. She reigned with her son until his death in 538; she was shortly afterwards murdered and the government taken by Vitiges, who in his turn in the year 539 was conquered by Belisarius, and Ravenna was taken for Justinian.

Maximianus was consecrated Bishop of Ravenna in the year 546, and in the same year he consecrated the church of St. Vitalis, exactly twenty years after its commencement. It would appear, therefore, that the church was twenty years in process of building, or, perhaps, to speak more strictly, in process of building and decoration. At all events it is probable that it was in his time that the mosaics were erected in the chancel, because he is represented there with the Emperor Justinian. I think there is no doubt that the consecration in the time of Maximianus was a real consecration of the church, and not a re-consecration consequent upon the use of the church by the Arians. Agnellus uses two different expressions to signify a consecration and a re-consecration of a building.

Agnellus in the account he gives of the life of St. Maximianus and of a journey he made to Constantinople, which is most entertaining, adds,^b "*Consecravit ecclesiam B. Vitalis Martyris in Ravenna. Et in tribunâ B. Vitalis ejusdem Maximiani effigies atque Augusti et Augustæ tessellis valde computatæ sunt.*"

In the mosaics on the eastern apse there is a portrait of Ecclesius holding a

^a *Idem*, p. 40.

^b *Idem*, p. 34.

model of the church. Probably, therefore, the church was substantially erected by him, but not actually completed until the time of Maximianus.

It may be interesting to remember that during these twenty years the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Sta. Sophia, of the Apostles, and of St. Eirene at Constantinople, were all in the course of erection; and, when the Bishops Ecclesius and Maximianus went to Constantinople, they must have seen these buildings in course of construction and completed.

It will be seen that St. Vitalis was begun and completed in the reigns of two bishops, both in direct personal communication with Constantinople, and in the very best times of Byzantine architecture, the lifetime of Anthemus and Isidore.

Simultaneously with this church two others were built in Ravenna. One is the celebrated church of St. Apollinaris, in the old suburb of Classis, of which it is now the sole representative, and the other is the church of St. Martin, now called S. Apollinari Nuovo. Both churches are plain basilicas, and entirely unlike St. Vitalis. The former of them—viz. St. Apollinaris, in the suburb of Classis—was commenced by the Bishop Ursicinus, the successor of Ecclesius. It was consecrated by Maximianus, and the same man who appears as aiding in the building of the church of St. Vitalis—viz. Julianus Argentarius—appears as aiding in the building of this church also.

There has been some discussion as to who Julianus Argentarius was, and whether he was the architect or a munificent contributor to the church, but the probability is that Julianus was the banker of the diocese of Ravenna, and that he saw to the payment for these buildings, and that Argentarius is a description and not a name.

Of the other building, S. Apollinari Nuovo, there is not so much known. It was commenced in the reign of Theodoric and was most probably used as an Arian church. It was consecrated to the Catholic use by Agnellus, the successor of Maximianus, in the year 553, and was decorated by him with a series of mosaics hardly inferior in interest to those at St. Vitalis, and no doubt by the same hand.

While the churches of St. Apollinaris, in the suburb of Classis, and S. Apollinari Nuovo, are of the ordinary basilica shape, it is quite otherwise with the church of St. Vitalis, and many writers upon architecture and Ravenna, including Mr. Fergusson, have been much exercised in attempting to discover the origin of its design.

There is an interesting work upon architecture, written in French, by Baron Hubsch,* who spent a considerable time in Constantinople and Ravenna. He has

* *Monuments de l'Architecture Chrétienne.* Paris, 1866.

come to the conclusion that the church of St. Vitalis is an imitation of the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan. Baron Hubsch's account is too long to quote, but it entirely proceeds upon an assumption for which we have no authority, viz. that S. Lorenzo at Milan is anterior in date to St. Vitalis. Even if it were, there are so many differences in principle that I think the theory is in every respect untenable.

The church of S. Lorenzo is not octagonal, and one great difference between it and St. Vitalis is the total absence in the Milan church of any chancel.

Again, the dome of S. Lorenzo, according to its present formation, is not circular, and the Byzantine pendentives are of the rudest construction; nor is there in the church, as far as I remember, anything like a trace of the Byzantine detail which may be seen so plentifully in St. Vitalis; and lastly, there is the well-known Lombard Gallery under the eaves of the roof. I should say, therefore, that it is more likely that the church of S. Lorenzo was a Lombard copy of St. Vitalis than that St. Vitalis was a Byzantine copy of S. Lorenzo.

Mr. Fergusson has also given an account of this church. He says: "In design it is nearly identical with the Minerva Medica at Rome, except that this is an octagon instead of a decagon, and that it is wholly inclosed by an octagonal wall, whereas the Roman example has besides two curvilinear wings inclosing its sides. There are also some minor alterations, such as the introduction of galleries and the prominence given to the choir; but still nothing to justify the title of Byzantine usually applied to this church. It is in reality a bad copy from a building in Rome, and very unlike any building in the East we are acquainted with, though no doubt there are certain forms of similarity, as indeed must be found in all the buildings of the age before the final separation of the two churches took place."^a

It is of course almost impossible to compare the church with the now shapeless temple of Minerva Medica, but I know by personal examination that the dome of the temple was not supported on pendentives.

I cannot understand the paragraph in which he says, "that no doubt there are certain forms of similarity, as indeed must be found in all the buildings of the age before the final separation of the two Churches took place."

No one knows better than Mr. Fergusson that the contemporaries of St. Vitalis in the East are the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Sta. Sofia, St. Eirene at Constantinople, and St. John at Ephesus, and there is not a single church out of the Levant which was built in that age which could in any way compare with

^a *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 512.

any one of these churches, unless it be St. Vitalis, either in design, detail, or ornament.

As to the octagon form, that was in use in the East from the earliest time.

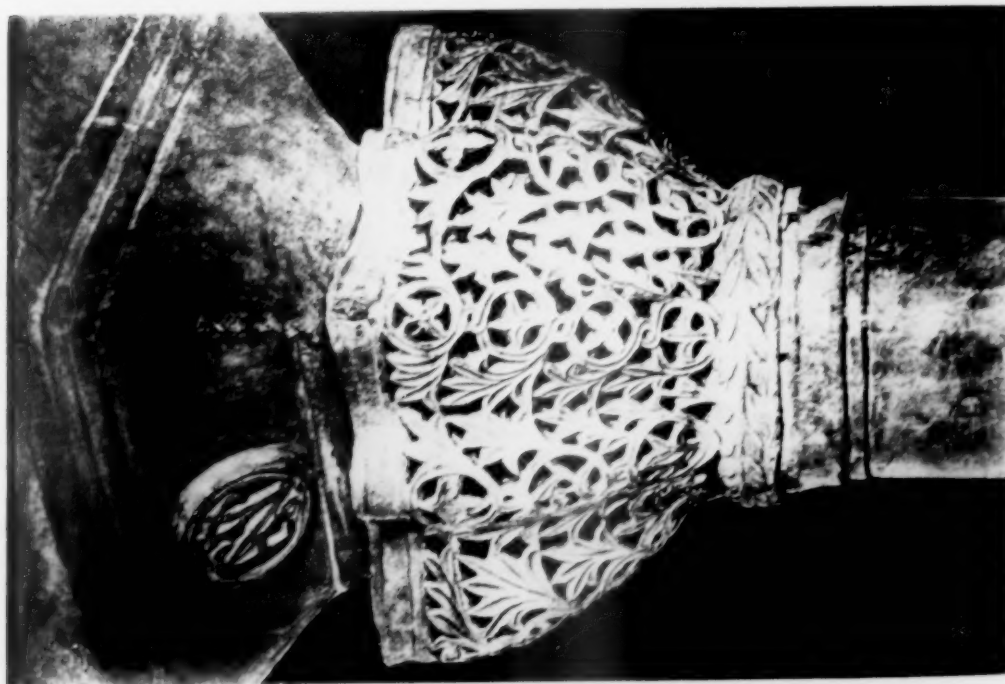
There is an excellent description of St. Vitalis in Mr. Murray's Handbook of Italy. He observes that "It was an imitation of Sta. Sofia at Constantinople." Without in the least contradicting the fact, which I presently hope to establish, that its builder received his inspiration in part, at least, from Sta. Sofia, this proposition is too broadly stated. Too broadly also does Murray speak when he talks of "a colossal dome" when it is only 50 ft. in diameter. But in most respects his account is most accurate.

Having thus spoken of my neighbours' theories I will come to my own.

If we turn to the churches of Constantinople building at the same time as St. Vitalis we find the following similarity; in the first place, the deep chancel and apse; in the second place, the semicircular apses between the piers. These in St. Vitalis, indeed, seem to be an exact copy of those in Sta. Sophia, and not unlike those in SS. Sergius and Bacchus, except that the arrangement of St. Vitalis appears somewhat more complete than either of the Byzantine examples. The large women's gallery, the marble decoration, the mosaics, all point to Constantinople. The arrangement of the staircases leading to the women's gallery is exactly like that at St. Eirene.

There are, on the contrary, some remarkable differences in detail between this church and the churches of Constantinople. In the first place, the dome of the church at Ravenna is covered with a roof; in Constantinople the domes invariably form their own roof. But, if we turn from Constantinople to Salonica, there we see in the circular church of St. George a deep chancel similar to that of St. Vitalis and a dome covered with a roof. In another church at Salonica, St. Demetrius, we find further peculiarities and details similar to those in the church of Ravenna; the church of St. Demetrius appears to have been built as a T-shaped basilica, a nave and four aisles, with a transept in front of the apse. In order to form a deep chancel the transepts have been cut off by a screen like that which in St. Vitalis separates the chancel from the octagonal aisles.

Again, we find over the capitals in St. Demetrius the same large abacus that we find in the church of St. Vitalis, and with respect to the capitals there is one beautiful capital, which, allowing for the difference in execution, is found at St. Vitalis, St. Demetrius at Salonica, Sta. Sofia, and SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and, to the best of my belief, nowhere else. (See Plate XXXVI.) There is another peculiar ornament which is confined to St. Vitalis and Constantinople.



ST. VITALIS, RAVENNA.



SS. SERGIUS & BACCHUS, CONSTANTINOPLE.

I mean the strange monograms on the capitals of the pillars. Those at St. Vitalis are obviously all copied in idea from the monograms upon the capitals in the church of Sta. Sophia, and one at least is an exact reproduction. The Ravenna monograms have caused a great deal of discussion, and the meaning of them is by no means clear. Every kind of interpretation has been put upon them, but the usually received opinion seems to be that the monogram with the cross, occurring often on the capitals (Plate XXXVI.), represents the word *Ecclesius*, the other (see woodcut) *Julianus*. I cannot follow the former, and unless there was a *Julianus* connected with Sta. Sofia the latter reading is incorrect, as this monogram appears in Sta. Sofia also.



ST. VITALIS.



SANTA SOFIA.



SANTA SOFIA.

With regard to the prominence of the chancel, although there are many circular churches in Italy, not one of them has any chancel beyond the smallest apse, whereas all the eastern churches have well developed chancels.

From all which considerations I come to the conclusion that the church of St. Vitalis, commenced by the Bishop *Ecclesius* and completed by *Maximianus*, was built after the fashion of an eastern church, both in design and in detail, and that it was built by workmen who had seen the designs of, or who had been employed on, the churches of Sta. Sophia and of *Salonica*.

On the contrary, the two churches of St. Apollinaris were built in the ordinary form of an Italian church at that date, and any Byzantine ornaments that are found in them are due to the fact that they were built under the same *Julianus Argentarius* who superintended the building of the church of St. Vitalis, and to the general communication between Ravenna and the East, which was much more intimate than between Rome and Ravenna. The ecclesiastical names and ornaments were brought from Constantinople and not Rome.

One of the principal monasteries in Ravenna was named Sta. Maria ad Blachernas, of which our historian, *Agnellus*, was abbot.

And for ornaments there is still preserved in the cathedral at Ravenna the episcopal chair of the Bishop *Maximianus* of ivory, upon which there may be seen

a Byzantine monogram. There is no doubt that this chair* (Plate XXXVII) is Byzantine, because, in addition to the monogram, the figures are giving the blessing in the Greek and not the Latin form. This is interesting, because in a Latin representation of this chair the figures are shown as giving the blessing in the Latin form.

I have not said anything about the mosaics, because I do not think that they touch the matter in any way. The mosaics are of course Byzantine, and exceedingly interesting, particularly the groups of Justinian and Theodora. There are two mosaics of Justinian in Ravenna, one in St. Vitalis and the other in S. Apollinari Nuovo, and I should think there is little doubt these must be portraits.

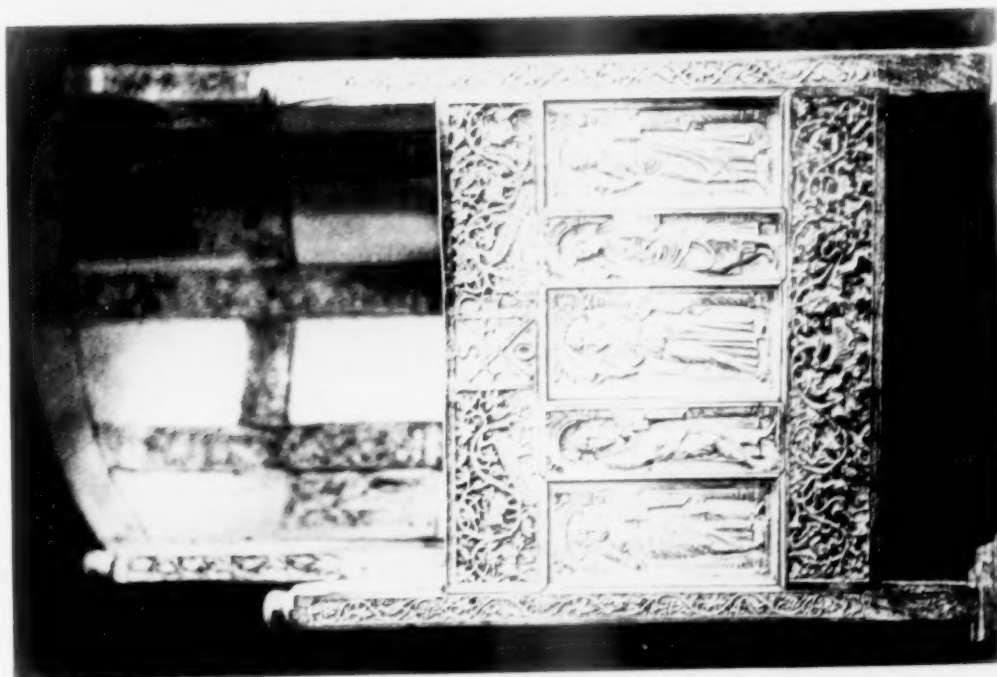
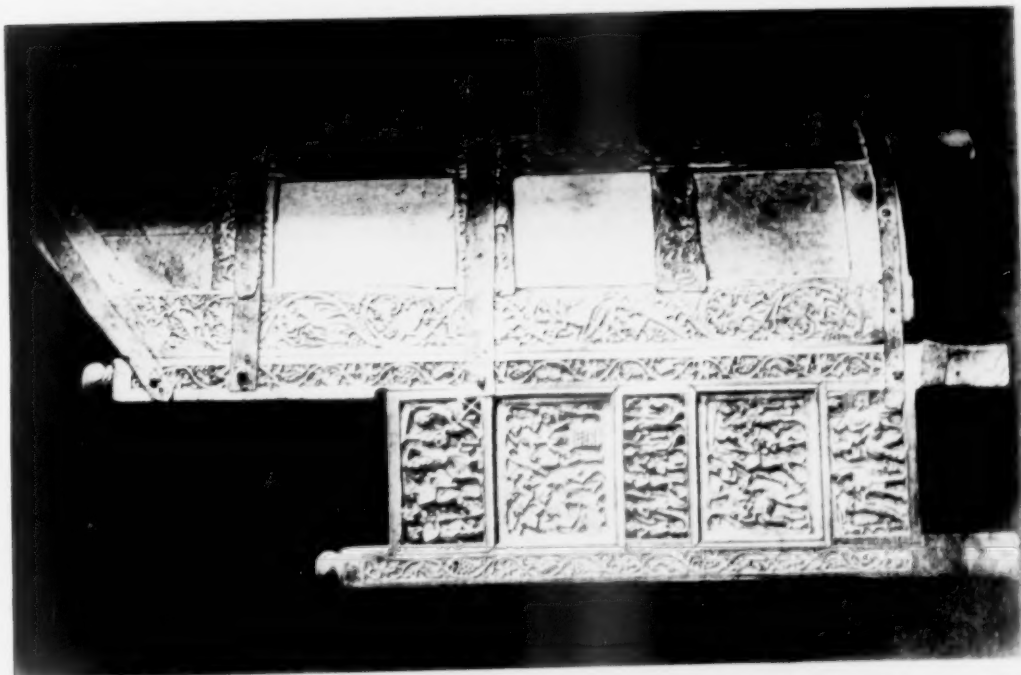
The portrait in mosaic of Justinian is characteristically ugly, and not unlike his figure as it appears upon his coins.

Time does not allow me to describe the other mosaics, but I must say a word more about the great group at the eastern end of St. Vitalis. In it is the representation of St. Ecclesius carrying the church in his arms. The Emperor and Empress both are represented as bearing bowls, which have given rise to a great deal of discussion. It has been suggested that the Emperor and Empress were present at the dedication of the church, and that these mosaics represent them bringing their offerings, but I believe this is altogether unfounded; there is no evidence that the Emperor and Empress ever went to Italy. I should think that the figures more probably represent the Emperor and Empress bringing offerings at the celebration of the Holy Communion. In fact, the group of the Emperor Justinian with his nobles and men-at-arms is most probably the representation of a Byzantine Emperor at one of the entrances. The Empress Theodora is outside the church, probably going up into her seat in the women's gallery.

In the church of St. Apollinaris ad Classem is a singular group representing the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus giving privileges to the Bishop Reparatus, the dresses in which may be usefully compared with those in St. Vitalis.

I need hardly say that this paper by no means exhausts the subjects of interest in St. Vitalis. My object has been, and I hope I have succeeded in so doing, to throw some additional light upon its Byzantine origin.

* A description of this chair is given in Westwood's Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum, p. 357. An unsatisfactory engraving of it may be found in Du Sommerard's *Arts du Moyen Âge*, Album, 1^{re} Série, pl. xi., and also in the appendix to the *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus. Our engraving, together with the others from Ravenna, is reproduced from photographs by Signor Luigi Bacci of Ravenna, who has printed a list of nearly 500 photographs of buildings and antiquities in that city.



EPISCOPAL CHAIR OF IVORY. CATHEDRAL OF RAVENNA.

XXII.—*Remarks on some Charters and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Robertsbridge, in the County of Sussex, in the possession of the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., F.S.A.* By CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq., LL.D., *Director.*

Read February 2nd, 1871.

THE charters and other documents which Mr. Blunt has kindly exhibited this evening formed a part of the archives of the Cistercian Abbey of Robertsbridge, founded in 1176, at a spot within the parish of Salehurst, in Eastern Sussex, where the high road from Hastings to Tunbridge crosses the River Rother, which here changes its course from south-east to east, and after passing Bodiham Castle forms for a few miles the boundary between Kent and Sussex, until turning sharply to the south it enters the sea at Rye Harbour.

The founder, Alured or Alfred de St. Martin, seems to have been a person of some distinction in his day. In the charter of the first year of King Richard I. now exhibited (see Appendix No. I.) he is styled *dapifer noster*, and, as Mr. Stapleton observes, he held the same office in the next reign, and was in constant attendance on his sovereign, as is evidenced by the frequency of the occurrence of his name as an attesting witness to royal charters of the time. In 1180, and again in 1184, he is found on the Norman Exchequer Rolls accounting for the issues of the bailiwick of the Pays de Bray, and the *præpositura* of Drincort or Neufchâtel-en-Bray.*

He appears to have been a tenant of the Earl of Eu (Comes Auci, de Auco, de Augo, Auciensis) both in Normandy and in England, and in 1161 he obtained from a kinsman, Geoffrey de St. Martin, in exchange for certain Norman estates, all the land which Geoffrey held of the Earl in England, and which is described in Mr. Blunt's charter (see Appendix No. II.) as the land of Wariland, with the appurtenances, to be held of Geoffrey as freely as his father ever held it, by the

* See Rot. Scacc. Norm. i. pp. cii. cxxxviii.

service of one knight's fee. The date of the charter, besides referring to the year of our Lord, is fixed by the statement that it was done in the same year that the Kings of France and England were reconciled (*pacificati sunt*).^a

The Earl of Eu at this date was John, great-grandson of Robert, the "Comes Augi," of Domesday Book. He retained a large estate in England, having at the levying of the aid to marry the King's daughter (12 Henry II.) no less than fifty-six knights' fees there. His father had sixty knights' fees in the rape of Hastings. He married Alice, daughter of William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, by Adeliza of Louvain, the widow of Henry I. After his death in 1170 the Countess Alice married Alured de St. Martin, and became a benefactress to Robertsbridge.^b

Though not a formal party to the deed of exchange, the Earl ratified it by affixing his seal, as engraved in the Appendix. It is in brown wax, circular, somewhat dished, and in fine preservation, bearing the Earl's effigy on horseback, with the legend arranged in an unusual manner so as to begin reading in the field—

SIGILLVM | JOHANNES : COMES : AUGI.

The seal of Geoffrey de St. Martin also remains appended. It is likewise in brown wax, two inches in diameter. The subject, as will be seen on reference to the engraving, is a lion passant to the sinister, with the legend—

+ SIGILLV GAVFRIDI DE SCO MARTINO.

Wariland, the subject of the exchange, is considered by the Rev. G. M. Cooper in his Notices of the Abbey of Robertsbridge,^c (chiefly compiled, I may here mention, from other charters of the abbey discovered some years ago at Penshurst Castle), as identical with "Walilond," a name which occurs in other deeds, and which he finds at Walland Merse, in the parish of Ivychurch, land afterwards in the possession of the monastery. I venture to think, however, that it must have denoted a territory of some extent in the rape of Hastings, including at all events the site of the abbey.

The charter of Richard I. already referred to (Appendix No. I.), confirms to Alured de St. Martin, *dapifero nostro*, the gift made to him by Henry, Earl of Eu, in presence of the late King Henry II. after the death of the Countess Alice,

^a See Roger de Hoveden, Rolls edition, i. 217, as to this peace of 1161.

^b Sussex Arch. Coll. viii. 148.

^c Sussex Arch. Coll. viii. 141. For Walland Merse, see p. 150, *ibid.*

of certain lands, Eleham and Bensintone, parcel of her *maritagium*, for his life. What interest the monks of Robertsbridge had in these lands does not appear.

Prior to the year 1204 the monks obtained from Seffrid (Bishop of Chichester from 1180 to that year) a sort of confirmation of their position in the diocese, in the form of the instrument given in the Appendix No. III. It is a curious document. None of the lands of Robertsbridge were held mediately or immediately of the Bishop, and no act of his could perfect their legal title thereto. Seffrid, however, gave them what he could; in the first place, he takes the Abbat and his monks under the protection of God, of the church of Chichester, and his own, and confirms to them, "*ea quæ fungimur auctoritate*," all their present and future lawfully acquired possessions. He then enumerates the chief existing estates thus:—First, the entire fee of Robertsbridge, where their church is situated, and which his beloved Alured de St. Martin,^a founder of the house, had given them in frankalmoigne. Next, all the land which Alured had held in fee-farm of the canons of St. Mary of Hastings. Then, all Alured's land between Winchelsea and Clivesende, the land of Farleie (Fairlight), the land of Gencelin,^b and the land of Poiclesherse, bought by Alured and given by him to the convent. The instrument concludes by a threat of the divine vengeance and the serious indignation of the see of Chichester against any one molesting the monks in their property or in respect of their franchises and privileges granted by King Henry II. or by apostolic authority.

Passing over the events of the next century, which none of the present documents particularly illustrate, we come to several charters which refer to a disputed claim to certain ecclesiastical property; a business which occasioned great anxiety to the monks for a long space of years.

As already stated, the abbey of Robertsbridge stood in the parish of Salehurst, which seems to have been regarded as the mother church of Munde-feld (now Mountfield), the next parish southwards, and Odymere (now Udimore), lying seven miles off towards Rye. After the fashion of conventual bodies in those days, the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge were most anxious to improve their finances by appropriating these churches. For this was required, first, that they should acquire the advowsons, having obtained licence from the lords of the fee to hold them, and then that they should procure from the

^a Alured seems from this to have been alive at the date of this instrument.

^b This estate was in Seddlescombe parish. See Sussex Arch. Coll. viii. 149.

Bishop permission to appropriate the tithes to their own uses, subject, of course, to an arrangement for the performance of divine offices in the churches and parishes appropriated.

Among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum is a small volume (No. 28,550) which formerly belonged to Robertsbridge. It contains copies of records and terriers or rentals of estates of the monastery, prefaced by a few vellum leaves, a portion of a chronicle or narrative of the transactions in which the abbey was engaged relative to the appropriation in question. This document is to some extent fragmentary, the first leaf beginning with the words "Odymerc et Mundefeld," and ending abruptly, one or more leaves being lost. The next five leaves are perfect, and altogether enough remains to make out the story, the accuracy of which is in the most important particulars confirmed by Mr. Blunt's deeds and other records.

There seemed to me to be so much that is of interest in this little domestic chronicle in the way of illustration of mediæval and conventual manners that, at the risk of the charge of tediousness, I have ventured to give large extracts from the manuscript, preserving as much as possible the arrangement and diction of the original.

The first step in the business, after procuring a promise of the advowsons from Sir William de Echingham, the patron, head of a family of some distinction, who took their surname from the manor of the same name, about two miles north of Robertsbridge, was to obtain the King's licence in mortmain to take the advowsons and appropriate the churches. This licence was granted, as noticed by Mr. Cooper (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* viii. 161), in the second year of King Edward II.*

The first fragment of the chronicle, as I have termed it, begins here. After mentioning that Brother Laurence, the Abbat, obtained the King's licence just mentioned, dated May 20, as it would seem, it proceeds to tell how he journeyed to Fotheringhay Castle, where John, Duke of Brittany, and lord of the rape of Hastings (*mesne* lord, therefore, between the King and Sir William de Echingham), was residing, and how, with great difficulty, "*et non sine lacrimis*," not without having recourse to the persuasive influence of a flood of tears, he prevailed on the Duke to give his licence in mortmain also.

Sir William, on seeing the charters of the King and the Duke, made his own charters in duplicate, as the chronicler with great precision states, of the advowsons,

* Cal. Rot. Pat. 2 Edw. II. 2^a pars. m. 6, "Pro Abbate de Ponte Roberti de appropriatione."

together with an acre of land for glebe, lying without the east gate of the abbey, which acre is called in English "Seynte Maries Aker."

This charter is one of those exhibited by Mr. Blunt. By it Sir William de Echingham gives to God and the church of St. Mary of Robertsbridge, and to Brother Laurence, Abbat, and the convent there, one acre of his brush land (*terra Brocalis*) in Salherst, together with the advowsons of the churches of Salherst, Odimere, and Mundefeld, with their appurtenances, which acre of land lay without the east gate of the abbey next the river (*ripam*) which runs from Robertsbridge to Bodiham bridge, and which was of the donor's tenement of Hegham, in free and perpetual alms, with clause of warranty. Witnesses: Sir Robert de Passeleghe, Sir Henry Wardenen, and Sir Baldwyn de Stowe, knights; Edmund de Passeleghe, William de Lonesford, Alan de Bokesselle, Roger Doghet, Henry de Scharndenne, Richard de Codynge, Olyver de Cressy, William de Ponte, and many others.

To this charter, the very fine seal of the donor, in green wax, with counterseal,



SEAL AND COUNTERSEAL OF SIR WILLIAM DE ECHINGHAM, TEMP. EDW. II.

remains appended. The heraldry of this seal presents an enigma, which, for want of information as to the matrimonial alliances of the family, remains to a great extent unsolved, either by the Sussex antiquaries or by myself. The coat, (Azure), fretty (argent), is for Echingham; the three crescents and a canton are

for Stopham; the mother of this William, wife of his father of the same name, having been Eva, daughter and heir of Ralph de Stopham.* Of the three other coats I will say nothing. It is easier to assign names to them than to explain the connection of the families named with the Echingshams.

The charter is not dated, but, as already shown, it may safely be referred to the second year of Edward II.

The Abbat, we are told, undertook, in the next place, a second journey to the North, about Candlemas, 1309-10 (3 Edward II.), and this time as far as York, where the Bishop of Chichester, John de Langehetone (Langton), then was, in attendance, no doubt, on the King, as he held the office of Chancellor. The Abbat hoped to induce his diocesan to agree amicably to the appropriation. In this hope, however, he was disappointed, for the Bishop had a strong objection to the transaction and refused his consent.

Brother Laurence was not to be baffled by this, but about the middle of the following Lent, 1310, having first set his monastery in good order in every respect, he set out, unknown to the Bishop, for Avignon, where "the Court of Our Lord the Pope then was." Here he was more successful, for he soon^b obtained a bull authorising the appropriation of the church so much desired. But "*omnia Romæ cum pretio*." Fees had to be paid, and the Abbat's purse had run so low that he had not enough money left to pay for his bull and his journey home. The consequence was that much *à contre cœur*, "*cum magnâ cordis angustia*," he was forced to stay at Avignon as patiently as he might till after Midsummer Day, when the return of a trusty messenger whom he had despatched to Robertsbridge for supplies relieved him of his difficulty. He got safe home with his Papal privilege about the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the fourth year of the King's reign (August 1, 1310), and had a fine levied in the King's Court on the octave of St. Martin, Nov. 18, of that year, wherein William de Echingham warranted the advowsons for himself and his heirs.

Whether tired of these constant peregrinations undertaken in the interest of his convent, or for other good causes, Brother Laurence, not long after, that is, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8,) 1311, retired from the office of Abbat. He was immediately succeeded, on September 10, by

* See Mr. Spencer Hall's Echyngham of Echyngham, London, 1850; and Sussex Arch. Coll. ix. 344.

^b The text says that he obtained the Bull on viii. Kal. Martii, in the fifth year of Pope Clement the fifth, that is, on February 22, 1310, but considering that he did not set out for Avignon till about Midlent, and that Midlent Sunday in that year fell on March 29, this is impossible. Perhaps, by a slip of the pen, Martii has been written for Maii, which would do well enough.

Brother John de Wallyngfeld, a monk of the house, whose first duty was to proceed to London to wait on the newly-arrived Cardinal Arnold (Novelli) of the title of St. Prisca, Cardinal Priest, and sometime Abbat of the Cistercian House of Fons Frigidus (Font-froide), in the diocese of Narbonne. The object of this visit was to induce the great man to intercede between his co-religionists of Robertsbridge and the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Dean and Chapter of Chichester, in whose joint names an appeal had been lodged in the Roman Court against the Bull of appropriation, which, indeed, as we have seen, had been obtained by Abbat Laurence behind their backs.

The first leaf of Add. MS. 28,550 ends at this point, and there is a *hiatus* of some years.

Before proceeding with what may be called the second act of the Salehurst drama, it will be proper to notice that in 1315, by another charter in Mr. Blunt's collection, dated at London, on Sunday next after the feast of St. Agatha the Virgin (February 9), 1315, John of Brittany, styling himself Earl of Richmond and lord of the rape of Hastings, granted and confirmed to the Abbat of Robertsbridge and Convent there all the lands and tenements, &c. which William de Echyngham had given to them in the rape of Hastings, according to his charters, in pure and perpetual alms. Moreover, he granted and confirmed to them in pure and perpetual alms the water of Poukheldebroke and the course of that water, so that they might freely conduct that water to their millpond at Wynhamford, with all other waters descending to the said mills: provided that they do not raise the dam (*calcetum*) of the millpond higher than it was raised on the day of the date of the deed. With a release of all actions and demands on account of diversion of the water. Witnesses: Sir Robert de Hastanges, Sir Peter de Grauntsoun, Sir Robert de Feltone, his knights; John de Stykeneye, his seneschal; Robert de Kersebroke, his bailiff of the rape of Hastings; Matthew de Saint Giles (de Sancto Egidio), his chamberlain; Oger de Podeyns, marshal of his household, and others.

The large fragment of the handsome seal which remains pendant to this charter is figured overleaf. It is enclosed in a circular pouch of red kid leather, stitched round with a plaited cord of green and yellow silk. A duplicate of this document, under the same seal, "nearly perfect," and preserved in a "neatly constructed leather case," was among the Battle Abbey charters, as appears from Thorpe's Catalogue, p. 62.

The arms are thus tersely blazoned by a contemporary authority (Roll of Arms temp. Edw. II. Nicolas, 1829, Roll N. of Papworth): "Le Counte de

Rugemond, les Armes de Garenne (*i.e.* Warren, checquy or and azure), à un quarter de ermyne (for Brittany) od la bordure de Engleterre." Sandford (*Genealogical History*, p. 936) observes that this John de Britannia bore the bordure of lions not only to distinguish him from his eldest brother Arthur, Duke of Brittany, but also to show his descent from King Henry III. whose daughter Beatrice was wife of John de Dreux, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, and father of this John.



SEAL AND COUNTERSEAL OF JOHN OF BRITTANY, EARL OF RICHMOND, 1315.

Sir William de Echingham continued to be a benefactor to the abbey, for by his charter (among Mr. Blunt's documents, and under the seal already figured), dated Thursday next after the Annunciation B.V.M. 12 Edw. II. (March 29, 1319), he grants, remises, and for himself and his heirs quit-claims, to Sir Nicholas, Abbat, and the Convent of Robertsbridge, all his right and claim in one acre and a-half of meadow with the appurtenances in Salehirst, called Lesebroles de Horepoleslond, which he had of the gift of Alan de Bokeselle, knight, to hold the meadow, which is of his fee of Echingham, in frank almoigne. Witnesses: Sir Robert de

Echingham, Sir Alan de Bokeselle, knights; William de Lonesford, William de Ponte, William de Haremere, Elpher Foghelyng, and others.

Sir William died without issue in the 20th and last year of King Edward II. 1327, and was succeeded by his brother and heir Sir Robert, who very shortly after also died without issue.

His next brother and heir was Sir Simon of Echingham, who did not show himself so good a friend to the monks as his eldest brother; for in Trinity Term, 6 Edward III. 1332, proceedings were had in the Common Pleas on a writ of *quare impedit* brought by him against the Abbat of Robertsbridge to enforce his alleged right of presentation to the prebend of Salehurst, in the free chapel of the King at Hastings, then vacant. A transcript of the record is entered on folio 10 of the British Museum MS.; from this it appears that judgment went against Sir Simon, and it may be noted that the Abbat produced the licence in mortmain of Edward II. previously referred to, and also pleaded that the benefice was full, by the presentation by Sir William de Echingham of one John de Godele, his clerk, who was still alive.

We are here presented with a new fact, that Salehurst, and apparently the other two churches as well, formed the *corps* of a prebend in the small collegiate church or royal free chapel of St. Mary within the castle of Hastings, founded for a dean and certain secular canons.^a

The interrupted narrative of the "Chronicle" re-commences about this point, somewhat abruptly, but from the context it may be gathered that prior to 1332 there had been proceedings in the Court of Arches relative to the prebend, and that the Dean and Canons in or about 1333 commenced a fresh suit in the Spiritual Court against the convent with reference to the appropriation.

A third adversary had arisen against them in the person of Robert de Tanthone, a clerk high in the confidence of Edward III. having at one time held, and probably indeed holding in 1333, the office of the keeper of the privy seal,^b and who at his death in or about 1335 was treasurer of the household.^c He had procured either from the King, who seems to have claimed the advowson of the prebend, or from Sir Simon de Echingham, or both, a presentation to the church and prebend of Salehurst, and in 1333 was engaged in an appeal against the

^a See an account of the chapel in Sussex Arch. Coll. vol. xiii. p. 132.

^b Rot. Parl. vol. ii. 109^b, n. 33, 13 Edw. III.

^c Cal. Rot. Pat. (p. 122) 9 Edw. III. 1^a pars, m. 34.

Abbat and Convent touching the same. At this time King Edward, we are told, had made his expedition in aid of Edward Baliol, and was besieging Berwick-on-Tweed, where Robert de Tanthone was in waiting on him.

Sir Simon brought a fresh writ of *quare impedit* against the Abbat, that he should permit him to present a fit person to the prebend of Salehurst. It may be gathered that Robert de Tanthone was the presentee, for by his procurement royal letters were sent to London to the judges of the Court of King's Bench, requiring them to assist Sir Simon as much as possible.

Up to this point Sir Simon and Robert de Tanthone were pulling together, as the phrase is, but now, for some reason not very clear, in the absence of the entire context, but probably on account of the judgment against Sir Simon, in the former suit of *quare impedit*, Robert took his own ground, and induced the King to order the justices to transmit to him the whole record and process for examination by his council. This resulted in the despatch of letters under the privy seal (*litteras privatas*) to the Chancery, ordering that all the charters of the Abbat of Robertsbridge lately granted "*per consilium suum (i.e. regis) præter conscientiam ejus,*" which I take to mean granted as of course, without actual knowledge on the King's part, should be cancelled.

Now when these letters (the MS. proceeds) came to be circulated in the Chancery, one of the clerks, John de St. Paul, answered and said that it would be a very bad precedent if the King, out of his own head, should revoke charters made by his Council and duly enrolled; and the Chancellor, John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, happening to be friendly to the Abbat, deferred giving effect to the royal mandate.

Finding himself thus foiled, Robert de Tanthone began again, and obtained a fresh presentation, not from Sir Simon but from the King, whom he worked upon to such an extent as to cause him to send a writ to the Abbat "*per duos magnos clericos,*" and concurrently to transmit to the Sheriff of Sussex his writ of *seire facias*, summoning the Abbat to appear in the Chancery three weeks after Easter to answer as to the patents which the writ alleged had been obtained craftily against the King's knowledge.* Besides this, he had four writs of *quare*

* The patents in question are probably those of the sixth year of Edward III. Rot. Pat. *ej. anni*, 3^a pars, m. 3, et m. 10, de appropriatione Ecclesiarum de Salehurst, Odemere, et Mundefeld, cited by Tanner. There is a hint in fo. 26 of the "Chronicle" that the King's council had amended the patent. I do not know in what respect, but the occurrence of two patents in one regnal year on the same subject seems to point to an amendment or further grant.

impedit issued in either Bench against Sir Simon de Echingham and the Abbat, that they should permit him, the King, to present to the prebend of Salehurst then vacant and of his gift. Hence it became plain to all concerned that the King was determined by every means in his power to deprive both Sir Simon and the Abbat of any right they respectively claimed in the prebend.

From this point we may follow the little chronicle without much interruption.

The Abbat, John de Lamberhurst, suffering from long-continued ill-health, and in great straits, fearing lest the cause of his church should be decided against him in the Chancery if he were absent, set off on his journey to York the day after he received his summons. He took with him the cellarer, Brother John of Battle, and he stayed in London sufficiently long to appear in the Court of Common Pleas before Sir William Herle and his fellow-justices there, and to appoint Thomas of Battle, who was the cellarer's brother, and one Bertram of Southwark, his attorneys in the actions of *quare impedit*.

The journey to York was performed without adventure, and, after a few days, the Abbat appeared before the Archbishop of York, "then Keeper of the Great Seal,"* and many other Lords of the Council. He was closely examined, "*terribiliter allocutus*," as to the charters of the King and of his father concerning the appropriation of the prebend, but pleaded by his counsel, "*per consilium suum*," that he was not summoned to answer as to the charter of the King's father but only as to those of the King himself. This plea or *demurrer* was held good, owing partly to the friendly disposition of the Lord Keeper, to whom the Bishop of Chichester had written in the Abbat's favour, and thus the proceedings in *scire facias* ended by the discharge of the defendant, pending the issue of a better writ.

On his return to London the Abbat found that, under the discreet management of Brother Thomas, things were on the whole taking a good turn.

The interests of the royal chapel of St. Mary, of Hastings Castle, appear to have been entrusted to Master Geoffrey de Clare, no doubt one of the Canons, for soon after we find that he became Dean of the college. He had previously acted

* William de Melton, Archbishop of York, had the custody of the Great Seal, apparently in the absence of John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, from Aug. 10, 1333 (7 Edw. III.), till January 13, 1334 (in the same regnal year), when the seal was entrusted to three other Commissioners, of whom it may be noted John de St. Paul, mentioned on a previous page, was one. In 1337 he became Master of the Rolls. See Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's *Catalogue of Lords Chancellors, &c.* London, 1843. But it does not appear from that work that the Archbishop was holding the seal at Easter, 1333, as from the MS. appears to have been the case.

as proctor to Robert de Tanthone in the ecclesiastical suit. Now, when he heard that the Abbat, contrary to expectation, had been dismissed from the Chancery without final judgment against him, he bethought him of the ingratitude of Robert de Tanthone, who was trying to oust his former friend Sir Simon from all his right and profit in the prebend, and, struck with shame and grief, he repented of the course he had taken.

Under the influence of these feelings he took an opportunity of addressing Brother Thomas on the morrow of the Ascension (May 14, 1333), at Westminster, and promised for love of Thomas, whose constancy in adversity he admired, to do his best to stop the persecution of the King and his nominee, and to settle matters with Sir Simon, if the Abbat and Convent would bind themselves to allow a reasonable stipend for a vicar to discharge the duty of the prebendary of Salehurst in the free chapel.

Thomas dissembled, and, *ore non corde*, treated Geoffrey's offer but lightly; yet, considering the doubtful issue of the recent proceedings, and the heavy expense of the suits at Avignon and in England, he promised to endeavour to persuade the Abbat and Convent to agree to the terms proposed, except as to a reconciliation with Sir Simon, which seemed to him dishonourable, having regard both to the knight's ingratitude and to the fact that by the judgment already referred to he had lost any possible rights he might have had in the subject matter of the dispute.

Master Geoffrey, however, urged the policy of coming to terms with Sir Simon as the best way of concluding the affair. The Abbat and Convent adopted the arrangement, and requested Thomas to carry it out.

Whence it came to pass that on Whit Sunday, after dinner (an appointment having been made by letter in the morning), the parties met in Sir Simon's chamber at Echingham, and agreed on the following articles of peace:—

Sir Simon was to have a present of 20 marks sterling; William de Echingham, a bastard son of the late Sir William, was to be given some respectable office, *servitium honestum*, or, in case of old age or infirmity, the victuals of a monk for life; and a stipend of 11 marks was to be settled by the convent on their vicar in the Castle of Hastings. This agreement was ratified by the oaths of Sir Simon for himself, of Geoffrey (who had been made Dean) for the Canons of Hastings, and of Brother Thomas as proctor for the Convent.

All parties agreed to seek peace with the King and Robert de Tanthone; but here fresh obstacles arose, for the Abbat, after he had been at home for a short time, was served, about Midsummer Day, with a fresh writ of *scire facias*, directed

by the King (still at the siege of Berwick, with Robert de Tanthone in his retinue), to the Sheriff of Sussex, commanding him to appear by the Octave of St. John Baptist, wherever the King might then be, to answer as to the letters patent of Edward II.

The Abbat having confessed and received the *viaticum* left Robertsbridge on the 22nd day of June, 1333 (*in prævigilia Sancti Johannis*), on his journey to York, taking with him Brother John of Battle, William of Stainynden, the Abbat's own brother, and others. They passed that night at Lamberhurst (on the borders of Kent and Sussex, where the abbey had some property), and the next at Bromley, and so on St. John's Day passing through London, the Abbat heard mass at the famous nunnery of Stratford-atte-Bowe (or Bromley, in Middlesex), and dined, I fear, too well, with the Abbat of the neighbouring Cistercian convent of Stratford. Immediately after dinner he returned in the great heat of the day to his inn near Gerscherche (Gracechurch?), where on entering his chamber he fell dead, most likely of apoplexy.*

The two monks, his companions, as might well be supposed, were much grieved and alarmed. They sent an express to Robertsbridge, whence, after a hasty consultation with the advisers of the abbey, Brother Thomas of Battle was sent up to London. His first step was to find the Sheriff of Sussex, in order to ascertain whether he had returned the writ of *scire facias* with an endorsement of service or not, the convent being advised that if this had been done, and no appearance were put in for the Abbat, judgment would go by default.

After making search for the Sheriff all over London they found him somewhere in Kent, and learned that he had endorsed the writ and handed it to his sub-Sheriff for return. By gifts and entreaties Thomas obtained an amendment of the return certifying the death of the Abbat.

Brothers John and William started off for York to watch the proceedings, which ended in the abatement of all the suits in *scire facias* and *quare impedit*.

Meanwhile Thomas of Battle was left in London "*multo periculo intricatus*," and troubled by the rector of the parish where the Abbat died, who caused his palfrey to be seized as a mortuary by the officers of the Court of Arches. This seizure was discharged by finding security, but the palfrey was again detained by the bailiffs of the Sheriffs of London. This arrest it seems was also discharged, but

* A marginal note "*Dñs Johannes de Lamberhurst Abbas diem clausit extremum*," supplies this Abbat's name. Note that his brother was called William of Stainynden.

the Londoners, fearing that by the abduction of the palfrey the rector would lose his rights, were filled with fury, and barricaded, "*vallaverunt*," the building where the palfrey and his master's corpse were housed.

The good monk was compelled to leave the palfrey in the custody of the master of the house, to remain there until the lawyers had determined to whom it belonged. He procured a two-wheeled carriage, "*quandam bigam*," and thereon with great difficulty brought the body down to Robertsbridge, where it was buried honourably before the steps of the presbytery, in presence of a worshipful company of the gentry, on the morrow of SS. Processus and Martinianus, July 3, 1333.

After some hesitation as to the policy of an immediate filling-up of the vacancy in the headship of the convent, the monks proceeded to an election on S. Appollinaris' Day, July 23, in the presence of the Cistercian Abbats of Boxley and Coggeshall. The choice of an Abbat fell on Brother John de Wormedale, monk and porter of the House.

The same year, 1333, the seventh of King Edward III., the new Abbat was summoned to York under a fresh writ of *scire facias* returnable on the morrow of the Nativity B. V. M. (September 9), alleging that the patents of both Kings had been fraudulently obtained. Brother John of Battle on this occasion went to York with the Abbat, who was interrogated before the Archbishop of York, then Keeper, Sir Geoffrey le Scrop, Chief Justice, and others of the Council, as to how and by what right he had taken possession of a prebend of the King's chapel of the Castle of Hastings, he not being a Canon, and having neither a stall in choir nor a place in chapter as a Canon should have. An adjournment took place to the morrow of All Souls (November 3rd), for by the assistance of the friends made before the last Abbat's death, though against the strong opposition of the partizans of Sir Robert de Tanthone and his party, the Abbat was allowed to return home without any judgment given.

Before starting on his journey the Abbat had charged Brother Thomas of Battle to procure a ratification of the agreement with the Dean and Canons and the Echingham family. This he had been able to effect, but on slightly different terms, so that when the new Abbat came back from York the parties met at Robertsbridge, when Sir Simon's payment was altered from twenty to thirty marks, while the consideration given to William de Echingham was altered to a corrody of the victuals of a monk for life, wherever he might be, and without further condition. For these considerations Sir Simon released to the monks all his right in the churches and prebend. The 40*s.* stipend to be paid to the Vicar was altered for an undertaking to provide him with suitable stipend, commons,

and habit. The Abbat and his successors were to claim nothing in the chapel save the rights of a single Canon non-resident, according to the tenor of an indenture under the common seals of both Houses, afterwards confirmed, in the circumstances presently appearing, under the great seal.

About this time the King, we are told, with Robert de Tanthone in his suite, having left Scotland, arrived in the neighbourhood of London, and Master Geoffrey de Clare at once began negotiations with the latter, involving the journey of himself, the Abbat, and Brother Thomas, to Waltham Abbey, where the Court lay.^a

They all arrived there on Michaelmas Day, and "*in maximâ angustâ cordium et corporum*," greatly put out, no doubt, by the thronged state of Waltham and the Abbey, and the difficulty of settling their business, stayed three days.

Their visit was not unsuccessful, for they came to an agreement with their adversary, which was soon afterwards ratified by the convent under their common seal. The terms were an annuity of four-score marks to be paid to Robert for life. The Abbat thought this hard, but Robert would take no less for withdrawing his opposition.

It was for the Abbat now to secure the position he had gained from disturbance on the part of the King; and the Dean of St. Mary's Chapel went down on this business to Windsor, where we may suppose the King then was, by appointment with Robert de Tanthone, to obtain from him letters under the Privy Seal, of which he seems, as already stated, to have been the keeper, directing the Chancery to settle the action in *scire facias*.

But here the Chancellor and the King's counsel interfered, and demanded of the Dean how the King was to have the service of his chapel secured if the Abbat were allowed to appropriate the prebend. The Dean produced the composition between his foundation and the abbey, but exception was taken to it on behalf of the King as insufficient, and the Chancellor, still John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, desired Master Geoffrey to attend him at his manor of Farnham shortly before All Saints Day to receive back the composition with amendments to be made in it.

A serious objection to this arrangement was shown to exist in the fact that the proceedings in *scire facias* were adjourned to the morrow of All Souls at York, where the Chancery was still kept, and that if the Abbat did not appear

^a Instruments are dated from Waltham between September 30 and October 8, 1333. Rymer's *Fœdera*.

there judgment would go against him. To meet this difficulty a writ of Privy Seal was sent down to York by special messenger, "*velociter per cursorem*," to stay proceedings till Hilary Term.

The composition was amended to the satisfaction of the Chancellor and re-sealed by the parties, and at last Geoffrey and Thomas went off to York about St. Nicholas's Day, December 6, in desperate weather, "*maximè intemperie temporis*," with fresh privy seals for settling the dispute.

By order of the Chancellor and the King's Council letters under the great seal were passed as follows :—

1. Letters patent, now exhibited by Mr. Blunt, under the second great seal of Edward III. and dated at Chilterne, on November 6,^a in the seventh year of his reign. This instrument recites Edward II.'s licence in mortmain, Sir William de Echingham's gift of the advowsons, and how the King had given licence by patent to the Abbat and Convent to appropriate the churches notwithstanding that they formed a prebend in the free chapel of Hastings ; that subsequently the Abbat and Convent had been impeached before the King and his Council in the Chancery by reason that in the letters patent last mentioned there had been no mention whatever of the prebend of Salehurst, and because divers emoluments, as a stall in choir and a place in chapter, distributions, and other things besides the churches, belonged to that prebend, and for other causes. The King then, for as much as in him lay, granted his licence to the Abbat and Convent to appropriate to their own uses the prebend of Salehurst and the churches in question, and that the Abbat and his successors should be Canons of the said chapel, and he be admitted as a Brother by the Dean or Warden and the Chapter there, and should have stall in the choir and place in the chapter, as is usual, and without let or hindrance, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain.

2. A charter confirming the composition between the Dean and Canons and the Abbat and Convent.

3. Letters patent for installing the Abbat.

4. Writ close addressed to the Dean and Canons to the same effect.

These matters being accomplished, Brother Thomas, by reason of the near approach of Christmas, on the sixth day after leaving York, that is on Christmas Eve, separating from Master Geoffrey, arrived at Stratford Abbey, near London, and there spent the next day—the solemnity of Christmas constraining him. On St. Stephen's Day, having taken his meat with the Abbat, he went to London and slept there. Next morning he arose and journeyed home, arriving on the feast of

^a Probably the date of the Privy Seal.

the Holy Innocents. He found his Brother John, of Battle, the cellarer, *in extremis*, and the following night at the hour of matins he died; and it is noted that Thomas succeeded him in his office.

On the last day of February, 1334, the Abbat, in the habit of a Canon, was formally installed in the first stall on the right side of the choir, being the stall belonging to the prebend of Salehurst, and a place in the chapter-house was assigned him by the Dean, in the presence and hearing of Sir Simon of Echingham and many notables of the country and town. Soon after the Rector of the "chapel" of Mountfield, one Willelmus Juvenis, resigning, the Abbat got possession of that church and a perpetual vicar was ordained.

Here the "Chronicle," the production very likely of Brother Thomas's own pen, ends, and with it the history of this litigation, protracted for not less than twenty-four years.

Among Mr. Blunt's other documents are several copies of papal bulls and privileges conceded to the Cistercian order, authenticated by way of *inspeximus* under episcopal or other official seals. They are interesting on account of these seals, the bulls themselves being for the most part well known.

At an early date the Cistercians obtained from successive Popes an exemption from paying tithe on the produce of lands tilled by their own hands, or at their expense, or on the increase of their live stock. The formula, which runs thus, "*Sane laborum^a vestrorum quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolitis, sive de nutrimentis^a vestrorum animalium, nullus à vobis presumat decimas exigere,*" occurs in the Bull of Eugenius III. dated in his eighth year (1152), printed in Beck's Annals of Furness, p. 136, in that of Pope Lucius III. c. 1184, as exemplified by Alexander IV. (Dugd. Mon. v. 232), and elsewhere.

Disputes seem to have arisen here and there between the tithe-owners and the monks as to the interpretation of this exemption, which the former party endeavoured to restrict to *novalia*, waste lands brought into cultivation by the monks after their occupation had commenced, and which previously being unproductive were not titheable. The Bull of Pope Lucius, just now referred to, settled this dispute in favour of the Cistercians, and one of the instruments under examination is to the same effect.

It is an exemplification under the seal of Roger de Fuldene, Archdeacon of Lincoln, dated at Spalding on Whitsun Eve, 1276, of a bull of Pope Innocent (probably Innocent III. 1198-1216), bearing date at the Lateran "*v^o Kal. Aug.*

^a See Ducange, *sub* vocibus "*labores*" et "*nutrimentum*."

Pontificatus nostri anno septimo," commanding the observance of the indulgences as to tithes granted by his predecessors and confirmed by himself, and that not merely as to "*novalia*" but also as to lands anciently tilled.

The seal of the Archdeacon is appended to this instrument. It is of the pointed oval form, $1\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 inch.

The subject is the Blessed Virgin, a three-quarter figure, with the divine infant in a niche under a decorated canopy. Beneath, under a five-foiled arch, an ecclesiastic in adoration. Legend, not quite perfect—

S. ROGERI ARCHID LINCO [LNIENSIS].

From an indorsement, "*Suyneshefd, De nutrimentis animalium*," we may gather that this authentic copy was originally made for the convent of Swineshead, a Cistercian house in Lincolnshire. How it came into the archives of Robertsbridge cannot now be known, but the intercourse between the monasteries of one order was constant, and the document may have been borrowed to produce in an ecclesiastical court, or have been carelessly exchanged for the Robertsbridge copy.

The next bull is on the same subject. Its author was Pope Honorius III. (1216-1227). It is dated from the Lateran, "*vii^o Kal. Julii pontificatus nostri anno sexto*," and will be found printed (from the Register of Kirkstall Abbey) at p. 536 of the fifth volume of the *Monasticon*.

It recites the 55th canon of the fourth Lateran Council, held under Innocent III. 1216,^a embodying an agreement come to by the Cistercian Abbats at the time of the Council to pay tithe on lands tilled by themselves, if purchased after that date. Disputes having again arisen, the Pope, Honorius, determines that the "*novalia*" in every case were to be tithe-free, as were also all gardens, shrubberies, and fisheries, and the produce of animals. This latter exemption was highly important to the Cistercians, who, as is well known, were extensive sheep-farmers.^b

The copy exhibited of this bull is exemplified at the request of the Abbat and convent of Boxley, in Kent, under the seal of Richard, Bishop of Rochester. The exemplification is without date; but the Bishop in question must be Richard of Wendover, who held the see of Rochester from 1235 to 1250.

The seal is broken. When perfect it was about 3 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in size. The subject is the usual effigy of the Bishop, *in pontificalibus*, with the hand raised in benediction. On either side is a sunken six-foiled panel, inclosing a head; beneath each panel a capital R.

^a To be found Decretal. lib. iii. tit. xxx. (De Decimis) cap. xxiv. Nuper Abbates.

^b There is another bull of Honorius to the same effect, printed in the *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 232, No. x.

Legend—

[SIGILLUM] RICARDI [DEI GRACIA ROFFENS]IS EPISCOPI.

The counterseal is pointed, oval in form, about 2 inches by 1 inch. It exhibits on a roundel St. Andrew on his cross; above his head is the divine hand.

Legend—

+ ME · IVVET · ANDRE[AS QVEM] VINXIT · E . . REA .

The letters in brackets from another example, also imperfect.

In the fifth volume of the *Monasticon*, at page 234, a bull is printed with the following heading, which correctly gives the purport of the instrument :

"Privilegium Innocentii Quarti Papæ, quod non debent Monachi Cistercienses vocari ad capitula vel conventus forenses, aut Provinciale Forum, etiam ratione delicti, nisi pro fide tantum."

A copy of this bull, which bears date at the Lateran, "*xii. Kal. Mart. pontificatus nostri anno primo*" (February 18, 1244), is among the Robertsbridge documents. It is exemplified under the seal of Richard de la Wyche, Bishop of Chichester, 1245-53, and after his death canonized, the letters being addressed to all archdeacons, deans, and chaplains in his diocese, and concluding with an injunction for the observation of the papal privilege throughout the diocese, under pain of ecclesiastical censure.

The seal and counterseal are here figured, the latter giving an early example of the figure of the Saviour enthroned, which afterwards became, under the strange



SEAL AND COUNTERSEAL OF ST. RICHARD DE LA WYCHE, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

disguise of "Prester John," the armorial bearings of the see of Chichester. The seal is preserved in an oval pouch of soft leather, originally lined with a silken stuff, of which some fragments remain.

There is in the collection a second exemplification of this bull, issued by the same Bishop under his seal, at the express request of the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge. This copy is endorsed thus: "Quod sentencie contra nos illate absque speciali mandato Domini Pape sunt irritae ac inanes."

Two more of these papal privileges remain to be noticed. The first is from Alexander IV. addressed to the Abbats and Convents of the Cistercian order throughout England, granting on their petition the indulgence that thenceforward they should not be bound or compelled to pay to any one tithes of hay harvested from their own meadows or woods or lands, whether acquired before or after the General Council, *id est*, the fourth of Lateran already referred to. This bull is dated at Anagni "*xiiii. cal. Sept. Pontificatus nostri anno primo*" (Aug. 19, 1255).

This is exemplified under the seal of John (Clipping), Bishop of Chichester, 1253-61, and is written in a fine hand, resembling, or perhaps imitating, that used in the Roman Chancery.

The seal is a fragment of an episcopal effigy, on the sinister side of which are the numerals II^o, for *secundus*, clearly identifying the owner as the second Bishop of the name, the first being John Greenford, 1173. The counterseal is also imperfect, but it appears to be the same as that of this Bishop's immediate predecessor, Richard, figured on the preceding page, with an altered legend, of which the letters

[man]DATORVM TVORVM

are all that remain.

The last of these instruments emanated from Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Cardinal of the Roman Church.^a By it he intimates that he has received the mandate of the Pope (Honorius III.), which he sets out at length. It is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, and to all Abbats, Priors, and other prelates of that province. After complaining in general terms of the neglect of spiritual authority as evidenced in the maltreatment of religious persons, and particularly of those privileged by the Apostolic See, he refers specially to the case of the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge, who had complained to him both of frequent injuries and daily denial of justice, and had prayed letters apostolic, addressed to the Archbishops, &c., exhorting them

^a Archbishop, 1206; Cardinal, 1212 or 1213; ob. 1228.

to protect them in their troubles. Wherefore the Pope commanded those to whom the letter was addressed, that as to those persons who might have irreverently invaded the possessions, goods, or houses of the brethren, or their tenants, or who might have unjustly detained from them property left them by will, or who should have presumed to promulgate sentence of excommunication, or of interdict, against the brethren themselves, contrary to their indulgences from the Apostolic See, or to extort from them tithes of their cultivated lands, held before the General Council, or their live stock,—after service of a monition, if they were laymen, they should strike them with a sentence of excommunication publicly, and with lighted candles; if clerks, regular canons, or monks, they should suspend them without appeal from office and benefice, neither sentence to be relaxed until full satisfaction had been made to the brethren. Any laics or clerks secular, who, on account of laying violent hands on the monks or their goods, should have been involved in the bonds of an anathema, were to approach the Apostolic See with letters from their diocesan to obtain absolution. The towns where any goods of the brethren were forcibly detained were to be interdicted. Given at Orvieto, "*vii. Id. Novembris Pontificatus nostri anno quarto*" (November 7, 1219). The Archbishop therefore commands all within his province to cause the privileges in question to be observed, punishing by ecclesiastical censures those who resisted.

A fragment of Langton's episcopal seal remains appended. The seal is not unknown, and is rendered remarkable by the insertion of a gem beneath the feet of the effigy. The present impression does not clearly show the subject of the engraved stone.

The counterseal, representing the martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury, is also imperfect.

The legend, restored from other examples, runs thus:—

[MO]RS EXPR[ESSA · FORIS · TIBI · VITA · SIT · INTVS · AMORIS.]

There is a second copy of this bull of Pope Honorius in Mr. Blunt's collection, exemplified by Richard de la Wyche, Bishop of Chichester, under his seal already given. All Archdeacons, &c., in the diocese are commanded to give effect to it.

Mr. Cooper, at page 159 of his notices of the Abbey, mentions this bull, which he says is recited in two of the Penshurst MSS. and he gives an instance where, in 1223, the Abbat of Lesnes and the Prior of Rochester, acting under the mandate of the Pope, condemned a layman, William de Pertlington, in damages for disobedience to its provisions.

A similar proceeding under a Papal commission is recorded in one of the documents now under consideration.

This is an undated instrument, under the seals of W. (William) Abbat of Combwell (Combwell in Kent) and L. Prior of Ledes, which recites the text of letters apostolic of Pope Innocent IV. addressed to them, whereby it appearing that the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge had been sued for tithes of lands tilled at their own expense (contrary to their privileges) by Thomas, Rector of Salehurst, and other clerks of Chichester diocese, the Pope commanded the Abbat and Prior to compel the rector and others to desist from such exaction under ecclesiastical censure—after a previous monition—and without appeal. These letters bore date at Rome at St. Peter's, "*xiii. kl. Marcii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo*" (Feb 17, 1250). By virtue of which letters the Abbat and Prior had cited John, Chaplain of the church of Sedelescumbe, after previous commonition, peremptorily once, twice, and thrice. He had not appeared, but had contumaciously absented himself. Wherefore, by the advice of prudent and discreet persons acting as assessors to them, the Abbat and Prior decreed that John was not to extort tithe contrary to the privilege, commanding him to observe perpetual silence in that behalf.

Two seals are attached.

1. Pointed oval. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Effigy of an Abbat in a cope, bareheaded; a pastoral staff in left hand, book in right hand. Legend—

+ SIGILLVM WILLELMI ABBATIS DE COMBWELLA.

2. Circular. Slightly oval; 1 inch long. Gem in metal setting. A head in profile of inferior work. Legend—

+ CAXE CAV . . . GE

I have inserted in the Appendix C a transcript of a lengthy document contained in a roll of parchment about fifteen inches long by six wide, being the record of an award made in February (1244), 9 Henry III. between the Abbat and Convent of Battle and that of Robertsbridge touching some marshland, Grykes Marsh, which appears to have lain in or near the now nearly submerged parish of Broomhill (or Promhelle, as it is sometimes spelt), situate between Rye and Lydd. Our monastery had apparently a good deal of land here, but as Mr. Cooper, p. 149, *ubi supra*, observes, the great storm of 1287, which destroyed Old Winchelsea, was equally destructive in this direction.

This award was made by six arbitrators, chosen no doubt from the neighbours, with whom was associated as umpire the Abbat of Begheham, or Bayham, a house of the Premonstratensian order, of which some account is given by the Rev. G. M. Cooper, in vol. ix. of the Sussex Archaeological Collections. It contains some provisions as to the maintenance of the embankments and watercourses on the property dealt with which are worth attention.

The controversy between Battle and Robertsbridge appears not to have been entirely ended by the award, for in Trinity Term, 7 Edward I. thirty-four years afterwards, the Abbat of Robertsbridge impleaded the Abbat of Battle for usurping the suits of court due to the King from tenants of the plaintiff's monastery in Greykes and Broomhill, when the Abbat of Battle obtained judgment in his favour.^a

For the sake of the seal, which is a good example of the conventional style of drawing of the first half of the thirteenth century, we may notice a deed-poll without date, whereby William son of Eilwin, of Promhelle, testifies a sale to the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge of all his land at Promhelle (Broomhill) in meadows and pastures, and waters in fresh and in salt. To wit, from the boundary of Kent (*a meta Cancie*) to the port of Winchelesse, by the road leading before the house of Osbert, son of Walter de Promhelle, between the arable land and "*Galegiam*" as far as to the sea, and from that road to the land of Dame Albreda de Gerpunville and the tenement of Deingemareis, with the appurtenances, save the moiety of the turbary which the convent had granted him for the use of his household without waste, *ad usagium domus mee sine gasto*. To wit, the fifteenth part of the entire holding, against all co-parceners of that land of Prumhelle within these bounds, with pasture at Bulemers, for twelve marcs of silver paid by the convent. With clause of warranty. Witnesses: Osbert and Thomas, sons of Walter de Promhelle; Osbert and Roger, sons of Robert de Promhelle; Hugh Long, Robert son of Alan of Robertsbridge; Helyas Foleth, Ralph de Ferne, and many others.



SEAL OF WILLIAM OF BROOMHILL.

^a Abbrev. Placitorum, 196, col. 2.

I may next call attention to a deed-poll whereby the brethren of the Hospital of the Holy Cross of Winchenesel give, grant, and confirm to Roger, son of Edwin of Bremer, and his heirs, four perches of land opposite the house of Gilbert de Stonlinke, towards the sea, lying in length of four perches towards the east, next the road leading from Winchenesel towards the house of St. Cross, and so much width for constructing his buildings towards the sea as others his neighbours have or shall have. To hold of the grantors and their successors, to him and his heirs, freely and peaceably, sending eighteen pence per annum, nine pence on the feast of St. Thomas Apostle, nine pence on Easter Eve, for all service. With clause of warranty. For this gift Roger gave eighteen shillings "in gersumam." Witnesses: Gervase Plantefolie, Robert Fostre, Geruase son of Reginald, Valentine de Aldenex, Simon vicar of Udimere, and many others.

The seal, engraved below, is curious. The cross recalls the form of that on an ancient seal of the city of Carlisle.



SEAL OF THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, AT WINCHELSEA.

Mr. Durrant Cooper, in his History of Winchelsea, mentions more than once the Hospital of the Holy Rood, or St. Cross, which seems to have been removed after the inundation from the neighbourhood of the sea to that of the new town. The deed here abstracted may be referred to the middle of the thirteenth century, and so probably relates to land since submerged.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Michael of Tréport (*Ulleris portus*, or sometimes *Ulleris portus*), at the mouth of the Bresle, was founded by Robert, Count of Eu, about the time of the Norman Conquest. This nobleman and his son William obtained large possessions in England, of the gift of William the Con-

queror. The only portion of these which he bestowed by his charter of foundation^a on the abbey was land specified as follows: "*In Anglia do Bonitone, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, in terris, in hospitibus et cæteris rebus.*" Here we recognise the Domesday vill of Bolinton in Bexlei Huadred, where the Abbey of Tréport (*Abbatia de Ultresport*) held of the Earl three hides less two virgates. The whole land was five hides.^b This place is identified by the Sussex antiquaries with the modern Bulverhythe, two miles from Bexhill, not very far from the Abbey of Robertsbridge.^c

Henry III. by a charter dated June 8, anno 37, at Westminster, produced before the Barons of the Exchequer, 17 Edward II.^d confirmed *inter alia* to the Abbat and Convent all the lands which they held of the Abbat and Convent of Tréport, to wit, Bulintone, Peplesham, Pleydenne, and Stande (*sic*).

These, it is evident, had been sold at an early date by the French to the English monastery, for by an indented deed in the collection, dated 13 kal. Novembris

^a The foundation charter of this abbey was first printed by D'Achery in his observations on cap. v. lib. ii. of the autobiography of Guibert Abbat of Nogent (Ven. Guiberti Abbatis Opera, Paris, 1651, p. 631), from which source it has been copied in Gallia Christiana, vol. iii. p. 955 (old Edn.), and in Neustria Pia, p. 587. D'Achery's transcript is certainly wrong in the date which appears there as "*anno millesimo tricesimo sexto,*" because the Count says that he founded the Abbey with the advice of William, Duke of Normandy, and of Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, whose episcopate did not begin till 1055. It is however a little difficult to assign the true date. The gift by a Comte d'Eu of land in Sussex must imply a precedent gift to himself, and this could hardly have been from any one but the Conqueror, and therefore not before 1066. Hence we might read "*sexagesimo sexto,*" and, as Maurilius lived till 1067, and there is no hint that he was dead at the date of the charter, 1066 may be right. But if so it is somewhat singular that William is styled in the Charter Duke of Normandy only, and not also King of England. The Editors of *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates* notice the mistake of the date made by D'Achery, and put the foundation of the abbey between 1057 and 1066, guided apparently by the years of the episcopate of Maurilius. The charter, I may observe, confirms to the abbey, *inter alia*, "*de dono Goifredi filii Reinoldi de Sancto Martino Jaillardo decimam de terris hominum suorum quam habebat in dominio suo, et apud S. Martinum, et apud Setot et apud Merlincampum.*" St. Martin-le-Gaillard is a village on the little river Yerés, which runs into the sea a few miles W. by S. of the Bresle, and Criel, Dragneville, Melincamp, St. Aignan, Avesnes, and Baromesnil are places in its immediate vicinity. All these names occur (in mediæval spelling) as local surnames of the witnesses to Geoffrey de St. Martin's charter, Appendix No. II., and I think we may infer that this Goifredus de Sancto Martino Jaillardo was the ancestor of Geoffrey and Alured, and that the town whence their surname was derived was St. Martin-le-Gaillard, and not one of the other St. Martins, of which more than one will be found on the map of this corner of Normandy.

^b Domesd. i. 18, Suss. Terra Comitum de Ow.

^c Horsfield's Sussex, i. 431.

^d MS. Add. 28,550.

(October 20), 1249, Laurence, Abbat of Tréport (*Uterior portus*), and the Convent there, and William, Abbat of Robertsbridge, and the Convent there, agree that the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge shall pay yearly nine mares sterling of lawful money to the Abbat and Convent of Tréport as they anciently were wont, according to the tenor of an ancient charter; and shall preserve them indemnified from every plea, transaction, and warranty which Laurence, Abbat of Tréport, made to the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge at Westminster before the justices of the Lord the King of England in respect of the lands which they (Robertsbridge) hold of them in the rape of Hastings. And, if the Abbat of Tréport be in the mercy of the Lord the King by reason of the warranty aforesaid, the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge shall faithfully acquit him, so that the Abbat and Convent of Tréport shall be ready and prepared, so far as they may and know, to assist and succour the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge (when they shall be required and warned by them) to recover at law plenary possession and seisin of the lands which they hold of them by the service of nine mares. In such manner that, when the Abbat of Tréport shall come into England, the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge will provide for him and his as to their expenses so long as they shall stay in England on the business aforesaid. Both parties, therefore, promised *in verbo Dei* to observe faithfully the premises.

This indenture is under the following seals:—

1. Oval, 2 inches by 1½ inch. Bareheaded Abbat in alb and chasuble. Pastoral staff in right hand, book in left.

Legend—

+ S. LAURENTII : ABB'IS : DE : VLTRI PORTV

Counterseal, 1 inch in diameter. Nimbed angel, three-quarter length, holding censer.

+ SECRETVM MEVM MICHI

2. Oval, 3 inches by 2½ inches. St. Michael, with shield and sword, standing on the dragon. Legend—

+ [ULTE]RIS PORTVS . SIG[NU]M ?] MICHAELIS HABETVR.

This must have been a very fine seal. The impression is, unfortunately, blurred, but is sufficiently perfect to show that the figure of the archangel was unusually bold and spirited.

The counterpart of the foregoing deed, under the official seal of the Abbat of

Robertsbridge (without counterseal), as figured in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, viii. 171, is also in Mr. Blunt's possession.

Omitting several deeds of small parcels of land, part of the convent possessions, which neither on account of their contents nor for the beauty of the seals are worth particular description in this place, we come finally to a very finely written charter without date, whereby William de Wynchelese, son of the late William de Orewelle, gave to God and Saint Mary and the Abbats and Convents of Robertsbridge and Boxle all the land with buildings and other appurtenances which he had in Little Yarmouth (*parva Gernemope*), lying between the land of Master Henry and the land of John Knave, in length eastwards as far as the harbour, with such a portion towards the Port as the next neighbours (*convicini*) take; westward as far as Dey, so much as the other neighbours take; in breadth as far as that land extends. To hold free and quit of all secular service and custom for ever, saving an annual rent of ninepence at Michaelmas to the chief lord with clause of warranty. "In ejus rei testimonium presenti scripto, una cum communi sigillo venerabilium Baronum de Wynchelse ad petitionem utriusque partis procurato, sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Henrico Alardi de Wynchelese, Bartholomeo Godarde, Roberto Pauli, Johanne fratre ejus, Stephano le Gric, Johanne Andree, Gaufrido Helye, Ada Clerico, Willelmo Almā de Gernemope, Henrico fratre ejus, Thoma de Beltune, Symone Karoli, Johanne Knave et aliis."^a

The seals to this deed are not without interest.

The first is that of William of Winchelsea himself, and from it we may conclude that he was engaged in what was in his day, as it is now, the staple trade of Yarmouth, the herring fishery.

It is circular, one inch in diameter. The device is three herrings in fess, strung on a rod or tightened string; in fact in the process of curing. The legend is not very clear. It probably reads--

S. WILLELMI [FILII W. DE WINCHELSE].

The second seal is that of the Barons of Winchelsea, engraved at p. 21 of the first volume of the *Sussex Archæological Transactions*.

With regard to the obverse, a ship with a small shield of the arms of England under the yard, and with the legend *Sigillum Baronum Domini Regis Anglie de Winchellese*, there is nothing to be said: the reverse however deserves more attention.

The subject of this side of the seal is architectural, and is probably an attempt to represent in a conventional manner the two principal churches of the town, those

^a The patronymic forms are worth notice

of St. Giles and St. Thomas, side by side, with a central tower, whereon a warder or light-keeper stands and exhibits a lantern for the benefit of the seafarers. The waves wash the foot of the buildings, intended most likely for burghers' houses, in front of the churches. On the sinister side there are three, on the dexter two, open panels, the first set containing a group representing the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the second having, in the plate above referred to, and in all casts of the seal that I have seen, St. Giles seated, with the hind springing to his lap to implore protection, *twice repeated*. The ancient impression to the charter now under notice replaces the outer group by another, showing the huntsman, armed with bow and arrow, shooting at the hind.

Here we have indubitably the original state of the seal. How the archer and hind came to be lost, and to be replaced as in the present modern reverse (copied when the matrix was lost—in an election squabble it is said—in the last century, from old impressions which must have shown the same substitution), deserves inquiry at the hands of the Winchelsea antiquaries.

Mr. Durrant Cooper has reproduced the plate from the *Sussex Transactions* in his *History of Winchelsea*, p. 199, and he observes that the three chevrons which appear on a banner flying from a staff on the top of the tower are for Lewknor, one of the owners of the lands when the new town was building.

The legend—

EGIDIO · THOME · PLEBS · LAVDUM · CANTICA · PROME
NE · SIT · IN · ANGARIA · GR · X · SUUS AMNE · VIA

has, I think, needlessly, caused much discussion as to its meaning. I should translate it—

Pour forth, ye people, songs of praise to Giles as well as Thomas,
So that their flock by sea and land may scape from deadly peril.

There are several miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury of saving life at sea in storms recorded in the list of his miracles, printed in *Materials for the History of St. Thomas à Becket*, Rolls Series, 1875, i. 299, &c.; and in the *Miracula beati Egidii*, *apud* Pertz, *Monumenta* (Scriptores, xii. 316-23), more than one instance occurs of the virtues of Saint Giles in delivering captives. The reference in the legend to perils by sea and land may, perhaps, be thus explained.

From the documents of which I have now concluded the examination, still further additions may be made to the list of Abbats of Robertsbridge, given by Mr. Cooper, *Sussex Arch. Trans.* viii. 170, who was enabled considerably to enlarge the series printed in the *Monasticon*.

In the following list Mr. Cooper's additions are marked *, while the names and dates to which † is prefixed are derived chiefly from the instruments referred to in the present paper.

ABBATS OF ROBERTSBRIDGE.

| | A.D. |
|--|---|
| Dionysius—probably the first Abbat about | 1184 |
| * William | 1197 |
| John—afterwards Prior of Boxley in | 1216 |
| † William | occ. 1244 and 1249 |
| Walter | 1261 |
| † Roger | occ. 1263, ^a and 1277 ^b |
| † Mainardus ^c before | 1293 |
| Thomas | 1293 |
| Robert about | 1300 |
| † Laurence | occ. 1309 |
| † John de Wallyngfelde el. Sep ^r . 8 | 1311 |
| Nicholas († occ. March 29, 1319) | 1320 |
| * Alan about | 1327 |
| † John de Lamberhurst ob. June 24 | 1333 |
| John † de Wormedale † el. July 23 | 1333 |
| | [occ. 1340] |
| * Dionysius | 1400 |
| John | 1410 |
| John (not the same, says Mr. Cooper), for in 1417-18 the Abbat is spoken of as “nuper defuncti” | 1436 |
| * John Goodwin | 1507 |
| Thomas Tayler | 1534 |

^a From a charter Saturday next after Feast of S. Luke, 47 Hen. III., manumitting a villein. Eg. Chart. 394. Brit. Mus.

^b From Catalogue, Battle Abbey Charters, p. 49.

^c Named in a charter of Edw. I. June 10, Anno Regni 21, produced before Barons of Exchequer 17 Edw. II.—Add. MS. 28,550, fo. 9.

The common seal and counterseal of the Abbey of Robertsbridge have been figured twice, namely, in vol. i. of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, pl. lx. and in illustration of Mr. Cooper's paper, *Sussex Arch. Trans.* viii. 143, from which source it is repeated in the *Archæological Journal*, xiii. 194.

The official seal of the Abbat, together with a counterseal, a hand holding a cross, with the legend *SIGNVM SECRETI*, is also engraved (as already stated) at p. 171 of the eighth volume of *Sussex Arch. Trans.* These cuts also are repeated in the *Archæological Journal*.

NOTE.—Since the above paper was read, the whole of Mr. Blunt's charters have been acquired by the British Museum, and will be found among the Egerton Charters, 371-403.

APPENDIX.

No. I. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 372.]

Ricardus Dei gracia Rex Angl' Dux Norm' Aquit' Comes And' Archiepiscopis Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus et Omnibus Baillivis et fidelibus suis Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Aluredo de Sancto Martino Dapifero nostro concessionem et donationem quam Henricus Comes Augi fecit ipsi Aluredo coram Domino Rege patre nostro post mortem Aelicie matris sue ad petitionem ipsius Aluredi et aliorum amicorum ipsius Comitis de terris de maritagio ipsius matris sue, scilicet de Eleham et Bensintone, quas idem Comes concessit ipsi Aluredo cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, tota vita sua tenendas, excepta presentatione ecclesie in qua persona ad presentationem Comitis instituetur, si contigerit eam Aluredo vivente vacare, secundum quod in carta Domini Regis patris nostri et carta prefati Comitis continetur. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod idem Aluredus terras illas habeat et teneat quamdiu vixerit bene et in pace liberè et quietè integrè plenariè et honorificè. In Bosco et plano. In pratis et pascuis. In aquis et molendinis. In vivariis et stagnis et mariscis. In viis et semitis, et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad eas pertinentibus. Cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis excepta presentatione ecclesie sicut prefatus Comes ei concessit et sicut carta eius testatur. Testibus: H. Dunelmensi, H. Coventrensi, H. Sarisberien si episcopis, W. de Sancto Johanne, Johanne Marescallo, Willelmo Marescallo, Rogero de Pratellis, Gaufrido filio Petri, Roberto de Witefeld. Dat. per manum Willelmi de Longo Campo Cancellarii nostri Elyensis electi apud Cantuariam xxx^{mo}. die Novembris Anno Primo Regni Nostri.

Under the first seal of Rich. I. Sandf. p. 55. Slightly broken, but otherwise in fine condition.

No. II. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 371.]

Sciant qui sunt quique futuri sunt quod ego Gaufridus de Sancto Martino donavi et concessi in fedo [*sic*] et hereditate Alvredo de Sancto Martino et suis heredibus totam meam terram de Anglia quam teneo de comite Augi, scilicet terram de Warilanda cum omnibus suis pertinentiis

sive in bosco seu in plano in terris in pratis in mareis et in omnibus rebus quecumque ad terram predictam pertinent, ita tenendam et habendam de me et de meis heredibus ipse et sui heredes sicut unquam melius et liberior pater meus in vita sua tenuit reddendo mihi servicium unius militis. Pro hac vero donatione et concessione Aluredus predictus clamavit mihi totam suam terram quam de me tenebat ubicunque sit quietam liberam et absolutam. Preterea Alvredus prefatus reddidit mihi et donavit quicquid tenebat de camerario in molendino de Salchewilla.^a Et concessit mihi quicquid tenebat de Thoma de Mareis et de suis heredibus apud Augustam^b et ubicunque aliquid de eis tenebat. Et preter hec donavit mihi xl marcas argenti



SEAL OF JOHN, EARL OF EU.

pro supradicta donatione ["et conventionem ut firmiter et fidelius teneantur in perpetuum."]^c Huic vero convencioni et donationi atque concessioni interfuit Johannes Comes Augi, in presentia cui[us] hoc factum est, et multi alii scilicet Thomas de Augo, Wido de Avesnes, Ricardus de Dragwilla, Walterus de Sancto Aniano, Robertus de Tillol, Reginaldus de Dodeuill, Willelmus de Dodeuill, Radulfus Ponteil, Vilardus de Merlincamp, Amillus de Sancto Marco, Gaufridus de Bernou-Maisnil, Simon de Criolio, Willelmus de Basoc'. Ego autem Gaufridus precor regem et comitem autem [sic] quatinus hanc conventionem firmiter tenere faciant. Facta est autem hec concessio

^a Sacqueville, five miles south of Dieppe(?). ^b Oust Mareis, close to Eu. ^c Written over an erasure.

atque donatio Anno dominice incarnationis m.c.lx.i. eodem anno quo Rex Franc' et Rex Anglorum pacificati sunt. Magister autem tunc capellanus Comitis hanc cartulam scripsit. Vale.



SEAL OF GEOFFREY DE ST. MARTIN.

No. III. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 373.]

Sefridus dei gratia Cicestrensis episcopus universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis eternam in Christo salutem. Viros religiosos pastoralis tenemur sollicitudine promovere et paci eorum ac quieti quantum nobis possibile est attentius providere. Inde est quod nos dilectos filios nostros abbatem de Ponte Roberti et fratres suos monachos regulam beati Benedicti atque institutionem Cisterciensium fratrum profitentes sub protectione Dei et ecclesie Cicestrensis ac nostrâ suscipientes quascunque possessiones quecunque bona inpresentiar' juste et canonice possident aut in futurum quibuscunque justis modis prestante Domino poterint adipisci, eâ quâ fungimur auctoritate eis inperpetuum confirmamus. Specialiter vero totum feodum Pontis Roberti et ubi ecclesia eorumdem fratrum sita est quod dilectus filius noster Aluredus de Sancto Martino fundator illius domus eis dedit in perpetuam elemosinam cum parco et domibus et universis pertinentiis suis cum terris cultis et bosco et plano [&c.] sicut carta ejusdem Aluredi testatur. Totam quoque terram quam idem Aluredus tenuerat in feudofirma (sic) de canonicis Sancto Marie de Hastings reddendo annuatim vi solidos pro omni servicio Terram quoque quam idem Aluredus habuerat inter Winchelese et Clivesende cum domibus suis sicut idem Aluredus ea eis concessit et dedit. Terram quoque de Farleia et terram Gencelini et terram de Poelsherse quas memoratus Aluredus propriis sumptibus comparatas eis dedit et confirmavit. Libertates etiam et immunitates quarumlibet consuetudinum quas illustris rex Anglorum Henricus Secundus regia largitate eis concessit et carta sua confirmavit. Statuimus igitur et eâ quâ fungimur auctoritate prohibemus

ne quis eisdem fratres super prescriptis possessionibus suis temere turbare vel inquietare presumat, aut quibuscunque vexationibus vel molestiis ullatenus infestare aut libertatibus et immunitatibus ab apostolica celsitudine sibi indultis audeat contrarie. Quod si quis facere presumpserit nisi commonitus congrue satisfecerit et emendaverit, divine ultioni et ecclesie Cicestrensis indignationi se noverit subiacere.

No. IV. [Brit Mus. Egerton Ch. 375.]

Noverint universi ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit quod cum super multis articulis controversia esset inter Radulphum Abbatem et Conventum de Bello ex una parte et Willelmum Abbatem et Conventum de Ponte Roberti ex altera, tandem compromiserunt in arbitros subscriptos, videlicet in Willelmum de la Dunc, Henricum Boydiner, Henricum de Gevingetone, Galfridum de Saxingherst, Simonem de Brunford, Ricardum de Meridale et in Abbatem de Begheham arbitrum principalem sub hac forma.

Ita Convenit inter Abbatem et Conventum de Bello et Abbatem et Conventum de Ponte Roberti quod compromiserunt in tales videlicet [*sequuntur nomina arbitrorum ut supra*] de omnibus querelis inter eos propositis vel proponendis coram predictis arbitris perpetuo terminandis. Et si Abbas et Conventus de Bello noluerint stare arbitrio predictorum virorum concesserunt quod Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti habeant totam terram quam habent tam in veteri quam in novo marisco sine contradiccione vel reclamatione Abbatis et Conventus de Bello. Si vero Abbas (&c.) de Ponte Roberti noluerint stare arbitrio predictorum virorum sicut dictum est, concesserunt quod Abbas (&c.) de Bello habeant totam terram in novo incluso quod est de feodo dictorum Abbatis (&c.) de Bello sine contradiccione vel reclamatione dictorum Abbatis et Conventus de Ponte Roberti. Quod si aliquis de arbitris Abbatis de Bello interesse non poterit, substituatur alium quem voluerit, et ita faciat Abbas de Ponte Roberti. Si vero principalis arbiter noluerit vel non potuerit interesse, eligatur alius de consensu utriusque partis. Hec omnia predicta fideliter et sine fraude conservanda utraque pars bonâ fide promisit. Et ad maiorem securitatem tam Abbas et Conventus de Bello quam Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti sigilla sua huic scripto apposuerunt. Datum Anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis vicesimo octavo mense Januarii in die Conversionis Sancti Pauli.

Auditis igitur hinc inde propositis et utriusque partis responsionibus, dicti arbitri arbitrati sunt in hunc modum, videlicet ut convencio que facta fuit apud Neddrefeld inter dictas partes et in scriptis redacta de terra de Wicham cum pertinenciis et novo incluso in marisco de Grykes perpetuam habeat firmitatem, excepto quod de relevio et secta curie sive de aliis rebus que de dicta terra possent evenire Abbati (&c.) de Ponte Roberti vel successoribus suis nulla fiat recompensacio nisi pro redditu duorum solidorum, et pro terris que fuerunt Ricardi le Venur, Jacobi de Sedelescumbe, et Petronelle de Sedelescumbe; de quarum terrarum redditu, relevio, herietto, secta, vel alia escaeta, nunquam fiat recompensacio. Pro remissione vero et quieta clamantia dicti relevii et aliarum eschaettarum dicte terre de Wicham Abbas (&c.) de

Bello remiserunt dictis Abbati (&c.) de Ponte Roberti et successoribus suis sectam curie quam de ipso Abbate exigebant ratione terrarum quas de ipsis tenent in marisco de Grykes. Remiserunt etiam et quietum clamaverunt dictis Abbati (&c.) de Ponte Roberti et successoribus suis sectam curie quam exigebant ad Lageday de tenentibus dicti Abbatis de Ponte Roberti in feodo Abbatis de Bello, videlicet de Hugone Burgeys, Willelmo Burgeys, Nicholao Spirewiġ, Thoma Batur, Boidino fil' Burgeue, Vincentio de Popleshers, Willelmo filio Martini, Martino Batur, Roberto Fos, Hamone Leurich, Nicholao Leurich, Simone Edulphi, Elya Braynwod, Radulpho filio Ricardi, et heredibus ipsorum tenentium. Itaque si processu temporis plura fiant edificia in terris Abbatis de Ponte Roberti quas habet de feodo Abbatis de Bello, commorantes in eisdem sequantur curiam Abbatis de Bello ad Lageday facientes cum hominibus dicti Abbatis de Bello per omnia secundum quod continetur in libertatibus ejusdem Abbatis de Bello. Prenominati vero tenentes et heredes sui tenentur sequi et excottare^a cum hominibus Abbatis de Bello scilicet de Grykes et Promhelle ad omnia que pertinent ad placita corone; eodem modo tenentes Abbatis de Bello de Grykes et de Promhelle excottabunt cum prenominationis hominibus Abbatis de Ponte Roberti. Quod si mordre^b vel aliquid infortunium quod pertineat ad placitum corone evenerit in terra dicti Abbatis de Ponte Roberti que sit de feodo Abbatis de Bello unde visus fieri debeat, vocetur serviens^c dicti Abbatis de Bello ad faciendum visum et intersit serviens dicti Abbatis de ponte (*sic*) si voluerit. Constitutum est etiam et ordinatum a dictis arbitris quod omnes terre de quibus controversia fuit inter dictas partes in curia domini Regis Ricardi de quibus cirographum fuit confectum in dicta curia mensurentur et habeat quilibet suam porcionem secundum tenorem ipsius cirographi omni cavillatione remota; ita tamen quod Abbas de Ponte Roberti habeat de porcione Abbatis de Bello porcionem que cum contingit pro inclusione illius marisci et Wallarum observatione secundum tenorem cartarum quas Abbas de Ponte Roberti habet de Abbate et Conventu de Bello.

Arbitratum est etiam a dictis arbitris quod Walle francate site in dominico Abbatis de Bello remaneant eidem Abbati de Bello et suis tenentibus cum pede Walle, qui erit octo pedum et dimidii in latitudine, et octo pedes remaneant ad fossatum faciendum inter dictum pedum Walle et mariscum, nisi per cartas inter ipsas partes confectas alius intervenerit consensus. Fiat eodem modo dicto Abbati de Ponte Roberti in suo dominico.

Arbitratum est etiam quod mensio fiat in cirographo inter dictas partes conficiendo de terra de Wicham et novo incluso marisci, quod Abbas &c. de Ponte Roberti et sui successores debent conservare Wallas contra mare et habere ea que ad Wallas pertinent quousque fuerint francate et postea fiat de ipsis Wallis sicut continetur in scripto inter ipsas partes confecto de predicto novo incluso. Ita quod si aliquis fuerit defectus de ipsis Wallis conservandis, dictus Abbas de Bello et successores sui possint distringere ipsum Abbatem de Ponte Roberti et suos successores secundum legem marisci, ad sufficientem ipsarum Wallarum conservationem.

^a Scottare is in Du Cange as a verb, to pay scot. This seems the same word badly formed through the French escot, écot.

^b "Quod si mordre inventum fuerit in aliquo loco super terram illius ecclesie Sancti Martini scilicet de Bello, in leuga, in maneriis vel in membris eorum, nullus se intromittere debet nisi abbas et monachi ejus." *Libertates Abbatii de Bello*. Dugd. Monast. iii. 243.

^c The sergeant or bailiff.

Arbitratum est etiam quod Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti et successores sui debent excottare ad omnes communes guterias per quas terre ipsius Abbatis exsiccantur secundum quantitatem terrarum quas habet in ipso marisco.

Item arbitratum est quod Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti bona fide omnem diligentiam adhibeant ad perquirendam quietam clamantiam Abbati et Conventui de Bello, de terra de Wicham de Ricardo le Venur et Jacobo de Sedelescumbe videlicet infra proximam dominicam quâ cantatur "*letare Jerusalem*," * alioquin dictus Abbas de Ponte Roberti restituat dictis Abbati et Conventui de Bello quietam clamantiam quam habet de ipsis Ricardo, Jacobo, et Petronella de Sedelescumbe. Item de consensu partium arbitratum est, quod quieti sint de convencione inter eos facta de novo marisco includendo qui jacet ante domum Radulfi de Brede versus la Chene. Dicti igitur arbitri arbitrando pronuntiaverunt quod omnia premissa firmiter et fideliter sub pena in forma compromissi superius expressa ex utraque parte perpetuis temporibus observentur, adicientes quod forma compromissi sigillis partium communita remaneat penes Abbatem de Begeham, hoc modo, quod si aliqua pars contravenerit vel dicto arbitrio stare noluerit, dictum scriptum reddatur parti arbitrio stare volenti. Dictis partibus viam precludentes quod de contencionibus ante hujus scripti confectionem inter dictas partes habitis nunquam de cetero sub pena prenominata aliquam moveant questionem. In ejus (&c.) prenominati arbitri, et tam Abbas et Conventus de Bello quam Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti huic scripto in modum cirographi inter dictas partes confecto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum octava die mensis Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Johannis Regis vicesimo octavo.

Four seals remain.

1. The common seal of Battle Abbey, as figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i. pl. lix., as a counter-seal to which is impressed the seal of the Abbat in pontificals. Fragment only.

2. The seal of Reginald, Abbat of Bayham, figured below. (The Rev. G. M. Cooper was unaware of the existence of any seal of this monastery.)

3. Antique gem in metal rim. Man with foot raised, possibly Jason. Legend—illegible.

4. Pointed oval, 1 inch long. Pelican in her piety. Legend—*PELLICANO DEI*.



SEAL OF REGINALD, ABBAT OF BAYHAM.

* Fourth Sunday in Lent.

XXIII.—*Notes on the Discovery of a Roman Villa at Holcombe, Devon.* By
Captain JOHN SACKVILLE SWANN, F.S.A. F.G.S., in a Letter to AUGUSTUS
W. FRANKS, Esq. *Vice-President.*

Read February 22, 1872.

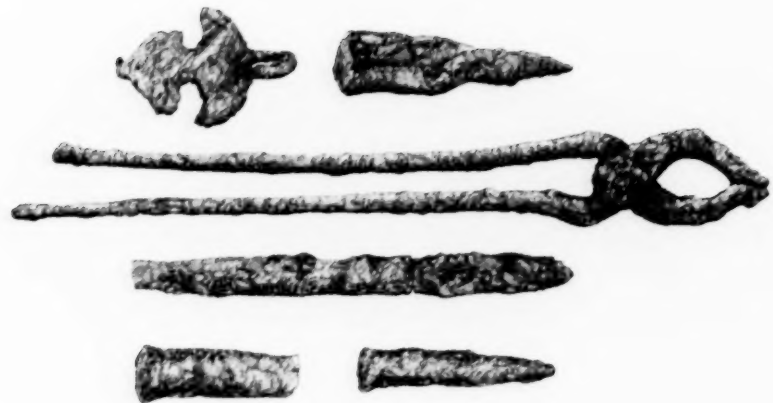
Holyshtute, Honiton, 30th January, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR,

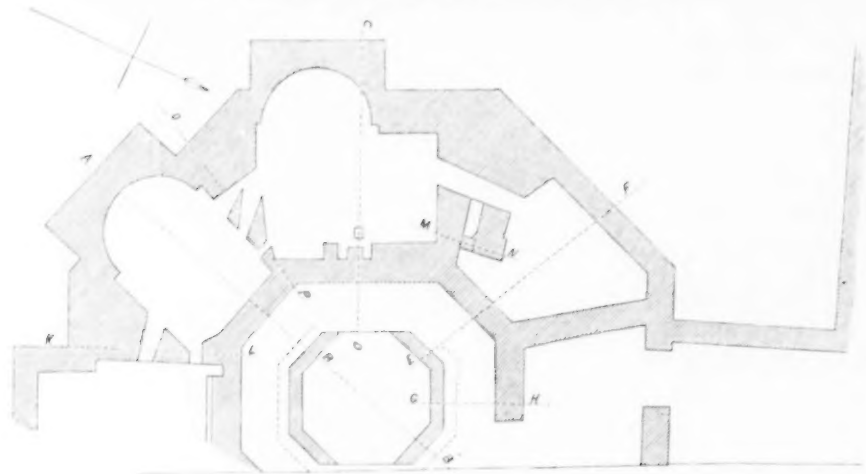
As you seem to have been interested in the Roman iron tools* found by me at Holcombe, I think perhaps that some further particulars regarding the find, and the remains of the Roman Villa which has been discovered there, may not be uninteresting to you.

In 1870 the proprietor of the farm on which the remains have been found determined to clear a copse, occupying a space about 400 feet long by 40 feet wide. In this copse a small and very perfect piece of Roman pavement was brought to light some twenty years ago, and in 1870, when the present clearance was commenced, only a few scattered tesserae remained. The work of clearing did not turn out to be so easy as was anticipated, and by this lucky accident only the northern portion was touched. My attention was drawn to this, and on visiting the spot I found enormous heaps of building-stones, roofing-stones, flue-tiles, &c., all over the place, with many small fragments of pottery, which appeared to me to be certainly Roman. The level of this copse was nearly three feet above the level of the adjoining meadows, and being all stone, roots and trunks of pollard trees, &c., the difficulty of clearing was very great, and the progress very slow. Nearly in the middle of this piece the tools to which I have alluded, with some charcoal, were found.

* The iron tools in question are represented in the accompanying plate, and appear all to be of Roman origin. They may be described as follows :—1. A strong pair of pincers ; length 1 ft. 8½ in. ; a somewhat similar pair, from Kingsholm, near Gloucester, is preserved in the British Museum. 2. A thick quadrangular bar, broken into two pieces, and pointed at one end ; length 12 in. 3, 4. Two strong wedges ; length 5 in. and 4½ in. 5. A chisel with a pointed tang ; length 6 in. 6. One of the singular objects which have from time to time been discovered with Roman remains, and are now considered by archaeologists to be horse-shoes ; their use seems to be decisively settled by a specimen in the British Museum, to the under part of which is fixed a thin horse-shoe of the ordinary description. Some excellent figures of these strange horse-shoes have appeared in a *Memoir on Roman Remains discovered in London*, by J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., published in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* (vol. iii. p. 517). Besides these objects there was found an imperfect Roman knife or *cultrum*, and another fragment.



IRON TOOLS FOUND IN THE ROMAN VILLA AT HOLCOMBE.



PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN VILLA AT HOLCOMBE.



SECTIONS OF FOUNDATIONS

From what I saw I thought that further clearing in so wholesale a way would be undesirable, for much I am sure was lost in moving away many cartloads of earth, and spreading it over neighbouring fields. I therefore persuaded the proprietor to rent me the rest of the copse at £5 per annum, and at the same time exposed a small portion of the pavement on the north side of the bath. By the way, I must not forget to say that the bath was opened about twenty years ago, and left unprotected, and is therefore not in a good state of preservation.

Last autumn I set to work for about nine weeks, and sometimes with three, but mostly only with two men, cleared out about 64 feet by 35 feet to an average depth of about 4 feet 6 inches from the existing level of the copse, uncovered about 10,080 cubic feet of stone and earth, and laid bare the foundations shown in the Plan of Foundations (Plate XXXVIII.) Owing to the extreme age of some of the pollard-ash trees our progress was very slow and work very hard; but we found the bottom of the bath without a tessera missing, as well as the pieces of pavement on north and south side of bath, and a large piece in a room which I have called N.E. Room, and is that in which the letter "H" is in the Plan of Foundations. The heaviest work was in that room or chamber through which the line E.F. passes, and here were the principal finds of bones, &c. The bones consisted (as kindly determined for me by Mr. Boyd Dawkins) of *Bos longifrons*, sheep, goat, roe-deer, pig, dog, horse, rabbit, and hare. There are also a few bones of birds and a bone or two of fox. The generality of the bones appear to have been those of flesh used for food, except those of the dog and fox, and many of them appear to have been gnawed by dogs.

Of shells there were oyster, mussel, limpet, periwinkle, and snail; the limpet shells in great abundance, as also the lower or hollow valve of the oyster. Two oysters had never been opened.

The pottery was all in fragments, of which there were very great quantities, and it is generally of black or red ware, but principally the former.

Two or three fragments of very thin glass were also found, and of such a shape as to justify the belief that they were portions of a small vessel. Quantities of nails and one key were also found, and a small piece of hard wood, I fancy ebony, which might have been the portion of a frame of a looking-glass, and one small fragment of a bronze buckle. I believe some coins were found in the vicinity some time ago; but on this occasion only two were met with, a small copper coin of the Second Constantine, and a brass coin utterly beyond all identification.

A large square stone was found in 1870, which appears to me to have been a sort of bracket or table let into a wall. Two sides are moulded. One side, I think the front, is ornamented, and the other side plain: by side I mean *edge*.

I must not omit to mention that in the chamber where the bulk of the bones, pottery, shells, &c., were found, very large quantities of charcoal were also brought to light.

I may add that I at first much doubted the octagonal hole being a bath, but had an idea it might be the impluvium; but I have discarded that idea, as the principal rooms were, I think, in the portion destroyed. The piece of pavement destroyed was, I believe, 20 feet by 15; and, judging by the enormous quantity of material removed from the portion cleared in 1870, there must have been some important part of the building to the north-east of the portions which I have excavated.

The accompanying plan and sections (see Plate XXXVIII.) will explain the details and give some idea of the nature of the excavations.

The whole appearance, as one works on, is that of buildings that have gradually decayed; and the roofing-tiles are invariably at the bottom of the *débris*, as if the roof had fallen in first in the ordinary course of decay.

I have omitted to notice a very well-preserved pillar of oolitic limestone



Pillar of Oolitic Limestone, found in Roman Villa at Holcombe, Devon.

Height, 2 feet 10 inches.

found close to the spot where the square stone or bracket, I have already mentioned, was discovered. It was in a remarkably good state of preservation, and so well finished that it gave the idea of its having been turned in a lathe rather than worked by hand.

Its total height was 2 feet 10 inches, and perhaps in its original state it may have measured 3 feet. The appearance of the stone is identical with that from the lower quarries in the island of Portland, from which place there would have been no difficulty in transporting it, but I am not able satisfactorily to establish the fact that the Portland Quarries, from which the fine-grained oolite is obtained, were worked at so early a date as the building of the Villa at Holcombe.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

JOHN S. SWANN.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq.

XXIV.—*On the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Desborough, Northamptonshire.* By the Rev. ROBERT SIBLEY BAKER, *Rector of Hargrave.*

Read March 30, 1876.

I have the honour to bring to your notice some remarkable antiquities which have been discovered in the village of Desborough, Northamptonshire, in February last, while digging iron ore on the property of Mr. and Mrs. Wise, of Woodcote, Warwickshire.

Desborough is a small station on the main line of the Midland Railway, a few miles south of Market Harborough, and is a place of some antiquity, and probably was the site of the mansion of the Desborough family, once its lords.

The discovery in question was made in a grass-field close to the village, about 300 yards east of the parish church, and within an area which would appear to have been an ancient encampment. A parallelogram of about four acres may be still distinctly traced by the fosses faintly furrowed in the pasture where left undisturbed by the diggers for ironstone, who will soon obliterate every vestige of it. The plan on the following page will give some idea of the spot.

Within the inclosure a number of ancient interments have been found; the bodies do not appear to have been buried in coffins, but only laid in pits sunk in the *baring*, as it is called, that is, the top soil, and three or four feet of disintegrated rock mixed with loam, which has to be removed in order to reach the ironstone rock.

The position of the graves is well marked in this *baring*, as they are filled up with black top-soil, thus appearing of a dark tint in the tawny-coloured mass. At the bottom of these dark patches the skeletons are generally found, very decayed and friable. Many of the graves are now empty, or contain but a few fragments of bone, with occasional pieces of coarse pottery and burnt stones mixed with the earth.

These sepulchral trenches are roughly made, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, and seem invariably to run east and south-west; where there are

skeletons the feet are to the east. I should mention that in all these pits appear traces of fire, in the shape of pieces of stone burnt red, either ironstone or a kind of freestone not found in the village. In one instance, a pit (found to be empty) was lined with clay at the bottom, in which were embedded stones set edgewise, and the stones presented traces of fire. Do these signs point to a transition from cremation to inhumation? In all about sixty interments have been found in the



PLAN OF ENCAMPMENT AT DESBOROUGH. Scale 1 in. to 137 ft.

A. Parsonage Garden. B. Garden. C. Spot where Necklace was found.

inclosure. One of these I had excavated in my presence, but nothing was found excepting fragments.

In two of the graves, however, have been discovered the very remarkable objects which I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society. This I am enabled to do by the courtesy and at the wish of Mr. Hickman, Manager for the Desborough Iron Ore Company. The beautiful necklace was found in one of the graves, and the rest of the objects in another. These graves were not far distant from each other, and both contained skeletons. The discovery took place in the second week of February, 1876.

I will now proceed to describe in detail the various objects discovered, some of which are represented in the accompanying engravings.

1. A bronze saucepan-shaped vessel made of very thin metal, with a rounded bottom and a broad flat handle, expanding towards the end into a circle; the edge of the handle is flanged or strengthened by a projecting ridge like the backs of some Eastern daggers; at the back of the handle there has been a small loop and ring by which the vessel could be suspended. Depth 3 in.; diameter of bowl 10 in.; entire length 16 inches.

It will be immediately noticed that this vessel is of the same character as those found at Irchester, in Northamptonshire, which I had the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society in January last* (see Proceedings, 2d Ser. vi. 475), and which were considered to be late Roman.

2. Fragments of one of the bowls of a pair of scales. These are also of very thin bronze; two of the rings for suspension still remain; diameter, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Weights and scales have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, for instance, at Gilton, Kent, grave No. 66 of the Faussett Collection. Here both bowls were discovered, and the greater part of the bar; the weights were worn-out Roman coins, on which the Saxon goldsmith had made marks to indicate the weight of the pieces.^b

3. A spoon of base silver or white metal; length, $6\frac{1}{10}$ in. (Pl. XXXIX.) Both extremities are imperfect; the lower part of the stem where it meets the bowl has a singular expansion, suggested perhaps by the form of late Roman spoons, although the ornament (such as it is) on the upper end does not show any mark of classic design.

Although spoons have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, they have rarely occurred, and these have generally had large bowls with small piercings in them; such is the spoon from Chartham, in Kent, now in the Ashmolean Museum, engraved in Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. ii. fig. 9, and in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxii.; and another from Stodmarsh, Kent, now in the British Museum, engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. pl. xvi. fig. 5.

4. A hinge or clasp of a white metal similar to the spoon (Pl. XXXIX.), with engraved ornaments of a Teutonic character consisting of interlacing bands; on each portion are three prominent rivets; length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. In this particular it resembles the plates of buckles both in England and on the Continent. See for

* An account of these with engravings has been published in the Transactions of the Northamptonshire Architectural Society. (*Associated Societies' Reports and Papers*, xiii. pl. 1, p. 39.)

^b Roach Smith, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 22, pl. xvii.



CLASP, DESBOROUGH.

GOLD NECKLACE FOUND AT DESBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. (Full size.)

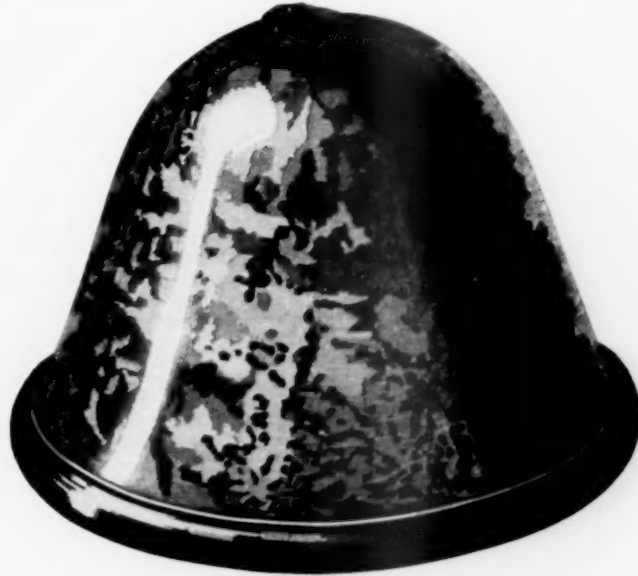


SPOON FOUND AT DESBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. (Full size.)

instance for the former *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. viii. and ix. and for the latter, Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares en Bourgogne*, pl. ix.

5. A bronze pin, broken into three pieces; present length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

6. A flat iron bar with a projection on each side; length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Also a pointed end of some instrument.



ANGLO-SAXON GLASS CUP.

7. A bowl-shaped vase of amber-coloured glass (see woodcut). Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. This has the peculiarity so often observable in Anglo-Saxon drinking-glasses that from the form of the base it will not stand, which it has been suggested spoke much for the toping propensities of the Anglo-Saxons. The same form has been found at Kingston and Sibertswold in Kent. (See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xix.). Thinner examples of the same form are found on the Continent. (See, for instance, Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares*, pl. xxi. figs. 3, 4, 6.)

8. A small bowl-shaped vase of a deep amber colour, rather more conical in form; height $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.; diameter $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.

9. The gold necklace is the finest and most interesting of the relics disinterred. It lay in disconnected pieces near the head of the skeleton, and consists at present of thirty-seven portions, viz. seventeen barrel-shaped or rather double-cone-

shaped beads, slightly varying in size, made of spirally-coiled gold wire. Two cylindrical beads of similar make, which may have been connected with the clasps. Nine circular pendants of gold, convex on one face and flat on the other, and with loops by which they could be strung; five of these are beaded round the edges, the others are plain. Eight gold pendants of various shapes and sizes, set with garnets, with delicately-worked loops for suspension. They vary considerably in form, as may be seen in the engraving (Pl. XXXIX.); the edges are beaded and the backs plain. Lastly, a gold cross, which formed, no doubt, the central ornament of the necklace, as we have represented it. The body is formed of two cylinders of gold, and at the intersections is set a small garnet surrounded by beaded work; the other side had a similar ornament now wanting.

Objects of this nature have been occasionally found in England, though never, as far as I am aware, in so complete a state. Portions of such a necklace were found in a barrow on Roundway Down, near Devizes, Wilts, and were exhibited to this Society in December, 1843.^a They consisted of four barrel-shaped beads like ours, but smaller, four pendants set with single garnets and two with vitrified pastes; one of the latter, the largest discovered, was triangular in form. With these objects was a chain with central ornament, and a pin at each end. The whole are engraved in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. i. It may be mentioned that with these objects was discovered a small bucket or pail, with wooden staves, of the kind so frequently found in Anglo-Saxon graves, and which had the usual triangular ornaments of bronze.

Another was found by Mr. Thomas Bateman in a tumulus called Galley or Callidge Lowe, in Derbyshire. Here were twelve barrel-shaped beads, to all but one of which were attached pendent garnets set in gold; there were also two circular pendants with convex faces like ours. A coloured engraving of this necklace has appeared in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xl. See also Bateman's *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 37.

The preservation of the gold necklace which I have described is due to Mr. Hickman, who happened by mere accident to come up at the very moment of the discovery, and found the men scrambling for the prize, of which each had got some portions. Perceiving the interest of the find, he induced the men to give up their various shares by telling them that the ornament was worth more as a whole than in separate pieces, and that he would take care that each man received his share of the proceeds.

Whether any portions were after all kept back, or whether any portions were

^a Proc. S. A. vol. i. p. 12.

removed with the barrows of earth before the precious fragments were noticed, we cannot tell. But for Mr. Hickman's fortunate presence the Society would not have had the opportunity of admiring this beautiful object.

I should not omit to mention that in another part of the same village many interments were discovered in 1865 accompanied by articles in bronze, but for want of any one to take an interest in them the relics were sold by the men and dispersed.

This, I fear, is the daily fate of many objects of interest and value, which if preserved would have thrown light on the history and antiquities of our country.

NOTE.—It should be stated that these interesting objects have since been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum for the Collection of National Antiquities.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 326: It should have been stated that the list of objects found in the tomb of Richard II. was prepared by George Scharf, Esq., F.S.A.

Page 393, Note: *For* "p. 37" *read* "cap. 37."

Page 403, line 12: *For* "three" *read* "two." The passage should stand as follows:—

"They appear to be of silken material, woven into twelfth century patterns, and enriched with gold. This has been laid on the thread before weaving, in at least two different ways. In the two specimens shewn in the plate, the threads have apparently been gilt by applying gold-leaf with some adhesive material. In some very small fragments, strips of gold are twisted round the threads, which have partly decayed and left the solid gold in spiral form. A beautifully preserved stole of about A.D. 1200, in the possession of W. H. D. Longstaffe, Esq., of Gateshead, is ornamented from end to end with labyrinthine patterns in lozenges about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the groundwork between them being entirely overlaid with gold thread made by the latter process."

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